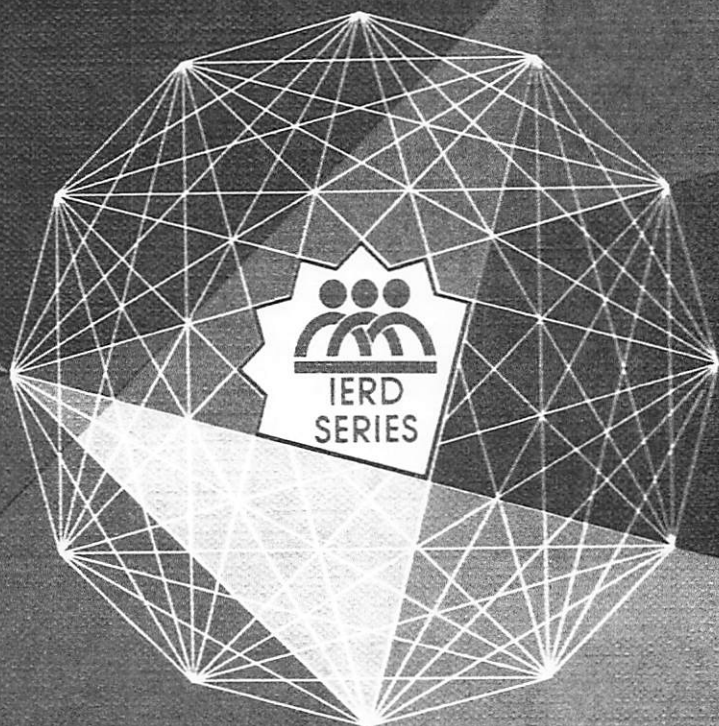


VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS

1st edition



Edited by

Institute of Cultural Affairs International, Brüssel

Published by

K. G. Saur München · New York · London · Po



ICA

Institute of Cultural Affairs International, Brussels



München-New York-London-Paris

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- Encyclopedia of World Problems and Human Potential, 2nd edition
- International Association Statutes Series (vol. 1)

Published by K.G. Saur Verlag (München)

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**Self-analysis of local rural development
initiatives worldwide**

**Edited by
Institute of Cultural Affairs International**

1st edition

K · G · Saur München · New York · London · Paris

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Published March 1987 by
K.G. Saur Verlag KG
Heilmannstr. 17
D-8000 München 71
Federal Republic of Germany

Information collected and edited by
Institute of Cultural Affairs International
8, Rue Amedee Lynen
B-1050 Brussels, Belgium

Computer typeset by
Computaprint Limited
39A Bowling Green Lane,
London EC1 RONE, United Kingdom

From a computer data base maintained by
Institute of Cultural Affairs
International

Cover design by
Wolfgang Dahlberg

Printed by
Betz-Offsetdruck
Hemsbach/Bergstraße

Bound by
Großbuchbinderei J. Schäffer GmbH & Co.
KG., Grünstadt

CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek
**Voices of rural practitioners : self-analysis of
local rural development initiatives worldwide /**
ed. by Inst. of Cultural Affairs Internat. [Ed. staff
Alan Berresford ...]. – 1. ed. – München ;
New York ; London ; Paris : Saur 1987.
(IERD series ; No. 2)
ISBN 3-598-21042-6 (München ...)
ISBN 0-86291-636-4 (London ...)
NE: Berresford, Alan [Hrsg.]; Institut des Affaires
Culturelles Internationales (Bruxelles);
International Expositions of Rural Development:
IERD series

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ISBN 3-598-21042-6 (Saur München)
ISBN 0-86291-636-4 (Saur London)

Contents

Foreword	7
Introduction	8

How to use	9
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PART I: Voices of Rural Practitioners

Index	11
Introduction	26
Section 1: The Overview	31
Section 2: Managing Agriculture	59
Section 3: Economic and Commercial Diversification	90
Section 4: Women in Development	125
Section 5: Health Care	155
Section 6: Learning and Education Processes	178
Section 7: Community Housing, Environment and Technology	209
Section 8: Integrated Approaches	235

PART II: Project Descriptions

Index	255
Introduction	257
Project Descriptions (alphabetical order)	259

PART III: Presentations

Index	327
Introduction	328
Section 1: Opening Address: International Exposition of Rural Development	329
Section 2: Keynote Address: GHP. The Gross Human Product	332
Section 3: Women in Development – More Than Half the World	336
Section 4: Children: The Flowers of the Future	342
Section 5: Children in Development	349
Section 6: Funding Strategies for the Rural Poor	355
Section 7: TURNABOUT – The Trickle Up Programme: Income Generation	359

PART IV: References

Index	365
Introduction	366
Section 1: Appendixes	367
Section 2: Sources	397
Section 3: Word Index	409

Conclusion

Institute of Cultural Affairs International	471
Computerised Database of Rural Development Projects – RURALNET	473

Inhalt

Vorwort	7
Einleitung	8

Hinweise zur Benutzung	9
-----------------------------------------	---

Teil I: Berichte der Entwicklungshelfer

Index	11
Einleitung	26
Abschnitt 1: Übersicht	31
Abschnitt 2: Landwirtschaftliche Verwaltung	59
Abschnitt 3: Wirtschaftliche und gewerbliche Veränderung	90
Abschnitt 4: Frauen in der Entwicklung	125
Abschnitt 5: Gesundheitsfürsorge	155
Abschnitt 6: Lern- und Erziehungsprozeß	178
Abschnitt 7: Kommunalwesen, Umwelt und Technologie	209
Abschnitt 8: Gemeinsame Ziele	235

Teil II: Projektbeschreibungen

Index	255
Einleitung	257
Projektbeschreibungen in alphabetischer Reihenfolge	259

Teil III: Vorschläge

Index	327
Einleitung	328
Abschnitt 1: Eröffnungsansprache: Internationale Ausstellung „ländliche Entwicklung“	329
Abschnitt 2: Hauptreferat: GMP, Das gesamt-menschliche Produkt	332
Abschnitt 3: Frauen in der Entwicklung – Mehr als die Hälfte der Welt	336
Abschnitt 4: Kinder, die Hoffnung der Zukunft	342
Abschnitt 5: Kinder in der Entwicklung	349
Abschnitt 6: Strategien zur finanziellen Unterstützung der armen Land- bevölkerung	355
Abschnitt 7: Ländliche Kreditmöglichkeiten – Das „Trickle Up“-Programm	359

Teil IV: Hinweise

Index	365
Einleitung	366
Abschnitt 1: Anhang zu Teil I	367
Abschnitt 2: Projekte und Quellen zu Teil I und II	397
Abschnitt 3: Wortindex	409

Zusammenfassung

Institut für Kulturelle Internationale Angelegenheiten	471
Datenbank der ländlichen Entwicklungsprojekte – RURALNET	473

Foreword

The purpose of this book, and its companion volume, "THE DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS", is to stimulate networking and the exchange of significant information on the subject of how sustainable development comes about.

It is an attempt to capture the wisdom of field workers and local people working in villages all round the world. A remarkable feature of the four-year international "Sharing Approaches that Work" programme, on which the book is based and which is described in the Introduction, was the unanimity of views it revealed. This was notwithstanding tremendous differences in the objectives, scope and methods used in the 300 projects involved. Since these came from all continents, with their dramatic variety of cultural and geographic circumstances, the level of agreement was truly remarkable.

Not surprisingly, the programme led to the construction of no universally applicable models. Rather there was a acceptance, across the board, of principles and processes which have to be considered when designing any project. They would be applied in the light of the country's culture; its system of government; its stage of economic growth, both locally and nationally; and resource availability in relation to local needs.

In the chapters that follow, these principles and processes emerge in context. An appreciation of their significance should be helpful to governmental and non-governmental agencies designing projects; to academics concerned with rural education and interested in grassroots case material; and as providing practical guidelines for extension and other field workers.

Sir James Lindsay
President
Institute of Cultural Affairs International

Vorwort

Das Ziel dieses Buches und seines Begleitbandes „THE DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS“, ist es, die Zusammenarbeit und den Austausch von wichtigen Informationen darüber, wie eine anhaltende Entwicklung herbeigeführt wird, anzuregen.

Es ist ein Versuch das Wissen der Praktiker und der Einheimischen, die in Dörfern auf der ganzen Welt arbeiten zusammenzustellen. Eine bemerkenswerte Charakteristik des vierjährigen internationalen Programmes „Sharing Approaches That Work“, auf dem das Buch basiert und das in der Einleitung erklärt wird, war die Einstimmigkeit der Ansichten, die zum Vorschein gebracht wurden. Dies trotz gewaltiger Unterschiede in den Zielsetzungen, dem Umfang und den Methoden, die in den 300 betreffenden Projekten benutzt wurden. Obwohl diese von allen Kontinenten mit ihrer dramatischen Diversität der kulturellen und geographischen Umstände stammen, war der Grad der Übereinstimmung wirklich außergewöhnlich.

Es war nicht erstaunlich, daß das Programm nicht zu der Konstruktion von Modellen, die universal anwendbar sind geführt hat. Vielmehr wurden Prinzipien und Verfahren, die berücksichtigt werden müssen, wenn ein Projekt entwickelt wird, akzeptiert. Sie sind in Anbetracht der Kultur des Landes; seines Regierungssystemes; seiner Wirtschaftswachstumslage, national sowie international; und der Verfügbarkeit von Ressourcen im Verhältnis zu regionalen Notwendigkeiten anzuwenden.

In den folgenden Kapiteln stellen sich diese Prinzipien und Verfahren im Kontext heraus. Eine Anerkennung ihrer Bedeutung sollte für Regierungsagenturen und unabhängige Agenturen, die Projekte entwickeln; für Akademiker, die mit landwirtschaftlicher Ausbildung zu tun haben und sich für grundlegendes Fallmaterial interessieren, hilfreich sein. Und sie stellen praktische Richtlinien für Aufbauarbeiter und andere Praktiker zur Verfügung.

Sir James Lindsay
Präsident
Institut für Kulturelle Internationale Angelegenheiten

Introduction

Volume II of the IERD Series of publications is the second of three publications drawing together the findings and conclusions of the three year series of programmes of the International Exposition of Rural Development. The first publication was the DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS which gave profiles, indexes and cross-references for 300 rural development projects, represented in the Central International Event of the IERD in New Delhi, 5-15 February, 1984.

This volume consists of four complementary parts. Specific explanations are given in the Introduction to each part.

Part I of this volume consists of eight sections. The first section is The Overview of conclusions of the remaining seven sections. It describes the intent of these sections in the context of the IERD three-year programme as well as the New Delhi event itself. Each of the remaining seven sections focuses on particular development categories which constitute an arena of APPROACHES THAT WORK from the rural development practitioner's viewpoint. Each section contains references to the sources and illustrations which substantiate the approach being described. These are further cross-referenced in Part IV: References: Section 1 - Appendixes, and Section 2 - Projects and Sources.

Part II of this volume contains a series of 30 Descriptions of projects visited by teams of delegates during the Central International Event of the IERD, 8-12 February, 1984. The purpose of the visits was to expand and enrich the practical dialogue concerning issues and approaches being utilized in rural development, both in India and 54 other countries represented by delegates to this conference. The projects are presented in alphabetical order and are referenced by their directory/database code to Volume I, THE DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS in this series of publications.

Part III of this volume contains the seven Presentations given during the New Delhi event. The event which was highly participatory in nature, had very few addresses to the entire body but spent the majority of its time in small working groups of fifteen to twenty persons or plenaries in which the working groups heard from each other and organized their conclusions (see IERD description in the conclusion to Volume I). The Presentations consisted of a variety of addresses, slide shows and special reports designed to highlight particular concerns such as credit access, women in development, children's development, health and funding. These were also used to further the dialogue.

Part IV of this volume contains References to Part I with supplementary material in the form of eighteen brief case study Appendixes; page numbers for Publications, Project documentation, Interviews and Conference Proceedings; and a key Word Index.

Inclusion provides information on RURALNET - The set of Rural Development Projects contents and the Institute of Cultural Affairs International, and Publications of the Institute of Cultural Affairs International (ICAI) and the Union of International Associations (UIA) which has collaborated with ICAI to make series of publications possible.

Einleitung

Band II der IERD-Reihe ist die zweite von drei Publikationen, die die Erkenntnisse und Beschlüsse des dreijährigen Programms der „Internationalen Ausstellung für Entwicklung im ländlichen Raum“ zusammenfaßt. Die erste Veröffentlichung war das „Register ländlicher Entwicklungsprojekte (THE DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS), das Profile, Register und Querverweise für 300 ländliche Entwicklungs-Projekte beinhaltet. Das Werk wurde bei der Internationalen Konferenz der IERD in Neu Delhi vom 5.-15. Februar 1984 vorgestellt.

Der vorliegende Band besteht aus vier sich ergänzenden Teilen. Detaillierte Erklärungen befinden sich in der Einleitung eines jeden Kapitels. Das erste Kapitel bietet einen Überblick über die restlichen sieben Kapitel. Es verknüpft die Ziele des Drei-Jahres-Programms der IERD mit der Thematik der Konferenz aus den jeweiligen Sachgebieten. Jedes der übrigen sieben Kapitel konzentriert sich auf Entwicklungssachgebiete. Aus der Sicht der Entwicklungshelfer werden gelungene Projekte beschrieben.

Jeder Abschnitt enthält viele Beispiele mit Quellenangaben und Querverweise zu Teil IV: Hinweise, Abschnitt 1 - Anfang und Abschnitt - 2 Projekte und Quellen.

Der II. Teil des Bandes enthält die Beschreibung einer Reihe von Projekten, die von Delegierten-Teams während der Internationalen Konferenz der IERD vom 8.-12. Februar 1984 besucht wurden. Der Sinn dieser Besuche sollte sein, den praktischen Dialog bezüglich der Anliegen und Ansätze, die im Rahmen ländlicher Entwicklung verwendet werden, - für Indien und auch für die Besucher aus 54 Ländern - zu erweitern und zu vertiefen. Die Projekte werden in alphabetischer Reihenfolge so dargestellt, wie im Register-/Datenbank-Code des ersten Bandes dieser Reihe „THE DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS“.

Teil III dieses Bandes enthält die sieben Veranstaltungen, die während der Tagung in Neu Delhi präsentiert wurden. Es wurden nur wenige Vorträge im Plenum gehalten, stattdessen wurde die meiste Zeit für Arbeitsgruppen von 15-20 Personen oder für Plenarsitzungen verwendet, in denen die Arbeitsgruppen ihre Erkenntnisse austauschten und ihre Beschlüsse aufeinander abstimmten (siehe IERD Beschreibung im Abschluß des I. Bandes). Die Veranstaltungen setzten sich aus einer Reihe von Referaten, Dia-Vorträgen und Fachberichten zusammen, die dazu dienten, besondere Anliegen hervorzuheben wie Kreditzugang, Frauen und Kinder in der Entwicklung, Gesundheit und finanzielle Unterstützung. Hieraus ergab sich die Anregung zu weiteren Diskussionen.

Teil IV dieses Bandes enthält Erläuterungen zu Teil I mit ergänzendem Material in Gestalt von 18 kurzen Fallstudien: Seitenzahlen von Beiträgen, Projektdokumentationen, Interviews und Konferenzberichte, Quellenangaben und Kreuzkatalog.

Die Zusammenfassung liefert sachdienliche Informationen zum Inhalt und Zugang zur Datenbank, zum „Institute of Cultural Affairs International“ und zu Literaturhinweisen des ICAI und der „Union of International Associations“, die in der Zusammenarbeit mit dem ICAI diese Reihe von Veröffentlichungen möglich machte.

How to use...

The Table of Contents is a quick overview and reference to each of the four Parts of this publication.

Within each of the Parts of the publication you will find:

- A detailed Index to that Part and each of its sections.
- An Introduction which gives further information on the format and contents of that section.
- The sections themselves.

In Part IV, all indexing is done by page numbers which give the Part number with a »–« (1–); followed by the section number (1–1); and then a two digit page number (01 to 99), which is always the last two digits.

Hinweise zur Benutzung

Das Inhaltsverzeichnis stellt einen kurzen Überblick und Hinweis auf jedes der vier Teile dieser Veröffentlichung dar.

Innerhalb des I. Teils dieser Veröffentlichung finden Sie:

- ein detailliertes Register zu diesem Teil und jedem seiner Abschnitte;
- eine Einleitung, die über das Format und den Inhalt jedes Abschnitts weiterinformiert;
- die Abschnitte selbst.

Im Teil IV ist der Index durch Seitenzahlen geregelt, die die Teilzahl mit »–« (1–) angeben; diesen folgen die Zahlen der Abschnitte (1–1) und dann eine zweistellige Seitenzahl (01 bis 99); diese sind immer die letzten beiden Zahlen.

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

1957

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

PART I

Voices of Rural Practitioners

PART I: VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS**INDEX**

INTRODUCTION	1-002
Section 1: The Overview	1-003
Section 2: Managing Agriculture	1-005
Section 3: Economic and Commercial Diversification	1-007
Section 4: Women in Development	1-009
Section 5: Health Care	1-011
Section 6: Learning and Education Processes	1-012
Section 7: Community Housing, Environment and Technology	1-014
Section 8: Integrated Approaches	1-016

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND	1-017
FOCUS	1-018
THE IERD	1-018
Phase One: Lead-up Activities	1-018
Phase Two: Central International Event (CIE)	1-019
Phase Three: Implementation	1-020
THE VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS SERIES	1-020
Editor's Note	1-021

SECTION 1: THE OVERVIEW

WHY IS RURAL DEVELOPMENT NEEDED?	1-101
THE OVERVIEW SECTION	1-102
LEARNINGS ABOUT HOW DEVELOPMENT TAKES PLACE	1-103
DEVELOPMENT IS AN EVOLVING JOURNEY	1-104
DEVELOPMENT IS A MULTIFACETED REALITY	1-105
DEVELOPMENT IS A PARTICIPATORY PROCESS	1-106
DEVELOPMENT IS ENABLED BY A CATALYTIC DYNAMIC	1-107
THE FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES OF PRACTITIONERS	1-108
Inter-relationship of the Objectives	1-108
SHARED RESPONSIBILITY/SHARED LEADERSHIP	1-109
Operational Characteristics	1-109
Implications	1-110
Concerns	1-110
ECONOMIC SELF-DEPENDENCE	1-111
Operational Characteristics	1-111
Implications	1-112
Concerns	1-112
SELF-IDENTITY	1-113
Operational Characteristics	1-113
Implications	1-114
Concerns	1-114
ACCELERATING FACTORS	1-115
PROJECT LEARNING PROCESSES	1-115
Intent	1-115
Content	1-116
Concerns	1-116
Options	1-117
WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT	1-117
Intent	1-118
Content	1-118
Concerns	1-118
Options	1-119
PARTICIPATORY ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES	1-120
Intent	1-120
Content	1-120
Concerns	1-121
Options	1-121
BROADENING HORIZONS	1-123
Intent	1-123
Content	1-123
Concerns	1-123
Options	1-123
DEVELOPING HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL LINKAGES	1-124
Intent	1-124
Content	1-125
Concerns	1-125
Options	1-125

SECTION 1: INDEX

DEVELOPING APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGIES	1-126
Intent	1-126
Content	1-126
Concerns	1-127
Options	1-127
TECHNOLOGY INNOVATIONS	1-127
AGRICULTURE	1-127
RURAL EDUCATION AND LEARNING	1-128
HEALTH CARE	1-128
HOUSING AND ENVIRONMENT	1-128

PART 1: INDEX**SECTION 2: MANAGING AGRICULTURE**

THE CHALLENGE OF SMALL FARMING-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY	1-201
THE SITUATION IN AGRICULTURE	1-201
BREAKING THE SUBSISTENCE CYCLE	1-202
Small Farmers	1-202
The Landless	1-203
Fisheries and Fisherpersons	1-204
THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE	1-204
CARING FOR THE EARTH	1-206
MINIMISING LAND EXPLOITATION AND MAXIMISING FARM INCOME	1-206
ORGANIC APPROACHES TO FARMING	1-206
SOIL DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION	1-208
WASTELAND RECLAMATION	1-209
DIVERSIFICATION OF LAND USE	1-210
IRRIGATION	1-211
IDEAS INTO ACTION-OVERCOMING THE RELUCTANCE TO INNOVATE	1-212
CHANGING PERCEPTIONS	1-212
INTERCHANGE-SOMEONE HAS TO GO FIRST	1-213
TRAINING PROGRAMMES AND CLINICS	1-214
TELEVISION AND VIDEO	1-214
DEMONSTRATIONS-SHOWING THE WAY	1-214
UNITY IS STRENGTH-CREATING LINKAGES AMONG FARMERS	1-216
FARMERS ORGANISATIONS	1-216
DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY IDENTITY	1-218
VERTICAL LINKAGES-TYING SMALL FARMERS INTO THE GLOBE	1-219
Practitioners' Roles	1-219
ACCESS TO RESOURCES, MARKETS, TECHNOLOGY AND CREDIT	1-220
Access to Productive Resources	1-220
Access to Markets	1-221
Access to Technology	1-222
Access to Credit	1-224
The Banks	1-224
PUBLIC SECTOR LINKAGES-LARGE SCALE PROJECTS	1-225
PRIVATE SECTOR LINKAGES-WORKING WITH COMPANIES	1-226
PROCESSING AND PACKAGING OF AGRICULTURE PRODUCE	1-229
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONER	1-229
INCENTIVES AND WAGE GOODS	1-230
APPENDIX A	4-101
PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA	
Vaishali Area Small Farmers' Association (SA-20)	
Background	
PROJECT IMPACT	
Agriculture	
Social Organisation	
Self-Awareness of Rights	
Credit Supply	
LEARNINGS	

1-006

PART 1: INDEX

SECTION 2: MANAGING AGRICULTURE

APPENDIX B

PROJECT PROFILE, NIGERIA

Umuanunu Nsu Co-operative Centre Project (BA-2)

PROJECT IMPACT

LEARNINGS

-4-103

SECTION 3: ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

ELEMENTS OF AN EMERGING PERSPECTIVE	1-301
FOCUS ON THE POOR	1-302
THE ROLE OF VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN DEVELOPMENT	1-302
Local Government and Rural Development	1-302
Training for Village Governance	1-304
VIABLE LOCAL ECONOMY	1-305
CULTURAL VALUES AND IDENTITY	1-306
Improving the Quality of Life	1-306
Building an Identity in an Enterprise	1-306
Strengthening Cultural Continuity	1-307
CONSIDERATIONS IN DOING SELF-HELP ENTERPRISES	1-308
EACH PROJECT HAS MANY ASPECTS	1-308
THE UNBROKEN CIRCLE:	
LAND-BASED, NEED-BASED AND SKILL-BASED DEMONSTRATIONS	1-309
Land-based Demonstrations	1-309
Need-based Demonstrations	1-309
Skill-based Demonstrations	1-310
THE GROWTH VENTURE:	
DIVERSIFICATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION	1-311
Diversification	1-311
Regional Integration	1-311
THE DIMENSIONS OF LOCAL MARKET CONTROL	1-313
The Market Choices-	
Local, Regional, National or Foreign?	1-313
Systems and Structures for Local Control	1-313
Training For Economic Control	1-315
CREDIT FOR SURVIVAL AND GROWTH	1-316
RELEASING A BOTTLENECK TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	1-316
THINK THROUGH THE SCHEME BEFORE SEEKING LOANS	1-316
GIVE PRIORITY TO LOCAL INVESTMENT	1-317
INVOLVE THE PEOPLE IN LOAN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION	1-319
TRAIN PEOPLE IN USING CREDIT	1-320
EXPANSION SCHEMES	1-321
THE RIPPLE EFFECT-PLANNING FOR CHANGE	1-321
FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS	1-321
Developing an Appropriate Ideology	1-321
Starting With a Pilot Project	1-322
Deciding on an Expansion Mode	1-322
Focusing on Village Planning	1-323
Mixing Inside and Outside Leadership	1-323
Planning an Evolutionary Journey	1-323

PART 1: INDEX**SECTION 3: ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION**

TENDENCIES AND PATTERNS	1-324
Operating Regionally	1-324
Using Distinct Identities	1-324
Developing Multifaceted Approaches	1-325
Establishing Working Relations	1-325
Interchanging Practical Experience	1-326
Developing Bi-level Funding	1-326
Doing Initial Research	1-326
Gaining Trust through Integrity	1-326
Building a Coalition of Approaches	1-327
Applying No Formula	1-328
THE CATALYTIC AGENT IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:	
ROLES OF OUTSIDE CHANGE AGENTS	1-328
TYPES OF OUTSIDE CHANGE AGENTS	1-330
QUALITIES OF OUTSIDE CHANGE AGENTS	1-331
How Are Agents of Change Sustained Over Time?	1-332
EVOLUTION OF CHANGE AGENTS	1-332
PEOPLE AS AGENTS OF THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENT	1-333
From Target Population to Participant Orientation	1-333
Providing Opportunity for Self-initiative	1-334
TRAINING FOR SELF-RELIANCE	1-334
MOBILISING THE PEOPLE	1-335
APPENDIX C	4-104
PROJECT PROFILE, GERMANY (BRD) (EU-28)	
Schafhalter-Vereinigung Bayerischer Wald	
(Bavarian Woods Shepherders Association)	
Situation	
Vision	
Challenges	
Project	
Results	
AGRICULTURAL SELF-HELP: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE	
APPENDIX D	4-107
PROJECT PROFILE, KOREA (ROK) (SP-33)	
Saemaul Undong: The New Community Movement	
APPENDIX E	4-108
PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA (SA-32)	
Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA)	

SECTION 4: WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENT AFFECTS A WHOLE SOCIETY	1-401
THE DOUBLE BURDEN	1-402
THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION	1-402
AIMS AND OBJECTIVES	1-403
BETTER INCOME	1-403
LABOUR-SAVING TECHNOLOGY	1-403
RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD	1-404
IMPROVED HEALTH	1-405
PARTICIPATORY ORGANISATIONS	1-405
CHANGING ATTITUDES	1-405
ENHANCED STATUS	1-406
ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES	1-406
DIVERSIFIED PROJECTS	1-406
Education	1-406
Issue-Oriented Action	1-407
Beginning With Seed Monies	1-407
Improving the Village Environment	1-408
Appropriate Technology	1-408
Forestry Movements	1-409
Starting With Community-Identified Needs	1-410
CO-OPERATIVE VENTURES	1-410
Multi-purpose Co-operatives	1-410
Single-purpose Co-operatives: Industry	1-411
Single-purpose Co-operatives: Dairy	1-411
Revitalising the Co-operative Movement	1-412
Training for Management	1-412
THE IMPORTANCE OF ORGANISED GROUPS	1-413
Local Support Groups	1-413
National Associations	1-413
International Women's Groups	1-413
Women's Networks	1-414
THE KINDS OF SUPPORT NEEDED	1-414
Access to Resources	1-414
Child Care	1-415
PARTNERS IN DEVELOPMENT	1-416
WORKING WITH ALL THE PEOPLE	1-417
Indigenous Women are Most Effective	1-417
Involving Men	1-418
Working With Youth	1-418
Cross-Generation Activities	1-418

SECTION 4: WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

PROGRAMME CONTENT	1-419
HOME AND WORK	1-419
THROUGH FAMILY AND HOME	1-420
WAYS TO INVOLVE RURAL WOMEN	1-421
Clearing the Hurdles	1-421
Enabling Attitudes to Change	1-422
Through United Efforts	1-424
TRAINING FOR EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES	1-424
Income Generation	1-424
Leadership Skills	1-426
Through Health Care	1-427
Adult Literacy	1-428
Legal Rights	1-429
Use of the Media	1-430
APPENDIX F	4-109
INTERVIEW, ERICA MANN, KENYA	
Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development (BA-14)	
APPENDIX G	4-110
INTERVIEW, KIE KUBO, JAPAN	
Sawauchi Village (SP-28)	
APPENDIX H	4-112
PLENARY COMMENTS	
By Dame Miriam Dell, DBE,	
President, International Council of Women,	
February, 1984	

SECTION 5: HEALTH CARE

INTRODUCTION	1-501
COMMUNITY ACTION FOR HEALTH CARE	1-501
LINKING VILLAGES WITH PROFESSIONALS	1-501
TWO APPROACHES TO INTEGRATED SYSTEMS	1-502
The Jamkhed System	1-502
The INGRID Experience	1-504
MODERN AND/OR TRADITIONAL MEDICINES	1-505
INITIATING HEALTH PROGRAMMES IN A VILLAGE	1-505
ESSENTIAL PREVENTIVE MEASURES IN THE VILLAGE	1-507
Sanitation: The First Protection	1-508
Immunisation: Maximum Use of Regional and National Networks	1-508
Nutrition, Community Training and Food Production	1-509
MOTHERS AND CHILDREN: A FOCUS ON VULNERABLE GROUPS	1-511
RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD	1-512
VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS (VHW)	1-513
SELECTION OF VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS	1-513
TRAINING VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS	1-514
VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS: INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE SYSTEM	1-515
LINKING VILLAGES AND RESOURCES	1-517
MEDICAL PROFESSIONALS AND PARA-MEDICS	1-517
RURAL HEALTH CENTRES	1-519
MOBILE HEALTH UNITS	1-520
HEALTH CAMPS	1-521
SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR HEALTH CARE	1-521
WHO PAYS?	1-521
APPENDIX I	4-113
PROJECT PROFILE, KENYA	
Kibwezi Community-based Primary Health Care (BA-16)	
APPENDIX J	4-114
RESOURCES: PUBLICATIONS AND VIDEOS	

PART 1: INDEX**SECTION 6: LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES**

INTRODUCTION	1-601
CONTENT OF EDUCATION	1-601
LITERACY CAMPAIGNS	1-602
Motivation for Literacy	1-602
Benefits: Direct and Indirect	1-602
CULTURAL ADAPTATION	1-603
Critical Thinking	1-603
Self-Identity	1-603
Social Reform	1-604
SOCIAL LITERACY	1-605
Education for Social Justice	1-605
Learning Through Increased Self-Awareness	1-605
Learning through Collective Action	1-606
Legal Resource Development	1-606
Participative Action Research	1-606
Education Forums	1-606
METHODS OF LEARNING	1-607
COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTRES	1-607
Stienkens Hof Farm	1-607
Anand Niketan Life Education Centre	1-607
Brooks County School-Based Enterprise	1-608
LEARNING BY DOING	1-608
Extension Approach	1-608
Group Co-operation	1-609
Piggyback Approach	1-609
LEARNING THROUGH BROADENING HORIZONS	1-609
Lateral Exchange	1-609
Urban Impact	1-610
Individual Demonstration Plots	1-610
Community Demonstration Plots	1-611
LOCALLY ORIENTED CURRICULA	1-611
Indigenous Curriculum	1-612
Cultural Relevance	1-612
local Issues: Local Agriculture	1-613
Agriculture Reafforestation	1-613
USE OF APPROPRIATE MATERIALS	1-613
Textbooks for Villages	1-613
Folk Dramas	1-613
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN LEARNING	1-614
LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF PROGRAMMES	1-614
Community Initiative	1-614
Local Control	1-615
Financial Support	1-615
Basic Infrastructure	1-616
PARTICIPATIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY EDUCATION	1-617
Role of the Animator	1-617
Participative Learning	1-618
Role of the Change Agent	1-619

SECTION 6: LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

INVOLVING LOCAL PEOPLE AS EDUCATORS	1-619
The Local Multiplier	1-619
Local Teaching Assistants	1-619
Parental Involvement in Teaching	1-620
Involving the Elders	1-620
PARA-PROFESSIONALS	1-621
HOW RURAL PRACTITIONERS LEARN	1-621
INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES	1-621
Selected Curriculum Profiles	1-622
Orientation to the Poor	1-622
Training Institutions Information	1-623
Effective Strategies	1-623
IN-SERVICE TRAINING	1-624
Internship Programmes	1-624
Interchange Systems	1-625
MODULES AND TRAINING CAMPS	1-626
For Grassroots Organisers	1-626
For Village Volunteer Workers	1-627
For Independent Workers	1-627
COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT	1-628
INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY	1-628
IMPACT OF TELEVISION AND RADIO	1-628
USE OF VIDEO AND CABLE TELEVISION	1-629
LOCAL CONTROL OF TECHNOLOGY	1-629
APPENDIX K	4-115
PROJECT PROFILE, CANADA	
Reading and Writing Tutoring Project (NA-7)	
Location and Origin	
Participation	
Methods and Materials	
Staffing	
Organisation	
APPENDIX L	4-116
PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA	
Janashiksha Prochar Kendra (SA-75)	
(Peoples Learning Centre)	
Location and Origin	
Participation	
Methods and Materials	
Staffing	
Organisation	

PART 1: INDEX**SECTION 7: COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY**

THE CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON HUMAN SETTLEMENT	1-701
BACKGROUND TO CHANGE	1-701
THE MICRO-ISSUES	1-701
THE MACRO-ISSUES	1-702
WHAT IS APPROPRIATE?	1-702
HOUSING	1-703
USE OF LOCAL RESOURCES	1-703
FIVE ELEMENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL SELF-HELP PROJECTS	1-704
PLANNING HOUSING CAREFULLY	1-704
GRASSROOTS WISDOM ILLUSTRATED	1-705
SUPERVISED SWEAT EQUITY	1-705
LOCAL ORGANISATIONS	1-706
USE AVAILABLE SUPPORT ORGANISATIONS	1-707
AN APPROACH WITH MANY VIEWS	1-707
OVERALL COMMUNITY RECONSTRUCTION	1-708
COMMUNITY BUILDING: COMPETITIONS AND IDENTITY	1-711
NATURAL RESOURCES	1-712
THE IMPORTANCE OF A SOURCE OF CLEAN WATER	1-712
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CARING FOR THE FOREST ENVIRONMENT	1-714
HOW TO OPERATIONALISE FORESTRY PROJECTS	1-715
Community Involvement	1-715
PLANTATION GROUPS	1-716
A Catalytic Event	1-716
CONSIDERATIONS IN NURSERY ESTABLISHMENT	1-717
COMPONENTS OF A MOVEMENT	1-718
Start Slow	1-718
Political Support	1-719
Funding and Support	1-719
Careful Management	1-719
SOME PRINCIPLES APPLIED TO SOIL CONSERVATION	1-720
Terracing	1-720
Annual/Perennial Mix	1-720
Topographical Considerations	1-720
Use of Rooted Plants	1-720
Wasteland Reclamation	1-720
APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY	1-720
DEVELOPING THE KNOW-HOW	1-720
THE MEANING OF APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY	1-721
THE DEMONSTRATION EFFECT	1-722
EXTENDING THE TRAINING TO OTHERS	1-723
In the Local Situation	1-724
From the Local Perspective	1-724
Through the Local Utilisation	1-724

PART 1: INDEX

SECTION 7: COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

APPENDIX M	4-118
INTERVIEW, ERICA MANN, KENYA	
Kibweze Women's Groups Integrated Development (BA-14)	
APPENDIX N	4-119
PROJECT PROFILE, EGYPT	
Basaisa Village (NM-3)	
APPENDIX O	4-121
PROJECT PROFILE, USA	
San Luis Valley Solar Energy (NA-21)	

PART 1: INDEX**SECTION 8: INTEGRATED APPROACHES**

DYNAMICS FOR BUILDING COMMUNITY LIFE	1-801
ELEMENTS OF SELF-RELIANCE	1-801
DEVELOPING COMMUNITY IDENTITY	1-801
LOCAL GROUPINGS AS CHANGE AGENTS	1-804
THE INTEGRATED APPROACH	1-805
DEFINITION APPLICATIONS	1-805
DESIGNING INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES	1-806
INITIATING AN INTEGRATED PROGRAMME	1-807
Find the Entry Points	1-807
Use a Comprehensive Approach	1-808
PLANNING WITH PEOPLE RATHER THAN FOR THEM	1-810
Some Practical Hints	1-809
Institutionalised Implementing Structures	1-811
Some Practical Challenges	1-812
STRATEGIES FOR EXPANSION	1-813
SELECTED METHODS OF PROJECT EXPANSION	1-813
APPROACHES THAT WORK	1-815
Hold Regular Contexting Meetings	1-815
Identify Catalytic Village Leadership	1-815
Train Through Visible Demonstration	1-815
Intensify Common Economic Development Programmes	1-816
Role of the Agent	1-816
CATALYSIS OF THE CATALYST	1-816
OUTSIDE INTERVENTION	1-817
APPENDIX P	4-127
PROJECT PROFILE, CANADA	
The Mohawks of the Gibson Band (NA-5)	
APPENDIX Q	4-124
PROJECT PROFILE, KENYA	
The Kenya Replication Scheme (BA-1)	
VILLAGE INTERCHANGE AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES	
Village Meetings	
Circuit Meetings	
Health Circuits	
Village Leaders' Conference	
Village Leadership Institute	
Women's Advancement Module	
SOME REPLICATION LEARNINGS	
APPENDIX R	4-126
PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA	
Ahmedabad Study Action Group (ASAG), (SA-1)	
PROJECT IMPACT	
Access to Housing Schemes	
Building Skills	
Improvement Environment	
Access to Loan Schemes	
Village Employment	
People's Initiative	
EXPANSION LEARNINGS	

PART 1: VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS

THE INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

The VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS series is one attempt to weave together the insights and experiences of many people participating in the process of rural development in different parts of the world. Written from the perspective of the smallest unit, the focus is on approaches practitioners have used successfully.

The International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD) programme was organised to call attention to significant accomplishments in rural development occurring as the result of people working in local communities around the world. The information for this series has come from varying sources and events associated with the three-year programme of the IERD including: Rural Development Symposia held in many of the 55 participating nations during 1982 and 1983 and the Central International Event (CIE) of the IERD held in New Delhi during the 5th to the 15th of February 1984. Over 1000 projects participated in the first two years of the IERD. The CIE in New Delhi had over 660 participants, including representatives of 300 participating projects, gathered to share approaches that work.

The projects and materials of reference in this series are meant to be representative and not exhaustive of the wealth of valuable information available. Although explicit reference has not been made to all available information, much of it has greatly contributed to the thinking in this documentary report. Readers will note a greater abundance of illustrations from Africa, North America and India. This is indicative of the more extensive documentation that was available to the team composing this report. Note too that projects and many quotations are identified with an alphanumeric code referring to the IERD DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS published separately.

Grateful acknowledgement is due the practitioners and participants in the IERD, the Global Advisory Board, the National Steering Committees and Advisory Boards and the supporting sponsors, individuals and organisations.

The IERD co-sponsors are:

- International Council of Women
- United Nations International Children's Education Fund
- United Nations Development Programme
- United Nations Fund for Population Activities
- World Health Organisation
- Agriculture Finance Corporation, India
- Association of Indian Engineering Industry, India
- Canara Bank, India

Special Technical Support:

- Control Data Corporation

Organising Sponsor:

- The Institute of Cultural Affairs International, Brussels

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

FOCUS

'A spotlight needs to be placed on the success in development so that hope in the future can be founded realistically on past experience.' ('IERD Concept Paper': *IMAGE*, Vol.XII No.1, April 1983, The Institute of Cultural Affairs)

Progress in world development over the last four decades is impressive. The populous nation of India has achieved self-sufficiency in food. Smallpox has been globally eradicated. The average life expectancy in developing countries has increased from 42 to 54 years and there is evidence of improvement in the material standards of living. The proportion of literate adults has risen from 30 percent to 52 percent in the world as a whole.

These historically important successes have been years in the making and have grown out of the involvement of millions of people and the expenditure of billions of dollars. Yet, they seldom appear on the front page of today's newspapers. In the press of urgent needs today, perspective is lost and genuine accomplishments go unrecognised. In fact, the current pessimism and mood of failure often obscures these achievements.

The means of development have been created. Those who have laboured in the task of development now seek to generate momentum within the rural areas of each nation. They seek to release a nation's greatest resource, its own people. As Mr. Tarzie Vittachi (UNICEF) points out, 'It will no longer work to try to spread messages that work. Those messages spread horizontally from village to village. If something works in this village, you don't need a newspaper to spread it to the next village. It spreads because it works. The real test of our work is whether it is spreading laterally.'

THE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

This need for sharing successful or effective approaches in rural communities was met by the Institute of Cultural Affairs International in organising the International Exposition of Rural Development. The primary aim of the Exposition was to accelerate the replication of tested methods and models of rural development.

The format of the Exposition is a three year series of events in fifty-five nations. A Central International Event (CIE) was held in India during the 5th to the 15th of February 1984. It was intended as a global process within which field workers, community leaders, representatives from funding agencies, and government and non-government organisations could meet and share their knowledge of rural development. The theme of the Exposition, 'Sharing Approaches That Work,' prompted a wide variety of activities in each participating nation.

Phase One: Lead-up Activities

The exposition comprises three phases. Phase One began in September 1982 with each nation establishing a National Steering Committee responsible for that nation's participation in the three year programme. The activities included:

- Promotional events and media coverage directed toward increasing awareness and interest in rural development.
- Rural development symposia designed to identify successful development efforts for documentation.
- Documentation of local initiative projects and their supporting linkages which would accelerate other efforts.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

- Preparation of exhibits for presentation in New Delhi.
- Selection of delegates to represent their nation in India.
- Appropriate national and international funding arranged.

The National Steering Committees planned and organised over one hundred rural development symposia, documented over 300 projects through project description labs and selected the delegates to participate in the Central International Event. The symposia provided opportunities for local people, rural development practitioners and representatives of government, public and private organisations, to discuss their project experience and particularly the factors identified as influencing effective projects. They varied from very local events to state-wide or national meetings.

Phase Two: Central International Event

The Central International Event (CIE) in India was attended by six hundred and fifty participants from fifty-five countries. Seventy percent of these delegates were rural development practitioners. The delegates came to India not to make speeches, but to meet their counterparts from other projects and other countries, talk with them, listen to them, and share their experiences about the approaches that have been working. One highlight for the delegates at the IERD plenary was the field visits. They travelled in teams to 30 rural development projects in 10 states in India. They spoke with project leaders and local villagers. During these visits, delegates had the opportunity to look at their own project experience in dialogue with the perspective of local development in India. The delegates were highly impressed by the accomplishments of these efforts and the authentic struggle they had been through and were honoured by the hospitality of their hosts. Each team then created a report on the project they visited for presentation at the New Delhi plenary.

The delegates to the Central International Event had the opportunity to hear Shri Vasant Sathe, Minister for Fertilisers and Chemicals, Government of India, who inaugurated the Central International Event. Shri Sathe set the overall tone for the global symposium by emphasising, 'It is obvious if we can solve the problems of these (disadvantaged) people, the whole quality of life of the human race would improve.' Sir James Lindsay, Global Convenor of the IERD and President of the ICAI; Dame Miriam Dell, President of the International Council of Women; Mr. Goran Hyden, Ford Foundation Director for Eastern and Southern Africa; Mr. Bernard Woods of the World Bank; Dr. David P. Haxton of UNICEF and Professor David Morley, consultant on child development; Mr. Glen Leet and Mrs. Millicent Robbins Leet, Co-directors of the Trickle Up Programme (TUP), were the other principal speakers during the exposition.

The various Rural Development Symposia held during Phase One generated a large amount of information. A few weeks preceding the Central International Event this data was organised into 18 categories of 'directions' and 12 'keystones.' One of the original objectives of the plenary event in New Delhi was to test the directions and keystones in light of the experiences of the representatives and the field visits made across India. This was to generate a common statement of directions for the future. However, by the end of the first two days it was apparent that many thought they would benefit more from a direct exchange of experience. Also, many of the delegates had not participated directly in the symposium events. They felt that much more opportunity for direct interchange was necessary.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

A representative group of conference organisers and delegates met to create a new schedule and ensure that the expressed desire for changes in the plenary programme was met. As a result, the first three days were revised to enable delegates to meet in 12 interest groups. This brought about a change in the form of the final product from a consolidated statement emerging at the end of the conference to the creation of documentation that would reflect the experiences and learnings expressed by the participants as well as interpret the mass of development information on their behalf. Consequently, this documentation cannot be considered to be a formal declaration of the delegate body as a whole.

Phase Three: Implementation

Phase Three of the IERD began with the meetings of the National Steering Committees. The programmes already planned include:

- Rural Development Symposia.
- Plans for presentation of the IERD Booklets, 'Voices of Rural Practitioners,' and discussion of the same for 'Sharing Approaches That Work,' analysing their own experiences and project direction in the light of the findings and providing feedback for documentation.
- Planning for implementing successful approaches.
- Utilising the forums already available for spreading the message of the IERD.

VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS

One of the delegates' recommendations from the Central International Event was that the findings on rural development, incorporating the approaches that work, be published and made available to all participants. This led to the formation of the IERD Editorial Team which met in Rome for two and a half months beginning on the 1st of April 1984 for researching the informative material presented during the IERD phases one and two and organising it for presentation in written form.

The team in Rome used the following information and material:

- Project Description Lab reports
- Field visit reports
- Records of interviews with delegates to New Delhi
- Literature from the project exhibits
- Interest group reports
- Speeches of guests at the India events
- Other materials made available during the Central International Event.

The team first agreed upon a research methodology that would ensure having practitioners' experiences and views articulated as faithfully as possible from the available materials. It was decided to produce seven booklets on the subjects indicated by the interest groups. The team believed that, rather than a single, large book, the booklets would be more practical and useable for development practitioners.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS series comprises a compilation of the illustrations, stories, insights, delegate interviews, project descriptions and practical steps of implementation that presents various facets of approaches to:

- The Community–Housing, Environment and Technology
- Economic and Commercial Diversification
- Health Care
- Integrated Approaches
- Learning and Education Processes
- Managing Agriculture
- Women and Development

The OVERVIEW provides a context for the booklets and a summary of the contents.

These eight booklets were published in October, 1984, and distributed to the participants in the Central International Event, along with the Co-sponsors, Global Advisors, and many supporting organisations and agencies. These booklets have been used during Phase Three of the IERD to reach many more organisations and groups. This process will help in 'Sharing Approaches That Work.' Practitioners using these booklets were invited to provide feedback to the Exposition Coordination Centre in Brussels, relating their own experiences and reactions. This will help to make subsequent editions of the booklets more useful to development practitioners.

The expectation is that the VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS series will be of value to practitioners in their day-to-day work as well as to executives and administrators. In order to further this objective, they are now being published in this single volume format along with other results of the IERD Phase Two.

It has been a pleasure for the Institute of Cultural Affairs International to have been associated with all the organisations and individuals involved. The Editorial Team has been grateful for advice from delegates, members of the Global Advisory Board and others. Because of the desire to get an initial document in the hands of IERD participants as quickly as possible, the team did not correspond with as many people as had been hoped. Any errors or omissions are the responsibility of the Editorial Team. The opinions expressed in these booklets and any subsequent form of their publication do not represent official policy of any of the sponsoring organisations or individuals, nor is there any representation of resolutions put forth by the delegates. They are the team's analysis of the available material. Much effort has been put forth to faithfully capture the experience of the participants. It is important that all concerned make known, to the IERD Co-ordination Centre in Brussels, the corrections and modifications considered necessary.

Editor's Note:

Draft edition compiled and produced by the IERD editorial team, Rome-1984, in conjunction with selected consultants, as a limited edition for IERD participants, Global Advisory Board, and Co-sponsors use only.

1st edition compiled edited and produced by an ICAI editorial team, Brussels- 1985, through correspondence with those projects referenced in the draft edition, for K.G. Saur Publishers, Munchin - London - Paris - New York
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THE OVERVIEW

WHY IS RURAL DEVELOPMENT NEEDED?

'Despite the impressive level of economic growth the developing world has achieved over the past quarter century, some 800 million individuals remain caught up in absolute poverty, a condition of life so limited by malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, low life expectancy, and high infant mortality as to be beneath any rational definition of human decency.' (Robert McNamara, *Introduction to Poverty and Basic Needs*, 1980).

The large majority of the poor live in rural areas: 'If we look at the broad history of development, each decade has revealed new dimensions of the task: the 1940's disclosed the need to transfer skills and technology; the 1950's showed the necessity of providing capital; the 1960's brought the initiation of local community organisation and participation; and the 1970's were marked by a movement toward a new international economic order. Development was becoming a global concern which pointed to overall solutions within a framework of new relations between nations.

'During the 1980's, the pieces of the puzzle are coming together: it is necessary to provide capital; it is necessary to create adequate and appropriate internal and external structures in order for development to take place. The 1980's, marked by a weakened economic base, are providing the occasion to trim costs, to synthesise learnings and to articulate what works. It is a time of refining development methods into effective tools.

'The basic question remains, 'How do we take what we have learned about development and focus it on the plight of the poorest within each nation and the globe?'. (IERD Concept Paper,' *Ibid*).

Development means different things to different people. There exists already a vast literature on the subject. Given the variety of meanings covered by the term, the exposition chose to highlight 'micro-development' rather than 'macro-development' and development by the people rather than development for the people. While appreciating the need for macro planning and the role of government in improving the total infrastructure, the Exposition examined these areas only insofar as they relate to effective approaches discovered by practitioners.

The unique perspective the practitioners brought to this discussion was that they looked at development while standing inside the village, alive to the issues and context of the village. There was a questioning of the dubious value of changes that claim to be 'inevitable' necessities. For instance, 'The experience of living and working with tribal peoples has revealed the truth that the perpetuation of the problem of poverty and backwardness in the rural areas is the outcome of the modern values of life and the policy of industrialisation. Undue importance to individual progress, disregard for the physical labour and so called *small jobs* and the lack of a sense of community responsibility have deprived the society of honest and sympathetic behaviour and the will to share the life with others in the society. Raising the standard of community health seems to be impossible as long as the commercialisation of every aspect of life with its associated irrational exploitation of the natural resources is upheld in the society.' (Agrindus Banavasi Sewa Ashram, SA-2).

THE OVERVIEW

By contrast, other practitioners commented on the healthy sense of community that exists in the so-called 'developing' areas as an aspect that they would like to see continued in the future. There are many advances and benefits present in developed areas that are needed in villages. But a pivotal viewpoint sees the developmental process where people need to become the initiators of change rather than being beneficiaries of change and where development flows from inside out rather than outside in. This aspect was illustrated in the case of the Village of Tsumago, Japan, where the community decided what the life style and social patterns of their society could look like and then created them (Conservation of Historical Environment in Tsumago, SP-29).

The content and shape of development must be rooted in the creativity of village people if the quality of the change is to hold the values, insights and understanding of human community. This places the practitioner in a role of facilitator or catalyst who provides a process for people to design their development rather than being one who prescribes what it should be.

However there is a legitimate place for some outside intervention. Practitioners commented that, 'Certain formulae work, certain structures are effective, at what stage do we change the tradition?' The caste system, for instance, brings distress to the weaker minorities, yet it is a deep rooted tradition. So is racial discrimination everywhere. In many nations it is often only the intervention of a central government that affords security to minorities who otherwise would be harassed by sections of the majority population.

The practitioner is not an objective, neutral outsider but a person who comes from a particular society, carries values and assumptions characteristic of a particular background and is perceived as such by the villagers. For the practitioner the venture of development is often a personal discovery of who one understands oneself to be, one's relationship to the rest of society and the implications for one's own life style. In this sense the action of the practitioner broadens from being a benevolence for the underprivileged and instead becomes responsible to help shape the socio-economic environment in which she or he, the village and the rest of the world live.

THE OVERVIEW SECTION

There were 650 participants from 55 countries, representing local communities, academic institutions, governments, non-government organisations (NGO's) and business at the Central International Event. Although there were many differences of opinion about ideologies and definitions of development, the Exposition process was effective in enabling direct person to person, project to project interchange. Indeed, the participants saw this interchange as the most valuable aspect of the conference process and helped create ways to increase it as the event proceeded. Almost all indicated their interest to be more practical than theoretical, and more learning through interchange of experience than debating definitions and issues.

In this series of booklets there is a weaving together of the words and deeds of practitioners and projects involved in the IERD. This Overview Booklet is the beginning of a process of drawing together the learnings about how development takes place, the fundamental objectives of the practitioner, and some of the accelerating factors pertinent to many different projects. The booklet is not intended to be a summary of the other booklets. It represents a pulling-together and summary of the themes and experiences being expressed.

THE OVERVIEW

There are common threads discernable through Rural Development Symposia, project documentation, and Project Documentation Labs, India field visits, exhibited projects and interest group reports. At least four basic learnings about how development takes place have come up frequently in the material, and these lessons from experience have led practitioners to a new appreciation of the interrelated human objectives of the task of development. Further, it became apparent that at least six factors were mentioned frequently as contributing to the accelerated achievement of these human objectives of development. The following pages, therefore, focus on Learnings, Objectives and Accelerating Factors.

LEARNINGS ABOUT HOW DEVELOPMENT TAKES PLACE

People and projects involved in the IERD represented wide experience with the process of implementing practical change in rural development. Most of those present were involved in small projects working with several communities (Ahmedabad Study Action Group-Poverty Project: Dholka in India, San Luis Valley Solar Association in the USA) or in many cases single communities (Michaelston in the UK, Bangor in the USA, Kokorobitey in Ghana). Only a few projects were of large scale (Mahaweli Ganga in Sri Lanka, National Dairy Development Board in India, Rural Multipliers Programme in Brazil). The majority of delegates were involved in day by day implementation of efforts. Some were in positions related to policy or large scale design of rural development. In drawing together the IERD material, at least four lessons of how the development process takes place at the project level were noted broadly throughout the material and have application in various functional divisions in rural development.

Rural development occurs:

- *As an evolving journey.* No set patterns or blueprints exist. Actual change in an actual rural situation means dealing with the actual constraints of that situation. Only when action begins do the real learnings take place. Every locale has its own starting point.
- *As a multifaceted reality.* Development activity is not limited within a single sphere of expertise (health or agriculture or education) or a single sector perspective (Government, or NGO or local). 'Single purpose' projects find themselves working far afield of their expertise in order to be effective and single sponsor projects seek assistance and co-operation from others.
- *As a participatory process.* Those who participate in the reality of development benefit from the fruits of that development. Similarly, those who participate in the human activity of development acquire the capacity to deal with the process of change and to respond creatively to new situations and conditions.
- *As a contextually sensitive change strategy based on local realities.*

The following pages illustrate these four lessons with material from the IERD and the experience of participating practitioners and sketch some of the implications of these lessons for development practice.

THE OVERVIEW

DEVELOPMENT IS AN EVOLVING JOURNEY

'I have been learning from the farmers here. Unless you are in that situation, where the farmer is, you forcibly cannot come off with solutions for them because the farmer has unique problems that you may not realise living in the city. You cannot formulate projects to bring about development of the farmer when sitting in a place far away from a village. We decided that we are going down to the village, live among them, like peasants, and work with them.' (Interview, Gururaj Pagad, Asian Institute for Rural Development, SA-3).

In practice, development is an evolving journey. No set patterns or blueprints exist. Actual change in a rural setting means dealing with the actual constraints. Only when action begins do real learnings begin. Every locale has its own starting point.

At the project level, the emphasis of development is on implementation and action. However, 'it is (not) action and action alone. The donkey is also working the whole day. You must take time to sit back and think; what can we learn from each other? How do we react to a broader spectrum (of ideas) than what we have? The realm of ideas resides very much in the realm of practice.' (Interview, Dr. B.S. Khanna, AIRD, SA-3).

On this journey, you start with where the people are, what they are feeling about their needs and go from there. This includes working with a variety of structures and alternatives and also includes new learnings about what can actually be done particularly in their situation. 'Training should not be done, away from the farmer, but at the village level. You won't need to go in and do the demonstration at the training centre, where the field has been plowed by the tractor. Come down to the village level where the farmer has to use animals. He will see it as the job he has to do every day.' (Interview, Silas Hungwe, National Farmer's Association of Zimbabwe, BA-33).

This journey involves people understanding the changing social milieu and the needed development going on in the community to meet the problems facing them. 'People are aware that the population is increasing—that is the first thing. The second thing is their energy requirements in the village are not being met. The forests are becoming smaller; and the food requirement is becoming more; the rains are becoming less.' (Interview, Shyama Pagad, AIRD)

This requires looking at the struggle with immediate problems and looking from several perspectives. When that struggle is linked with what is happening in the broader society, ways can be devised to change the situation.

'(In Peru) we spent the first three or four months watching and working with them, (trying to clarify) what they intended to do. For centuries the people have been living there, with the resources they have. We must learn from them, for example on how the agriculture was developed in the area. They have domesticated more than 60 different species in the highlands group, like potatoes for example.' (Interview, Mario Tapia, Agricultural Systems Research and Development in the Andes, LA-15).

The development process that gives people an opportunity to see through the symptoms to the real issue, to learn from mistakes and to build on victories requires taking one step at a time. As one woman practitioner from Nigeria put it, 'One cannot play the role of a mouse for so long and then be suddenly expected to play the role of the horse.' (Bisi Ogunleye, Country Women's Association, COWA, BA-22).

THE OVERVIEW

DEVELOPMENT IS A MULTIFACETED REALITY

'I started to go where the squatter people were living. After I talked to the people it was quite obvious that even though they had health problems, they didn't think it important, because they are living in a situation where other things determine what is important. They said they should have jobs and food and education for their children. So the first thing was a pre-school because that is what they wanted. Soon we were dealing with immunisation and malnutrition and hygiene.' (Interview, Dr. K. Yusuf, Malaysia).

In practice, development activity is not limited within a single sphere of expertise (health or agriculture or education) or a single sector perspective (government, NGO or local). Single purpose projects find themselves working far afield of their expertise in order to be effective and single sponsored projects seek assistance and co-operation from others.

The situation in villages is that any one aspect of life is inter-related to the other aspects of the community's life. The adequate addressing of a problem in one arena of the community's life necessitates the need to work in other aspects of the life of the community. Dr. M.C. Vyas remarked, 'It is not only for marketing milk. It is a programme of socio-economic development. We are using dairy as an instrument of social change. Any farmer of any caste, any creed, any sex can become a member of the village co-operative society. Everybody's milk is put into one container so casteism is dissolved. The farmers are brought to the cattle feed plant. They realise that what is important is nutrition. The same applies in their own family, what type of nutritious food they should eat. When they come to the artificial insemination centre, where the bulls are kept, every farmer is shown under the microscope what sperm is and what the role of sperm is. We are teaching this particular thing is responsible for birth, so why don't you think of family planning. We organise films. This is to bring awareness to the farmers that they can run the co-operatives, and do not need any assistance from outside to come and help.' (National Dairy Development Board, NDDB, SA-33).

The developmental change in one arena affects the other aspects of the community's life. Strengthening the participation of women in income development had to include creches in several villages, literacy programmes, providing transportation services, and training women in equipment maintenance. Programmes intended to benefit one aspect of community life affect other aspects of community life as well. Increased food production beyond improving the earning power of the community has nutritional benefits and creates job variety. Home gardens intended to upgrade the nutritional status in the community benefited the economic status of women.

Another aspect of this can be seen in the differing perspectives on rural development represented by government, NGO's, local groups, and private business all of which were represented at the Central International Event. An interest group summarised a lesson from the multi-sector approach: 'Eliciting support from a variety of sectors in local development expands the range of potential solutions to specific issues, creates new forms of information access and develops greater sensitivity to local needs.'

THE OVERVIEW

DEVELOPMENT IS A PARTICIPATORY PROCESS

'There is a big difference between enterprises run for the poor and enterprises run by the poor.' (Central International Event 'Plenary Report').

'We have seen village people of different castes, economic classes and religions co-operating on a voluntary basis to initiate and to realise development projects involving all aspects of community life. They felt responsible. They grew in self-confidence, self-organising and self-reliance through common decision making and management.' (Field Visit Report, Vaishali Area Small Farmers' Association, VASFA, SA-20)).

Sustainable development happens when there is local participation in all aspects from the start. One interest group reported, 'Community involvement in decision making is an extremely important feature. If a village can symbolise its willingness to begin the journey toward more comprehensive health care, it can claim ownership of the proposed programme right from the start. This helps to build and sustain health care that best meets the particular needs of that village.'

In what way is a group of village people sitting and deciding on what to do to improve their living conditions inferior to a village plan prepared by an outside agency after spending more money than the village will ever get to develop itself? One can understand the sophistication in planning technology at the national level where facts have to generalise, but not at the grassroots and local level where it is the details which matter. 'Committed grassroots planning gets most support, encourages a sense of responsibility and achieves the most lasting development. We found that the best approach was to make use of the natural common sense of the (people) in planning for the future and taking decisions. It was also important for a set of priorities to be established for sequence of emphasis, such as crops, education, health and housing. We learned that people can do a tremendous lot for themselves, but that voluntary and self-sacrificing leaders were highly appreciated.' (Field Visit Report, VASFA, SA-20).

'People know best how development can be locally implemented. The transfer of responsibility and decision to local people will encourage leadership in equal and responsible involvement of men and women in the process of planning for their village. In CRHP (SA-4) we saw the village women participate in the creation of media tools and methods for promotion of good health awareness. Village health workers cure 78 percent of the medical cases. All sectors of the village community are engaged in the process of planning through Farmers Club and Women's Club and other co-operative structures. All villagers participate in keeping the village clean and in good appearance. The whole village is involved in the observation of health hazards. Local people, even if semi-literate or illiterate, are fully capable of providing to their village professional services if appropriately trained. Even in remote areas where medical services are not available it is possible to provide sufficient health services if the villagers are involved and engaged in practicing appropriate health care.' (Field Visit Report, Comprehensive Rural Health Project, CRHP, Jamkhed, SA-4).

In the village of Tsumago, 'Every day one representative from every family must clean the roads in front of their house almost at the same time. That is because it is a symbol. If everybody doesn't co-operate the project will be destroyed. It is to symbolise action.' (Interview, Mr. Kawabata, Conservation of Historical Environment in Tsumago, SP-29).

THE OVERVIEW

DEVELOPMENT IS ENABLED BY A CATALYTIC DYNAMIC

'For change to happen, there has to be an event to change the course of the community and wake people up to their possibility. *This may be an outside influence or an event within the community.* The catalytic agent can be either an outsider or a neighbour or a field demonstration. Once the value of change is shown, (the people) are quite ready to accept it for themselves.' (Field Visit Report, Comprehensive Rural Health Project, CRHP, SA-4).

One field visit report brought to light that rural community development, particularly among the disadvantaged sector, implies a change in the attitudes of the community. This can be accomplished by a catalytic agent who approaches the community with an open mind, establishes rapport by living with the villagers and adopts their idiom and life style. This catalyst can initiate activities which bring about human resources development. This could be done by a process of sensitising, dissemination of knowledge and providing necessary skills through appropriate functional education and training.

'Moreover, a catalyst is supposed to organise activity in the community for instance, by forming a village development committee and by establishing the community fund which will enhance their capacities in order to build up and sustain self-reliance. While initiating development projects, a catalyst should gradually transfer responsibility to the community. Again, he should play a dynamic role in bringing about necessary changes in social attitudes, particularly of primitive communities. This could be done by discerning the value systems and even introducing an element of 'agitation/resistance' which means creative confrontation. He can also act as an intermediary between the community and different agencies by initiating developmental projects, continuously monitoring and evaluating them, until the community is able to take over. Lastly, a catalyst needs to encourage the use of local resources available, for example, the use of natural fertilisers and crop rotation for better yields.' (Field Visit Report, Xavier Institute of Social Services, XISS, SA-7).

As part of the catalytic process, 'Pilot demonstrations are vital as a means of introducing change in the rural areas. The government will, for instance, go into a village and identify one woman who is willing to be trained as a weaver. After receiving her training, many of the village girls will want to learn the new skill too. As weaving becomes established as a viable industry for the women, the government will help them finance their businesses (through easy bank loans). Their products are bought by the government for marketing. Pilot projects are also used to demonstrate innovations in farming. Farm fairs and exhibits are held regularly in the state so that villagers can see for themselves new grain crops, and animals.' (Field Visit Report, Hisar District Development Agency, DRDA, SA-29).

The catalytic dynamic in development reinforces the community's confidence that it is in charge of its own destiny. Some projects judge their success not only by visible accomplishments, but also by such intangibles as reducing dependency. One indicator of the success of the project is the withdrawal of the catalytic agent when the community is able to deal with its own problems with courage and determination. The community has then outgrown the need for direction.

THE OVERVIEW

THE FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES

Those engaged in rural development who operate from these learnings have different objectives or points of focus from development work in the past. The data from the projects participating in the IERD indicates three fundamental objectives:

- Shared Responsibility;
- Economic self-dependence;
- Self-identity.

Nothing replaces the need for adequate nutrition, clean drinking water, proper shelter and legal rights for all who live in rural areas. These other objectives come as an intensification of these activities. Each is foundational to the process of development over the long term. They are related to establishing the capacity for initiating, implementing and sustaining development activities within the village community itself.

Shared responsibility is the shift in perspective from 'the Ministry of Rural Development is responsible,' or 'the District Officer is responsible,' or 'the agency is responsible for development,' to 'we are responsible.' The village community itself is responsible and is aided and assisted by support structures. It shifts the level of decision from the government offices to the village, not structurally, but in terms of emphasis. If the village or the group of poor farmers is responsible for the planning and implementation of the project, its possibility of failure is also theirs to deal with.

Economic self-dependence is a shift from emphasising the increase of local cash income to increased use of all local resources. The local people, whether village residents or members of a special group, come to see the value of their having greater control over all aspects of their lives, a control that can only be obtained when the resources are in their control.

Self-identity shifts are similar. The focus is no longer on bringing the people up to date or modernising them. Nor conversely is it on protecting them from the modern world. Both of those are paternalistic attitudes. The focus is on enabling reflection on their situation so that they keep that which is valuable from their past and create the new ways they decide are required to respond to the present and the future.

Inter-relationship of the Objectives

When rural infrastructure inputs (such as water supplies, roads, irrigation, health and education) are discussed at the macro level they need to be segmented. When development occurs however, it affects the life of rural people or there is no reason for it. Here there is an organic unity, not segmentation. The three objectives therefore must be understood as three closely interlinked facets. They are so closely interlinked that one cannot be talked of without consideration of the other two.

From the perspective of shared responsibility, activities that increase economic self-dependence call for greater assumption of risk of the consequences on the part of members of the group. This greater assumption of risk requires a new level of responsibility shared among the people, or shared responsibility. This will not happen if they have a limited sense of themselves as competent, worthwhile individuals or communities.

THE OVERVIEW

From the perspective of economic self-dependence, shared responsibility is an abstract concept unless related to actual decisions about the community. Self-identity cannot be given expression unless the group decides who it is and what it is about doing and allocates resources from that view point.

From the perspective of self-identity, shared responsibility will be meaningless if the people are unable to see what binds them together as a people. Self-dependence collapses into individual family pursuits of material gain unless there is an understanding that links those people together in efforts toward a common objective.

SHARED RESPONSIBILITY/SHARED LEADERSHIP

The perspective the IERD participants expressed in development (of, by and for the people) makes the arena of shared responsibility/shared leadership central to any development effort whatever the content of the programme. Although formal and informal training programmes will contribute greatly, there is more to it than just leadership development. Shared responsibility/shared leadership is essential to sustainable growth and improvements in the community.

Every programme can contribute to or weaken the objective of shared responsibility. For example, consider a primary health care programme which chooses as its main implementer someone well-qualified from outside a village. That person may be effective in dealing with disease, malnutrition and poor sanitation. If the project organisation has the financial resources to sustain such a system, it will be viable economically. And such a project will be implemented more quickly than one based on a village committee or local-selected health worker. However, a health project using a village health worker from within the village as the base of a health system, or a village health committee, enables the development of a leadership dynamic within the community that can broaden its concern to all aspects of the community's well-being. Rural development practitioners who focus on the development of a team within the village to run any programme are making strides toward enabling the village to have self-confidence, and investing in the future capacity of the village to do its own development.

Operational Characteristics

Self-reliant Objective. Implementing needed programmes (health, agriculture, literacy) in such a way that the participants can then become increasingly self-reliant while accomplishing the task.

Common Concern. Increasing the sense of common concern for the welfare of everyone in the community, particularly the poorer members.

Committed Core. Having people who make a commitment to continuing the process of development in their local area is crucial. They understand that this is a process of encouraging participation, fostering self-confidence of the whole population, increasing economic self-dependence of the community and ensuring that the basic needs of all are being met. They know the need for constant enquiry and reflection. They do this without necessarily holding formal leadership positions.

Task Focused. Those who engage in the work and carry the burden of thinking and acting are the leadership of a developmental programme whether they are the publicly named 'leaders' or not.

THE OVERVIEW

Growth Spiral. An essential element of effectiveness is following through on plans in spite of unanticipated or underestimated difficulties. The spiral of planning, implementing, evaluating and replanning must be completed for growth in understanding and effectiveness.

Supportive Team. The leadership style of projects, in which the values are self-dependence and full participation, is that of a team. This includes the acquisition of skills at enabling consensus, appreciation for the strengths and weaknesses of co-workers and a sense of objectivity.

Informative Communications. Knowing where and how to find information and communicate it in a way that can be understood is essential.

External Linkage. Enabling the linkage of the community with external resources requires that some members become proficient at such relations on behalf of the whole group.

Implications

The implications for practitioners of shared responsibility are many. It means refusal at certain points to get engaged in an issue but leaving it to the community to decide. It can mean already established and capable community leaders sometimes absenting themselves deliberately to force the emergence of new leadership. It means more time spent on reaching a consensus with a group. It means looking for every opportunity to sub-divide work and assign a small group to figure out the task and do it. It means frequent discussions within the group that let them realise what they are experiencing. It includes regular exposure to new perspectives through interchange outside the village or group.

Concerns

The concerns for practitioners include:

- The blocking of a programme by traditional leadership in circumstances where it is essential to honour these persons in order to respect the local culture;
- The form of accounting to the whole group or community;
- The training that produces commitment;
- The authentic participation of all social groups in shared leadership—women and men, youth, elderly, poor and ethnic minorities;
- The static image of 'leader': how to shift it, making leadership an expanding dynamic and shared process;

A group's or community's identity and sense of capacity to decide about its future are determined in large part by its control over resources: building materials, food, technical knowledge, credit, energy, equipment and communications links. Many of the projects documented in the IERD showed innovation in creating resources out of materials formerly thought to be waste, or creating a skills base in the village out of 'non-trainable' people. Self-dependence was dealt with in these projects in ways that do not enter most conventional macro-economic calculations, yet these innovations may be the most feasible ways for local villages to move toward self-dependence. A house normally costing US\$ 70,000 was built for US\$ 10,000 using waste materials (Self-Help Enterprises, NA-22). A project in Kenya for soil conservation and reafforestation, the Greenbelt Movement (BA-15) uses handicapped people and school children as the human resources for its efforts.

THE OVERVIEW

A health project in Mexico, Piaxtla and Projimo Projects (LA-37) makes teaching materials out of sticks and pieces of old rubber tyre. UNICEF and WHO report how diarrhoea can be treated in the village with water, local salts and a natural sweetener.

Most of the IERD participants were practical people. They used a certain approach because it worked. Often they had started out from other perspectives. Doctors, for example, who went to rural areas assuming more hospitals and fully-trained medical professionals were needed, discovered that the most economical proposition and the only viable one in the long run was village-based health care with the villagers doing 80 percent to 90 percent of the work.

In food production there was also an emphasis on greater self-dependence. For some, natural farming was simply more practical. It cost less, and gave the farmer greater autonomy; by relying on natural fertilisers and pesticides and crop rotation, he controlled more of the inputs. Similarly, with animals or crops grown for income, the emphasis was on small-scale activities where the producer could control more of the factors. Development, focused in this direction, produces people who need to rely less upon external financing.

Although the focus on self-dependence is essential for self-identity and shared responsibility to happen, it also does not happen if these other two objectives are not also taken seriously. An emphasis on self-dependence is an emphasis on the group assuming greater responsibility, sometimes in the face of advice from outside, urging on it inputs that would weaken its move toward this objective. All this requires a united group, using well thought through priorities, and clarity on the kind of programme they intend.

Operational Characteristics

Community Resources. Exploiting the natural, human and technological resources of the community in preference to dependence on outside inputs. Maximum use of local resources makes for cheaper costs, greater accessibility and a reinvestment in the community.

Equitable Benefits. Controlling the resources, production, and distribution mechanisms so that all in the community, tribal group or local area, benefit and so that the people's priorities are achieved.

Basic Needs. Providing the security that allows people to live adequately and not be tempted or forced to migrate to the city.

Human Investment. People are the most important local resource. Investment in skills training, knowledge acquisition and conscientisation is of long lasting benefit to the community.

External Credit. Having credit available from credit institutions outside the community permits investment in increased production and diversifies the village economy by enabling both individuals and groups to go into economic ventures that supplement agricultural income. Loans rather than grants, are a venture in self-identity and self-dependence.

Internal Capital. The encouragement of local investment as part of a project through family savings, the creation of village funds and credit associations increases the economic vitality of a community.

THE OVERVIEW

This provides an alternative to external financing for situations where local priorities do not fit institutional criteria. It permits people to build up over a longer period a locally-controlled capital pool that will balance their use of external credit structures.

Emphasised Local Production and Marketing. Activities built on local resources, skills and markets are more stable and give the people more control.

Continuous Training. Continuous skills training is a necessary aspect of building up human resources.

Appropriate Organisation. Appropriate forms of local organisation enable access to outside resources in a way that gives the group greater control than would be the case if they arranged things individually. It is the occasion for the group to take practical steps toward its objectives. This is possible by empowering existing structures or by the creation of new organisations.

Implications

Of the three focal points, self-dependence will take the most time to be realised. The practitioner must think in long and short terms. The hardest work is the image shift required of the people and the practitioner. It can be thought of as a balance-of-payments question: everything from outside the local area is an import and must be paid for in cash, which means producing something for sale outside the local area. The practitioner does not decide for the group, but helps them be aware of the implications of a deficit in such a flow.

Self-dependence means emphasising 'prosumption' (production for one's own consumption) and self-help. For example self-built housing means the people have better ideas how to maintain their dwellings. Parents as teachers means the education system is less dependent on state support. It means focusing on supplementing incomes from multiple sources rather than full-time single job employment and the consequent narrow focus on conventional industrial plants.

The practitioner needs to help the community to examine every aid programme from the perspective of its short and long term consequences. It means appreciating that this is an arena where no one is clear and understanding that every programme is an experiment. Some will eventually be abandoned, but will have provided income for a time. Some will be useful in enabling the community to learn. Perhaps this is the one implication for the practitioner: make sure the people are evaluating what they are doing and trying new things out of these learnings. Indeed the capacity to 'work it out together' is self-dependence.

Concerns

Concerns for the practitioner include:

- Restricted credit access. Credit schemes that favour the large farmer to the disadvantage of the poorer sections of the society. Procedures have discouraged poor farmers, women and landless people;
- Bribes required by some officials that can make government schemes too costly for the poor;
- Inequitable access to land, water and forest resources;
- Short term subsidies from welfare organisations or governments are often detrimental to motivation;
- Disregard for local savings and investment, while encouraging credit from large institutions, creates a dependence on credit institutions and money lenders;

THE OVERVIEW

- Establishing production units for employment which are dependent on import of raw materials weakens the economy of the local community. Similarly dependence on 'export' markets (meaning beyond the local or regional level) makes the local economy vulnerable;
- The underdeveloped markets for rural products;
- In calculating the costs of a programme, the cost (both financial and expertise) of maintenance and repair are often disregarded;
- Programmes designed to meet criteria for outside funding;
- Few evaluation and monitoring techniques for measuring progress toward self-dependence;
- Difficulty of enabling people to work through lifestyle shifts needed to take advantage of new or appropriate technology (different cooking hours for use of solar cookers, need for poor households to co-ordinate finances and house construction to build low-cost biogas plants);
- Negative image of the 'old' way of doing things such as abandonment of breast-feeding for bottles, and twigs for toothbrushes;
- In rural areas in more-developed countries especially, overdependence on selling to national or global market and neglecting the building up of healthy diversified regional markets.

SELF-IDENTITY

Self-identity can be enhanced in any programme. In agriculture or health or housing, a project which begins by affirming the traditional wisdom of the community and inviting its people to reflect on changes from that perspective, gives the people a way to participate in innovation as an evolutionary decision, not an either-or choice. The capacity to make critical choices is foundational to self-identity. Efforts at economic self-dependence will be unsuccessful if the people involved have a limited sense of their own worth. Many programmes teaching economic skills mentioned that this negative self-image is the major handicap to be overcome. Recognition of individual achievement and community service is also important for people who have felt themselves victimised for years by an educational system that taught skills that were of no use to them. A certificate at the end of a health worker training course or a literacy class, even if it has no official significance, can be the first mark of recognition in their life that they have achieved something in society.

Operational Characteristics

Active Involvement. A greater sense of mastery over one's own destiny (as individuals and members of a community), a sense that decisions can be made, circumstances changed and lives improved is fundamental to sustainable development of, by and for the people.

Cultural Adaptation. A sense of the worth of one's cultural heritage and the capacity to respond creatively to the intrusion of other cultural perspectives is necessary for people to be controllers of the change process, not victims of it.... 'To do development means to bring about change; (traditional) societies have values that the modern world is struggling to recreate today. To attempt to preserve those values as they are, is in the long run leading to their own destruction because (they) must adapt to the modern world if they are to survive. The question of how to preserve the gifts of a society while engaging in development is at the core of any endeavour of human development.' (Field Visit Report, XISS, SA-7).

THE OVERVIEW

Decisional Evaluation. No community is just there. Communities and societies are always moving and adapting. The concern of the local practitioner is for the community to know that it is evolving and to enable it to decide as comprehensively as possible what opportunities to accept and which to decline.

Group Consciousness. Solidarity within a group comes when the people become aware they are a group and have power together. However obvious this may be to an outsider, even to some within the community, until the community becomes aware of this fact, creating permanent structures (a registered co-operative, for example) will be premature.

Self-discovery Methods. It is the group's discovery of its common heritage and what is happening to them that creates a context for initiating their own development. This conscientisation is a process of self-discovery. It is a method rather than a curriculum for indoctrination.

Traditional Gifts. Traditional patterns of self-help and common action are powerful bases for implementation of programmes of change.

Individual Worth. Group acknowledgement of each individual's contribution strengthens the whole group and counteracts the tendency to determine self-worth by material accumulation alone.

Implications

There are many practical ways the sense of self-identity can be fostered. Activities that directly strengthen cultural identity including festivals, workdays, preservation and development of traditional crafts. It is important for the group or community to articulate its own version of its history. To do this requires that the community interpret past events. The act of presentation whether as book, song, dance, or drama provides a symbol of that identity. A number of projects, especially those dealing with ethnic minorities, involved parents and community elders in designing and teaching a cultural heritage curriculum in the local school. This approach increased the awareness of the adults in the community about who they were and enabled them to decide what parts of their tradition needed to be retained for the future. Another approach is to emphasise special events as ways of letting the group or community see its value in the opinion of others. Visits to other villages and projects let the group see how others have approached similar problems and been successful. The element of friendly rivalry of, 'if they can do it so can we,' can be effective as a motivating factor.

The list of possible activities is long, but the implication for the rural practitioner is simple: never miss an opportunity to reinforce the individual's and the community's sense of self-worth. It means spending time organising 'non-productive' events in the midst of an economic programme, of finding ways for the people to do their own telling of the story about the significance of what they are doing. It means challenging the people to see their common cultural heritage. The focus on identity does not mean the practitioner ignores inequities or tensions within the community or group, but it does prepare the ground for programmes that deal with them directly. This creates a climate in the community for programmes, especially in economic development, that benefit the disadvantaged to the exclusion of others relatively better off (the Small Farmer Development Programme, SA-36, for example).

THE OVERVIEW

Concerns

Concerns for the practitioner include:

- The loss of confidence in the value and use of skills, customs, stories and art that results from change;
- The acceptance of an inferior status in society as the unchangeable way of things;
- The dependence of a group on others to find solutions for their problems, supply the resources for resolving them and provide staff to implement programmes;
- The discrimination against groups within a society for reasons of religious differences, different ethnic background, social class, health (leprosy, retardation);
- The failure to recognise and honour contributions to the community by individuals, especially those made by persons from an underclass or minority group;
- The propensity of planners and workers, who come from outside, to impose their values to problems they have identified and are seeking to resolve. This is especially painful when the field worker is sensitive to the local situation but has to implement an agency or departmental directive.

ACCELERATING FACTORS

The projects and reports indicated at least six factors that enabled the attainment of stated objectives:

- Project Learning Processes;
- Women's Advancement;
- Participatory Organisational Structures;
- Broadening Horizons;
- Developing Horizontal and Vertical Linkages;
- Developing Appropriate Technologies.

To make this section more useful to the practitioner each of these factors is discussed in terms of:

- Intent;
- Content;
- Concerns;
- Options (from IERD project documentation).

PROJECT LEARNING PROCESSES

This accelerating factor was summarised in IERD working papers as follows: 'This keystone is concerned with image education, general education and with specific skills training. Image education equips people with winning images and allows the impossible to be turned into the possible. General education is continuing adult education: academic, artistic, vocational for all. In the case of specific skills training, there is a need for the transfer of ideas, technology and management skills. The emphasis is as much on drawing out the human quality of life as in equipping for economic intensification.' (IERD keystones Paper summarising Rural Development Symposia).

THE OVERVIEW

Intent

Self-dependency. 'In order for village people themselves to control their economic development, training is required in skills of production, purchasing, marketing and management' (field visit reports). It is also necessary to provide an increasing number of people in the community with the management skills needed to plan, control flow of money, organise community effort and relate to and negotiate with government and other external structures.

Awareness. 'To provide appropriate formal and non-formal education in all areas to promote awareness, self-respect in every person, and the broadening of outlook and sensitising and informing them.' (Field visit reports).

Catalysis. To enable a growing core of local leadership to seek out relevant information for community efforts and transmit it effectively to the rest of the community.

Content

Life Education. Basic to development education is the understanding that every situation can be a learning situation. Reflection in group settings on their experience is one of the foundations of appropriate life education.

Issue-orientation. 'Approaching the learning process from the starting point of some real issue that distresses the people in order to have a motivated 'study' and to have a way to share the analytical process. (For) the people's organisations in the villages, the issue-oriented education helped them to evaluate critically their existing position in the society.' (Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society, CROSS, SA-25).

Continuing Education. The process of learning in relation to development never stops. Nor does the 'student body' become fixed. It is aimed at everyone.

Alternative Training. Because the life-journey of each individual is unique it is important to offer multiple options for training tailored to each of the groups in the community. Many of these options will not be offered as education but will fulfill that function.

Attitude Changes. 'Training helps people translate their vision into reality. It focuses on self-image, leadership development, skills acquisition and local development methods' (field visit). Programmes which raise the consciousness of the people change attitudes and provide an incentive to acquire practical skills.

Concerns

- Non-participatory teaching style which prevents rural peoples' own experience from being shared.
- Skills training unrelated to local income opportunities.
- Difficulty of engaging poorly educated parents in shaping children's education programmes.
- General training programmes inadequate for the disadvantaged.
- Curriculum being taught without practice.
- Training restricted to men only in many arenas.
- Developing appropriate training in entrepreneurship, small industry, and services.

THE OVERVIEW

- Limited understanding of legal rights and eligibility for government assistance.
- Domination of village structures by those with education.
- Inability to make use of technological innovations.
- Limited skills in group consensus-building and organisation.

Options

Agricultural Improvement

- Use of micro-computer to aid groups of dairy farmers.
- Crop demonstrations in a farmer's field rather than a piece of land set aside by a university.
- Master farmer training programme based on a farmer continuing to reside in and work his/her fields.

Youth Motivation and Training

- Three to five-day 'camps' for youths to talk through concerns, plans for community involvement and to consider a 'life of service.'
- Young farmers' clubs.
- Resident programmes of four to eight weeks for youth just before or after high school to help decide vocation.
- Elders in community as a teaching resource for skills training and children's education.
- For rural areas with low population density, a 'pre-school in the home' with a once a week teacher-parent day to plan the running of the programme.

Special Educational Events

- 'Hands-on' workshops to introduce people to solar energy.
- Five-day training course for women with little education.
- Village Health Worker (VHW) training is based on actual weekly cases encountered at the centre or in the village.
- Creation and use of dramas, role plays, song, dance, and other art to raise awareness.
- A group assigned to analyse their own situation or that of another village.

Other Suggestions

- Hands-on experience and face-to-face encounters with people engaged in similar activities. Demonstration centres, master farmers, simulation games and all activities which emphasise the experiencing of a technique or situation are appropriate.
- Involving adults in shaping the curriculum, management and teaching in the local primary and secondary school is an indirect mode of training the adults of a community.
- Case studies of legal issues written by a village group to heighten awareness of legal rights and actual situation.
- Community-controlled cable TV system linking small rural communities, including video training.
- Residential demonstration and training centres for ecology where staff lifestyle is a demonstration of possibility.
- VHW training as a means to accelerate the leadership development of a community's women.
- Assign trainees to build a questionnaire to survey the needs, send them to do research in the villages for six months, return and work to implement the programmes.

THE OVERVIEW

WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT

The concern for women in development, evident in the many women's programmes which were selected to be present in India, was also named as a factor in accelerating rural development.

'I hope that one of the greatest insights you will carry away with you (from the Central International Event) will be that women, as well as men, are the instruments of the development process. They need specific help to be able to contribute equally to, and share equally in, the enrichment of local and national life.' (Dame Miriam Dell, President of the National Council of Women, Central International Event 'Plenary Address').

Intent

Positive Image. Create a positive image of women in society. Many images that are prevalent either do not recognise the role women have to play or give a negative value to it.

Economic Stability. Increase the economic stability of the community by providing opportunities for women to increase earnings as farmers, traders, artisans, etc. Larger earnings going to women expands the economic strength of the family and increases income in the community which holds the population together and creates a stronger attachment of people to their community.

Decision Making. Providing opportunities for women's participation in shaping development programmes enhances the overall development process.

Content

Resources Investment. Increase women's training in areas such as functional literacy, agriculture, preventive health and other advanced skills.

Women's Organisations. Practitioners have also found a need to approach and support the organisation of women separately. When women work as a group in the deliberative or planning processes, they can then respond more powerfully in the total development process.

Joint Programmes. Encouraging local women to see, talk and work with the literate and skilled women has reinforced the decision to risk learning new skills and allowed women to move into arenas they have never entered before.

Support Structures. Increasing the income of women is not secured simply by starting new economic ventures. A comprehensive support network is necessary and village infrastructures may be required to lessen more tedious chores (such as bringing in piped water for women who have to carry water from a distant location). In one Indian project, new economic ventures for women are supported by a co-operative bank, day care centres, a maternity support programme and legal assistance. (The Self Employed Women's Association, SA-32).

Community Responsibility. Programmes within which women participated in the planning process have resulted in them taking more responsibility for the community. In Gandhigram (SA-24) four out of six people on some of the village planning teams are women. This has also allowed for the creation of programmes that are more sensitive to the real situation of the villages.

THE OVERVIEW

Concerns

- Women carry a double burden of work already. An increase in income earning possibilities can increase that burden.
- Men and women contribute to the prevalent images that place little value on women. Women are often unconscious of the oppression that they are under. This requires reaching women through indirect means.
- Narrow experience and education limits the exercise of women's legal and political rights and their utilisation of new technologies.
- Participation of women has often been limited to their token presence on committees.
- Self-confident participation of women in development has effects on the culture of the community. Major shifts take place as women earn more money and have a greater say in what goes on. This can result in a negative reaction.

Options

Women's Groups

- Organising and supporting self-help groups of women and women's co-operatives to plan programmes, negotiate loans, provide training and deal with problems.
- By banding into groups, women have been found effective in organising such income supplementing activities as improved methods of crop production, weaving, handicrafts, rice harvesting, knitting and sewing as well as further training programmes.
- Relating local women's organisations to larger federations outside the community has reinforced local organisations of women and enabled them to secure legal rights as women.

Special Programmes

- Women recruited for particular programmes need support with pre-service training.
- Field trips of rural women to the city and urban women to the rural are awakening women to alternative solutions.

Economic Betterment

- Providing training in skills not traditionally held by women is important in broadening the economic base and dealing with the imbalance in the participation of women in the community.
- Improving the skills of women has increased their bargaining power.

Development Involvement

- Women's participation in planning child and youth programmes has been found to be a path to their broader participation in decisions.
- Women have been found to be effective extension workers in environmental, water and sanitation matters as they are more directly affected by programmes in these arenas.

THE OVERVIEW

Other Suggestions

- Literacy programmes have been found to be more effective when the content of the curriculum related to the women's everyday life. The curriculum was designed locally with the input of experts through workshops.
- Creating security schemes for women such as maternity benefits, widowhood and death assistance and health schemes. Literacy programmes, taught during the working hours, were also found to be effective.
- Encouraging the participation of women from a wide-age spectrum has been the key in doing new programmes and created a mutual understanding.

PARTICIPATORY ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

'One of the most basic factors is local people participating in all aspects of determining their own development. It consists of identifying their own needs and the basic planning of their own development activities. This is followed with implementation of the development plans. It includes building community organisation structures that take into account geographically-related groups, community-wide decision-making and the creation of self-help groups. Local people participate in upgrading their development planning with training that increases their potential.' (IERD Working Papers).

Intent

Group Power. Enabling people to tackle issues that they would not be able to deal with singly. 'By organising a structure for decision-making, people get the opportunity to choose for changes in their life and to be united enough to come to an implementation of their choice.' (Field Visit Report, CROSS, SA-25).

Inclusive Participation. Structuring the participation of minorities and disadvantaged groups: 'In both the tribal communities and Harijan communities these associations function to bring cohesion and community identity to otherwise fragmented and isolated groups of people.' (Field Visit Report, Action for Welfare and Awakening in the Rural Environment, AWARE), (SA-21).

Structural Linkage. A way of relating to outside sources of assistance in expertise, advice and capital investment.

Content

Local Design. Part of the process of developing solidarity and self-dependence within the rural community is for the people to think through and create the form of organisation to accomplish what they wish to do. Since organising an effort is itself a skill to be learned by action and reflection, it is best if early structuring of a project is simple, flexible and informal.

Appropriate Form. Organising a project is best done as a process that creates structures as the task demands and people's capacity to manage allows. Legal forms established prematurely are hard to undo if they turn out to be too restrictive. Early registration allows the more advantaged or powerful factions to take control and nullify the participatory dynamic the project sought to introduce. Similarly, whether to use a single-purpose or multi-purpose form is best answered over time. Single-purpose forms are better for starting activities and can evolve into multi-purpose co-operatives as the members develop greater managerial capacity.

THE OVERVIEW

Broad Participation. A local organisation can create appropriate ways for different groups in the community to participate. Since projects rely on the willingness of the people to be involved for their effectiveness, a form which encourages rather than restricts participation is required.

Local Basis. In a scheme built with the people to be benefited in charge, the most local unit is the most important (landless labourers, for instance). The other layers of organisation and support are shaped to enable implementation of this unit's decisions, be it the family, the village or a special group.

Implementation Focus. Such organisations often begin as a gathering point for residents in making plans for development and scheduling its implementation.

Concerns

- Keeping project structures free from local politics.
- Preventing takeover of leadership by economically powerful individuals or interest groups.
- Maintaining flexibility and avoiding bureaucracy that hinders participation, especially of the less educated.
- Sensitivity to traditional ways of organisation.
- Maintaining cohesiveness and sense of common purpose.
- Inflexibility of national scheme rules applied locally.
- Ensuring that the poor benefit.

Options

Agricultural Groups

- Registered society of small farmers formed around the tube-well they constructed and own in common.
- Dairy-co-operatives of small producers, many of whom do not own land, backed up by animators from national structures.
- Creating small groups of five to thirty farmers to receive agricultural credit collectively and to be accountable together for its repayment.
- Farmers' markets with co-ordinating committees made up of producers and consumers who establish prices before each market is held, eliminating both middle-traders and price competition between producers.
- Offering three officially recognised kinds of group farming to allow for individual preference: joint, co-operative, and entrusted farming.

Community Improvements

- Community improvement associations—voluntary group of residents mobilise village consensus across political divisions.
- Open-court conflict-resolving tribunal that exists exclusively through the consent of the people and which operates out of the presupposition of reconciling parties to a dispute. Through the open nature of its proceedings it educates all the other members of the tribal group (ethnic minority) and involves them in determining the application of traditional values to modern situations.
- Working committee for national village competition that includes both men and women and has representatives of all clubs and groups in the village.

THE OVERVIEW

- Housing trusts and co-operatives of eight to thirty families who operate as one unit for purchase of building materials to construct houses for the members and go out of existence once the dwellings are completed.

Consensus Methods

- Pre-co-operative groups well established before applying for linkage to the larger system or for official registration.
- Short term organisations—study groups, etc.
- A village health committee that selects and pays for a village health care worker, and relates to a larger medical centre for advice and support.
- 'Three-tier' system, based on village-selected health worker who is supported by regular visits of a mobile medical team led by a nurse sometimes with a doctor, and a medical centre to which serious illnesses or other health problems can be referred. The key is that the village health worker is the basis and is chosen by the village.
- Three-tier system with village association, cluster committee and block committee (about 100 villages) as a way of organising voluntary development efforts. The NGO involved then works with the villages in implementing the models they have created.

Existing Organisations

- Using local organisations like religious groups or schools as the basis for initiating a project like planting trees, a local committee to ensure the ongoing care and a handicapped person in the village as monitor.
- Using the profits from a conventional farm co-operative to establish a social organisation to build a centre.
- Using the entry point to a village made by health work, to bring about the establishment of a Farmers Club.
- Using an existing network of local organisations (churches, women's clubs) as the implementing structure for preventive health care programmes.

Self-Help Groups

- Creating organisations composed of the poorest in the area to qualify for government schemes which were not attainable by them individually.
- Village level and cluster level meetings followed by visits and interviews, and initiation of programmes.
- A network of social and economic enterprises whose functions are to serve the needs of the poor. At the annual meeting, each enterprise must prepare three reports: a financial statement, a social balance sheet and a three-year plan.
- Creation of a comprehensive scheme including creches and kindergartens and a credit union for self-employed women.
- Creating a credit institution to invest in a specific disadvantaged group and allows only members of that group as shareholders and depositors.
- Forming village associations of landless people and linking these together in cluster committees.
- Co-operatives based on a tribal or ethnic group that conduct their proceedings in that language and modify other aspects of the structure to suit the local situation.
- Family development plans for poor families prepared with them by an agency (farm clinic) that is trusted by, but independent of, a credit institution.
- Establishing village welfare associations which include one representative from each family and two agency workers who meet monthly. Meetings of the associations from across the region are held twice yearly.

THE OVERVIEW

Developing Leadership

- A national (or area) scheme to initiate a local project which uses the regional project as a demonstration.
- Some organisations provide for rotating leadership of meetings and an annual retirement of some members of the board with a period of disqualification before being eligible for re-election for greater sharing of responsibility.
- Village-level discussion and study groups for graduates of a regional adult education centre.

BROADENING HORIZONS

Direct interchange and interaction among projects and participants in development activities is an accelerating factor in rural development. 'Information is both a resource and a motivating factor. Community projects have found that regular interchange and communication is a critical key to the development effort. This can be informal communication, sharing what is happening in the project, or regular news briefs that keep the community updated on the total effort. Regular meetings have been critical to rehearse common objectives and report on activities. Mass communication programmes through radio, TV and newspapers keep an open system of interchange between the project and the outside world.' (IERD working papers).

Intent

Integrative Dialogue. Discussion and planning groups on local, regional and national levels remove barriers to effective co-operative action and break isolation of groups (Interest Group). Networking among communities and agencies reduces duplication of efforts and rivalries. (Field visit reflection).

Context Expansion. Exposing rural populations and field workers to other perspectives and practical experiences gives familiarity with innovative possibilities and new insights into the project situation.

Indirect Encouragement. Experiencing the commonness of issues and the resolve of other groups to deal with them, as well as learning new ways to deal with them is motivating.

Content

Mutual Learning. A shared context that the process is one of mutual learning.

Culturally Appropriate. Methods and techniques to suit the cultural context involved.

Local to Global to Local. A flow of practical learnings from local action groups to a global interchange and to the local again.

Lateral Sharing. Scheduled events and visits with responsible persons engaged in similar projects.

Practical Learnings. Record of group reflections which has agreed-upon learnings for future training and sharing with other projects as well as regular review and revision by project participants.

THE OVERVIEW

Concerns

- Ensuring that relevant information is available at the local level.
- Initiating and accelerating local-to-local interchange.
- Overcoming isolation of projects from each other.
- Avoiding experts dominating the interchange process.

Meetings and Conferences

Options

- Exchange conferences between rural workers.
- Intensive residential seminars using participatory learning methods with cross-section of rural workers.
- Semi-annual or annual meetings of whole staff structured to allow for reflection on learnings of previous period as well as planning.
- Rural Development Expositions with displays and audio-visual presentations.

Visits and Travel

- Invitations to groups of different approaches to speak at staff meetings.
- Regular informal visits by field workers to local project leaders.
- Mobile team sharing experiences, one village with another.
- Field visits to other projects.
- Excursions for rural people to a variety of projects, to encounter urban life, meet support agency personnel, receive training and/or see and discuss a relevant film or play.

Communications

- Video and cable TV—producing programmes that can be shared with other communities via a community cable system or exchange of video cassettes.
- South-south exchanges between rural groups.
- Slide shows with taped commentary on a project that is aimed at telling details about the project not for publicity or fund-raising.
- Radio programmes that are produced in and from various rural locations.
- Local newsletters distributed in the project area and mailed to other projects/agencies.
- Link roads make communication with others easier and faster.

Competitions

- Sports competitions, cultural festivals social gatherings between communities are used as easily acceptable ways of increasing interchange between villages.
- Competitions for village beautification foster inter-village visits.

DEVELOPING HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL LINKAGES

This key refers to enlisting the support and co-operation of the sectors (public, private, voluntary) with the local project people. It seeks the authorisation of the political and economic power structures in carrying through a project. Projects have found that the resources of the public and private sectors can be involved in carrying through projects, whether the resources are expertise, technology, or capital funding.

THE OVERVIEW

Intent

Services Delivery. 'To harness the support services of government agencies, non-government agencies and banks for rural development.' (Tata Steel Rural Development Society), (SA-17).

Replication Acceleration. 'A vital role for a voluntary agency must be in sharing the experience gained from its various activities with our country and society. Efforts must be made to build up a programme that can help small voluntary agencies, development programmes, etc. With the expertise available, we could contribute to the growth of similar activities in various parts of our country.' (Rural Unit for Health and Social Affairs, SA-27).

Elicited Participation. 'Education of richer and more powerful people in the country regarding the real socio-economic conditions and development needs to elicit responsible participation by them.' (Interest group).

Content

Coordinated Services. Coordinate services in relation to local plans of all sectors, including various levels of government, commerce or industry which influence the local situation.

Regional Cooperation. The institutions at the regional level: government agencies, banks, private corporations, and voluntary organisations and NGOs work together to co-ordinate their actions at the village level.

Committed Individuals. 'The present socio-economic structure is not very conducive for the development of persons from the weaker segments. It is therefore necessary to organise individuals from all segments of government, industry, banking, medicine and social sciences who can help whenever there are obstacles and difficulties from the present structure.' (India Development Service Integrated Rural Development, SA-22).

Convergent Journey. The convergence is not a final consummation but a coming together of the various services from the earliest stages of and through the development process. At the level of the community, the nutritionist, the health worker, the sanitarian, the water supply technician, and the pre-school teacher/worker have to learn to work together. They need to be trained not only in techniques, but even more strongly in their attitudes, and be exposed to one another's aims and disciplines.

Global Fraternity. 'Another key approach seen in this project is the emphasis placed on building a movement of human development beyond the project itself, thus linking it with a national and global 'fraternity' of projects, organisations, and dedicated people.' (Bontoa Human Development Project, SP-2)

Concerns

- Transforming images of 'donor-receiver', 'expert-ignorant', 'source-target' into one of 'partnership.'
- Ensuring that the benefits of government programmes get to everyone not just to the clever or well-positioned.
- Figuring out what the necessary linkages are.
- Timing delivery of services to be most enabling to the village.
- Avoiding creating dependency relationships on outside sources.

THE OVERVIEW

Options

Programme Operations

- Education programmes to make the people aware of what government programmes/rural credit schemes are available.
- Creation of 'Human Development Associations' at the village cluster level that include as members: the village associations, state bank branch managers, interested professionals, and business representatives.
- Health camps—special events where the services of trained personnel who volunteer their time can effectively be made available to village populations.
- A special wing of an NGO created to handle co-ordination with the local governments in the project area and to train officials in reorienting their approach to the people.
- Having the linkage for an agricultural credit institution be performed by a mobile credit officer who visits the farmers who take out the loans in the village.
- Linking service clubs in nearby towns with projects for help in delivering short-term assistance.
- Joint circuits where field workers from government agencies and non-governmental organisations make the rounds of villages together to serve the residents in a more integrated, less bureaucratic way.

Other Suggestions

- Having the permanent residence of the government technician in the community allows more flexible communication with the people and encourages their participation more easily.
- 'Great spheres' (clusters of villages) where horizontal and vertical linkages are improved.
- Linking village women's groups with national and international women's groups to provide helpful pressure for policy changes or enforcement of existing rights.

DEVELOPING APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGIES

Technological innovations in every field of rural development were displayed and discussed in New Delhi. A surprising number of projects had specific programmes of developing appropriate technology for rural situations. Technological innovation is an accelerating factor in rural development.

Intent

Compatibility to Local Needs. Making available to rural populations technology that eases their burden (without displacing them), saves energy, and costs little to install or maintain.

Acceptability by Local People. Having local people decide on what to accept and what to reject.

Adaptability through Local Wisdom. Using local wisdom and technical expertise together to create design and adaptation.

THE OVERVIEW

Content

Information Access. Knowledge of sources for information and advice, ease of access to them, costs and time involved and the capacity to follow up.

User Participation in Design. A system to engage the local users actively in the design stage or in an adaptation.

Experimental Demonstration. On-site pilot experiments both expand the village's vision and provide a relevant local test of adaptability.

Education for Use. Training and general education that provides opportunity for users to test, raise questions.

Concerns

- Introduction of new technology unaccompanied by education that explores advantages and disadvantages.
- Access to technology on an equitable basis for rich and poor, educated and uneducated.
- Advances that are beyond range of many people in villages.
- Working out the problems at the local level with people.
- Non-consideration of social factors, changes in food preparation required, displacement of certain occupations.
- Getting technically capable people who will consider the social factors and work at the local level.

Options

New Techniques Literature Availability

- Making available listings of major appropriate technology centres and their catalogues to project groups.

User Focused Demonstrations

- Demonstration sub-centres that take the technology to where the people in surrounding the villages have easy access.
- Intensive effort to enable acceptance of new technology in one local area and then wider publicity of the usage of the new techniques by the new users themselves.

Local Skills Improvement

- Improvements to traditional crafts e.g. weaving rather than introduction of new trade because of available technology e.g. knitting, crocheting.
- Involving women in design conversations regarding subjects like water systems, farm labour, agricultural processing, energy saving or stove design.

THE OVERVIEW

TECHNOLOGY INNOVATIONS

The following is a selected list of the innovations displayed at the Central International Event in India.

Agriculture

- Honey and wax refining (Kenya).
- One-acre mixed farm providing adequate income and nutrition for a family.
- Natural farming (no chemicals).
- Natural pesticide manufacture.
- Community-run tree nurseries including seed-gathering.
- Sericulture for landless workers.
- Solar irrigation pump.
- New fodder crops including fodder trees like subabul.
- Hydroponic vegetable growing.
- Vegetable dryer.
- Water pumps.

Rural Education and Learning

- Videotape.
- Health teaching aids made from local materials.
- Computer and videodisc.
- Mobile creche.
- TV satellite system for reaching rural areas.
- TV, tele-books and radio as part of a nation-wide self-training scheme.

Health Care

- ORT (Oral Rehydration Therapy).
- Ayurvedic medicines.
- Yoga for treatment of hypertension, asthma.
- Herbal medicines.
- Household soakpits.
- Household cisterns and waterjars.

Housing and Environment

- Ventilation improvements.
- Nubian vault.
- Cinva ram for sun-dried mud bricks with a five percent cement content.
- Different mixes of mortar for different climate conditions.
- Use of undersized wood (roundwood) for framing, cladding and interior finishing.
- Bamboo housing techniques.
- Geodesic dome designs made of bamboo.
- Biogas installations of various types.
- Varied active and passive solar techniques.
- Fish-curing; improved oven.
- Smokeless stoves.
- Carbon refrigerator.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

THE CHALLENGE OF SMALL FARMING-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY

THE SITUATION IN AGRICULTURE

Increasing agricultural productivity is a priority task for development practitioners in their work of rural transformation. This is particularly true in the developing nations. Limited resources reduced by expanding urban and industrial areas and mounting population pressures make it essential to concentrate in the years and decades ahead on increasing agricultural production. At the same time other forms of income-generation such as village-based industries must be expanded.

There is a clear trend towards larger farms. More people in rural areas are being added to the non-landowning category. The present scale of economic activities in rural areas cannot provide productive and gainful employment to this increasing labour force. The resulting migration to urban centres has created problems in the cities and towns which are not able to absorb this influx and provide the services necessary for human living. The rural areas are becoming depleted of talents, skills and resources.

This development has led to other problems. The increasing demands for domestic fuel, industrial raw materials and land for the landless are cutting into the forests and marginal lands and disturbing the ecological equilibrium. Soil is being eroded, lakes and rivers are silting up and frequent floods are causing havoc to property, crops and livestock.

Small and marginal farmers, the landless, tribal peoples and others are caught in this process. They are losing in the competition with those who have better placed land and other productive assets. They depend for their livelihood on occupations which are risky and not properly serviced and protected. Production of traditional field crops without adequate returns to the soil has made both the people and the soil vulnerable. In this battle for survival these people are compromised for a security with meagre returns. They are hesitant about practicing new technologies which hold a promise of a better quality of life until they feel secure in their journey into new realms.

In traditional rural societies the power structure has not undergone significant change despite democratisation and modernisation. This structure operates at a disadvantage for the weaker sections. The large landowner has been able to develop a better rapport with institutions and organisations working for the development of rural people. But the rural poor are still largely unable to assert themselves to gain their share of the fruits of development resulting from the efforts of government and non-government organisations and foundations.

Awakening the rural poor to their rights and to the opportunities available to them through national and state rural development policies is crucial to rural transformation. It is also important that they learn to organise themselves to take advantage of developments in science and technology. Governments have given a very high priority to agricultural development and increasing the agricultural productivity of small farmers and rehabilitating the landless and underprivileged. Technology is available which can increase the income of small farmers and can rehabilitate the landless. Non-governmental organisations are developing strategies to effectively reach the rural people, particularly the poor.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

This is the broad setting for rural development practitioners and the reference for their work of managing agriculture for rural transformation. The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) is focusing attention on the need to increase the productivity of both small farmer holdings and the landless. 'Diversification of rural economic activities including integrated crop-livestock development, fisheries and integrated forestry development is essential for broad-based rural development.' (The Peasants Charter, FAO, Rome 1981).

BREAKING THE SUBSISTENCE CYCLE

Small Farmers

Rural poverty is largely related to low agricultural productivity. The small and marginal farmers who make up the largest number of operating units in many developing countries have not been able to take advantage of advances in agricultural science and technology. Many farms lack assured water supplies. Much of the fruit of development has accrued to the larger landholders and the privileged. The more enterprising and ambitious of the rural poor have migrated to urban centres in search of gainful employment, and are caught in the subsistence cycle. Agricultural technology, although largely neutral to size of landholding, has nevertheless been of little help to small and marginal farmers and the landless.

Several attempts have been made to help small farmers develop their potential and increase their incomes. These have included the use of incentives such as subsidies and the development of the co-operative system. The Government of India has operated a Small Farmer's Development Agency along with the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourer's Agency for well over a decade. Non-government agencies, including voluntary organisations, have been working with the underprivileged in villages to help avail them of government schemes and to awaken them to their rights and responsibilities. Many of these efforts have yet to bear fruit.

Agricultural technology has not been of much help to small farmers who suffer from many disadvantages compared with medium and large farmers. Also trapped within the subsistence cycle (along with small farmers) are the landless, tribal peoples, fisher-people, refugees and other disadvantaged. Unable to get out of abject poverty, they are reconciled to a state of subsistence, finding some small security in their meagre sustenance. In this situation they experience themselves unable to risk even very small and simple enterprises.

The IERD participants meeting in New Delhi were deeply concerned about the situation of subsistence farmers and experienced a sense of urgency for developing strategies to substantially help small and marginal farmers. The delegates studied 30 Indian projects during the field visits, discussed projects they themselves were involved in and examined IERD exhibits and documents. They pointed to projects that had succeeded in breaking the subsistence cycle for small and marginal farmers, had increased their income, and more important, had led them to assume responsibilities in their communities. The following examples represent a sampling of such projects.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

The Vaishali Area Small Farmers' Association, (VASFA) (SA-20) in Bihar, India, illustrates how irrigation facilities brought small and marginal farmers out of the subsistence cycle and helped transform them into progressive, enterprising farmers. Small and marginal farmers gained access to credit so they could establish joint production means such as deep community tube-wells, tractors and the supply of inputs to increase their yield and general income several times. The organisational leadership of one practitioner catalysed the entire first community into action. Today there are more than 30 clusters of registered small farmers' societies in the area, each with adequate infrastructure and resources for increased productivity.

In Zambia the Smallholder Coffee Development Project (BA-32) helped over 500 smallholders to begin the cultivation of coffee. As their economic condition has improved they have begun taking an interest in the community's socio-cultural activities.

Subsistence farming traps the poor (because they do not have capital) into a pattern of farming in which they practice methods requiring the least investment and giving the least return. The tragedy of this approach is that it does not provide the surplus necessary for moving to a more productive style of farming. Over the years this way of operating has prevented them from seizing new opportunities. Rural development practitioners are discovering ways to use new opportunities to break the subsistence cycle and help small and marginal farmers join the mainstream of development.

The Landless

The landless are the poorest of the rural poor. Without productive assets their mainstay is seasonal employment which provides wages insufficient even for subsistence let alone for productive investment in building assets. Their needs continue to grow under the impact of the 'acquisitive society' and their number is increasing as small farmers cannot compete. While the large farmers may not be able to use all their resources productively, the small and marginal farmers lack the opportunities to gain access to the resources.

Attempts to improve the economic status of the landless touch only the fringe of the problem. Organising and equipping them with the skills for village industries is proceeding slowly, with many problems. The ancillary services of big and medium industries has helped to provide remunerative employment to a large section of rural families in places like Japan, but the trend is not progressing in the poorer countries. Allotment of land is next to impossible because of its limited availability, for one reason, and the population explosion for another.

The Proshika Monobik Unnayan Kendra (SA-35) in Bangladesh has addressed itself to the tasks of organising the rural poor, (particularly the landless) and helping them with establishing small scale industries, livestock and poultry production. The project has also helped in building up the organisational structure of the rural poor, by providing the educational support for training in practical skills, and assistance in income and employment generating activities in the local communities. Proshika initiated these activities in thirty areas located in 11 districts of the nation. The rural poor are gaining control over minor irrigation assets and small scale industries, as well as protecting themselves from the exploitation of money-lenders and landlords.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Nevertheless, some of the projects represented at the IERD hold out positive possibilities for the future. The identifying and reclaiming of wastelands, making them productive again through the application of new technologies, has given many landless labourers new opportunities to develop their economic base. The sub-section on WASTELAND RECLAMATION in this booklet describes how practitioners have used this as a strategy to rehabilitate landless labourers.

Fisheries and Fisher People

In addition to land-based farming, fisheries and aquaculture represent an important source of food. The condition of both inland and marine fisher people leaves much to be desired. They are disorganised and easily exploited by middle-traders. The National Association of Fishermen (SA-69) in India is working for the betterment of their living and working conditions. Local practitioners' efforts in mobilising and organising the fisher people could contribute significantly to their development. The Tignish Fisheries Co-op (NA-8) Prince Edward Island, Canada, is a fisheries co-operative established in 1921 to give fisher people control over their own operations. Previously, boats and gear were owned by outside interests. The fisher people of the co-operative bought these materials, thereby reducing the cost of their fishing operations. Based on the success of this first co-operative the villagers have formed ten more to deal with other economic and social needs in the community.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

'In many countries, developed and developing, there has been an increase in the number of women who are the head of the farm. These women very often show great ability in administering farms and in increasing productivity. Farm women are a unique group of people. There is no other group of women who work so closely with husband and family as they do. She is a partner in a family business. She has to know all that goes on inside the house and out.' (Canadian Women in Support of Agriculture, CAN 83).

In most rural societies, women are an integral part of the agricultural activity of the village. Their role has to be seen and discussed in that context. However, we wish to highlight their role and the special issues that affect it by discussing it separately here. (See also WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT Part I, Section 4: (1-400) included in this book).

Woman, it seems, is the 'workhorse' of the developing countries. Much of her work is 'invisible': bearing the children, nurturing them, gathering fuel and drawing water, cooking the food, taking her husband's meals to his workplace, milking the domestic animals and undertaking other household tasks. According to Kenya's Green Belt Movement (BA-15), 75 percent of all agriculture in the poorer countries is done by women. They produce most of the food grown for family consumption. Although the proportion of women in agriculture is already high it is increasing, not only in subsistence agriculture, but in commercial production as well.

Most of the back-breaking labour in the fields is done by women. 'Though a much larger percentage of the working population of women is concentrated in agricultural operations, men have a more diversified structure of occupations and perform more skilled work. For instance, women from artisan families do skilled or semi-skilled jobs.' ('Priority Profiles—Training Rural Women,' ILO and SIDA, New Delhi).

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

'The unskilled work in agriculture is not only done mostly by women, it is done for extremely low wages for a long working day,' says the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (SA-32) in India. They conducted an extensive survey in Gujarat and found that one-third of the poorer village families were wholly dependent upon the earnings of women. A similar situation exists in Latin America. According to a report by the USA organisation, Trickle Up International (NA-32), the figures for single parent families in the whole of Costa Rica and Jamaica (mostly rural countries) are 51 percent and 80 percent respectively. In most of these cases, women support their families. The African situation is similar. The IERD evidence indicates that the rewards for developing women in agriculture are inadequate. In the rural areas women need more options in employment and more opportunities to supplement their income.

Although the evidence in the Third World is that there are women farming effectively in their own right, the general picture is that they are over-worked and under-paid for reasons that are partly social and partly economic. In the interest of humanity alone, the quality of the village woman's life cries out for improvement. Particularly urgent is the need to lighten the domestic work load that tradition has laid upon her. Infrastructure improvements such as piped drinking water, better housing and drainage, the installation of electricity, biogas and solar energy could reduce the volume of her domestic work. Unless this is done, she will have neither time nor energy to take advantage of more varied employment opportunities, which would enable her to supplement her contribution to the family finances, in order to break out of the subsistence cycle.

The development practitioner can play an invaluable part in helping villagers to secure such inputs. To enable women to participate the availability of training, technology, credit and, of course, day nurseries, pre-school facilities and other support structures is equally important.

In Tanzania, poultry production has been introduced to women in the Mwegazi Hatchery (BA-6) and benefits several areas of need. The women earn more (personally), the manure is used as a fertiliser for vegetables and maize and the community benefits from the protein the poultry adds to their diet.

In Latin American countries, supplementary employment for women is a response to the 'exodus to the cities' syndrome and the deterioration of the local markets for crops like cocoa. Agriculture and non-farm schemes of diversified activities to supplement women's farm wages came to the New Delhi event from Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru.

It will be noted that, apart from increasing the villages' total food output, these schemes provided social benefits which extend to the community at large far beyond the greater job variety, work satisfaction and earning power that an individual woman may experience. For example, there are the nutritional benefits coming from home consumption of the milk, eggs, goat meat and poultry (all protein rich) and honey. Shyama Prasad, of the Asian Institute of Rural Development (SA-3) India, refers to another social consequence—the effect on family income use when the woman is an income earner. 'An agricultural labourer may spend a little for drinking and the like of what HE earns, but what SHE earns and what the children earn is pooled and she makes the decisions on how to spend it for food and clothing. It will take a long time before Indian women are released from the heavy work load they carry in the fields and at home.'

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

CARING FOR THE EARTH

MINIMISING LAND EXPLOITATION AND MAXIMISING FARM INCOME

'The land is God's gift, not just for the present, but also for future generations. The land is living and provides life for all creatures. If abused that life will soon end. There are many farmers who continually expand all at the expense of our young people who would like to get a chance to farm. Somehow this greed will have to stop. Healthy soil contains humus, available minerals, bacteria, fungi, actinomycetes, earthworms, and many other organisms all working together to produce natural antibiotics and convey disease immunity to plants, animals and people. Earthworms alone will produce 18 to 30 tons of fertiliser per acre each year that is so perfectly balanced that humans cannot produce anything comparable to it.' (Cyril H. Venner, USA, The Carroll Sustainable Natural Farming Project, NA-11).

Tested methods of farming can be adapted to the situations of small farmers and increase productivity in both the short and long run. Those discussed at the IERD included diversification of land use, organic and natural farming approaches, soil development, conservation, wasteland reclamation and irrigation. Subsistence farmers resigned to their meagre lot over the years can be awakened to these methods through demonstrations, education, access to credit, new and simple technologies, servicing of these technologies and horizontal and vertical linkages. Once aware of the possibilities, the farmers can decide.

ORGANIC APPROACHES TO FARMING

The ancient image of the farmer portrays one who co-operates with nature to sustain life rather than one who exploits nature in order to get nature's wealth. This is familiar to many farmers. Many practitioners are returning to this idea as a result of the damage done to the environment and land productivity by policies and methods which are exploitive.

Delegates to the International Exposition of Rural Development expressed concern over the emergence of large farmers who increasingly use mechanisation, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. The establishment of petrochemical industries with their effluent polluting the environment is a danger to the future. The sudden death of large quantities of fish in a river flowing through some of the villages of the India Development Service Project (IDS) (SA-22) in Karnataka was traced to the effluent from one such factory. When the IDS staff had the fish analysed they found they had died from insufficient oxygen in the polluted water of the river. They organised a series of educational camps in the affected villages, accompanied representative villagers to explain the case to state government authorities and initiated steps towards the resolution of the problem. In this context, the state government policies of encouraging the use of more fertilisers and chemicals by farmers, and the traditional practices of farmers, which have evolved over long periods, provoked serious and interesting discussion in New Delhi.

Delegates exchanged their knowledge and experience about the increasing number of farmers in the West who are changing to organic farming. The practitioner's task in this situation was:

- Marshalling all the facts and data;
- Placing them before the people;
- Enabling discussion of issues in understanding a situation;

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

- Getting people to decide a course of action;
- Helping to acquire the tools and resources necessary;
- Assisting in taking appropriate steps of action.

In the Netherlands, De Kleine Aarde (EU-12) has set up an environmental education centre to demonstrate and to educate people about producing food without exploitation of people, soil and animals. They promote discontinuing the use of chemicals, fertilisers and pesticides, saving energy and food and also eating mainly vegetables (much less meat because of the huge loss of food in 'modern' meat production).

Projects on organic farming which were displayed or had visual presentations had an impact on the delegates. The significance of the methods promoted by organic farming enthusiasts is in how agriculture needs to consider long-range effects of farming rather than immediate returns for a healthy, sustaining economy.

Statements from the delegates included, 'Natural methods of crop rotation, inter-cropping, manuring and integrative use of trees and animals without use of fertilisers and pesticides help in replenishing the soil and in raising healthier crops and animals. It allows small farmers to operate on a low budget and low energy input. For some poor soil's additions of supplementary trace elements can boost the potential of organic methods.' (Central International Event Working Groups).

In the USA, the Carroll Sustainable Natural Farming project in Iowa (NA-11) has motivated farmers to establish the Wonder Life Research Farm to provide a demonstration of quality feed and food stuffs while preserving soil fertility and productivity. Cyril H. Venner took responsibility to prove the chemical free approach to farming system on his own farm and to work with farmers in his area. The programme involves systematic recovery of soil fertility through crop tillage practices. New people entering the programme are phased into a self-sufficient operation over three years with regular guidance from Master Farmers already established in the programme. More than 100 farmers in Southwest Iowa are now using natural farming methods. The benefits are reduced crop production costs and higher net yields achieving premium prices and quality feed and food stuffs. The programme began 13 years ago and is still growing.

Tilth (NA-30) a non-profit educational organisation at Seattle, Washington, USA, also promotes organic farming. The Tilth Producer's Cooperative promotes ecologically sound approaches to agriculture. It publishes a quarterly journal, sponsors conferences, organises local chapters and provides a marketing service for organic farmers. Tilth is a response to the concern over environmental issues confronting the planet such as population, energy, water and air pollution.

Bill Mollison in Australia has promoted the 'Permaculture Movement' with the aim of promoting understanding of the conscious design of self-sustaining agricultural landscaping and the creation of agricultural ecosystems that embody the diversity, complexity and stability of natural environments. He says, 'Our task is to work with the abundance of nature, to evolve a new ecologically based agriculture that is both bountiful and enduring.'

Orlando Paboty of the Light of Life Project, (Project Compassion-ILAW, SP- 18) in the Philippines uses neither chemicals nor pesticides. To control Japanese snails in his fields he spreads paddy husk which he has found to be effective.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

SOIL DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION

Soil is the sustainer of life. Neglect of the soil has led to vanished civilisations. Desertification, erosion, floods, saline lands are all the result of the neglect of the soil. Development of the fertility and usefulness of the soil are important if small farmers are to increase productivity.

Farmers have a tradition of treating and maintaining their soils with care and understanding. The terraces built on hill-slopes by tribal peoples in some areas are a tribute to their skillful handling of their soils. The use of bunds (small earthen dams) in rain-fed lands serves the dual purpose of checking erosion and producing fodder for livestock. Traditionally, farmers regard the soil as something sacred. They protect it and have devised techniques to save it. Almost every valley and gully are used to store water. The marginal lands of the lakes thus formed are reserved for growing fodder for the livestock of the village. This water was never meant for irrigation but as a percolation tank to raise the level of underground water below the bund. The landowners are free to dig wells and irrigate their fields. In the course of time the marginal lands were allotted for cultivation. The soil eroded and silted up the lakes. The quantity of water impounded was reduced and the underground water level was lowered. Production went down. These areas can be brought back to high production levels by introducing grass cultivation, agro-forestry and other soil building treatments. If they are not maintained properly today it is mainly because the farmer's lands are earning lower incomes.

Soil conservation and restoration of soil fertility have been accorded high priority in most countries. Implementation of these policies requires the understanding and participation of local people. This is made possible by education, and organisation of effective services of the practitioner.

The Soil Conservation Project in Kenya (BA-18) co-sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) was started in 1974. According to one spokesperson for the project, 'Due to rapid population growth, people have been obliged to find new arable land by cutting trees and farming on steep slopes. This has led to land erosion which results in decreased yields and famine in some areas. Since the project's initiation 3500 technical assistants and 1000 officers have been trained in methods of soil conservation. This trained staff is now working with farmers. Twenty-three thousand kilometers of cut drains have been dug. In 1983, one hundred thirty thousand fruit trees and three and one-half million trees of other kinds were distributed to local farmers.'

The most effective soil protection is carried out with the participation of the local community. Because the village development committees realised the importance of providing insurance against drought the Agrindus Institute of Banavasi Seva Ashram (SA-2), Uttar Pradesh, India, was able to construct more than 200 bunds across ravines, checking erosion and storing water for irrigation. The Agrindus Institute fully backed up the programme and the voluntary committees at the village level. Knowledge and attitudes of local people towards forestry have changed for the better.

The Agro-forestry programme in Gujarat, India, undertaken by tribal farmers on their own lands in the Surat and Standard Cotton Mills Rural Development Project (SA-10) in Panchmahals district is a very fine illustration of what a practitioner can do through demonstrations and education. In one tribal village the programme has been taken up on 150 acres, by 150 families, with Eucalyptus trees. Most of this is under irrigation.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

It is expected that this village will have net earnings of about five million rupees (US\$500,000) after three to four years. One can imagine the impact of this demonstration upon other villages.

In England Tree Work Services (EU-35) at Avon works to increase public awareness of the ecological and aesthetic importance of the woodlands. Its activities have included, arboriculture and consultancies in maintenance and care of specimen trees, renovation of neglected woodlands and supply of native woods to craft shops.

In Pune District, Maharashtra, India, the Bhartiya Agro-Industries Foundation (BAIF) (SA-78) mobilised the services of school children for planting of *Leucena* seedlings in their backyards as an example of the involvement of boys and girls in a vital programme. A local practitioner initiated the involvement by discussing the programme with the teachers and students and educating them about the importance of planting trees both for fodder and the environment.

WASTELAND RECLAMATION

In many parts of the world, including continental Asia where land is generally in short supply, significant tracts of marginal but cultivable land are unused for a variety of reasons. A well recognised problem of the Indian Bhoodan Movement, in which freely donated surplus land is distributed to landless labourers, is that the land is often of poor quality. Without substantial initial inputs it cannot be viably worked. Projects like Agrindus (SA-2), which by mid 1983 had distributed 4700 acres to 1340 landless families, deal with the problem by making available credit and employment.

The Gujarat State Rural Development Corporation Ltd. (SA-26) identified saline and unproductive wasteland in 17 districts of Gujarat State in India, developed these lands for fodder-cum-fuel cultivation and in the process employment was given to the unemployed landless labourers. During a period of five to six years of developing these wastelands with fuel and fodder trees (like *Leucena* or *Ipil-ipil*), labourers work on the farms and learn the techniques. They are also helped to acquire a cow or buffalo through bank loans whenever feasible, assuring nutritious fodder produced. This helps to produce more milk of better quality and enables the families to move out of poverty through increased returns.

The Government of Jamaica, in the First Rural Development Project (LA-14), with assistance from the World Bank, has successfully tackled the problem of the settlement of landless persons. Government wasteland was identified, formed into viable units and provided with the necessary infrastructure. By 1983, one thousand twenty families had been settled on such newly developed land. Four hundred farm houses with potable water were supplied and 100 miles of roads were constructed. Seven new market places were started. Five hundred and twenty acres had received soil conservation treatment and 1500 farmers and extension staff had been trained. This has slowed the exodus of people to urban areas, made these landless families viable and enriched rural life.

The India Development Service (SA-22) has organised 15 landless labourers and developed wasteland leased from the government to produce fodder. It will secure bank loans for the members to buy cows or buffaloes so that these landless families can come into the cash economy. Community fodder farms for the benefit of the landless and marginal farmers were introduced by the Government of India for implementation through state governments.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Through raising and selling seedlings to forest and horticulture departments of the governments and to the public the landless can earn substantial incomes. There are many illustrations of this venture in India and other developing countries.

The planning organs of some countries have schemes to encourage private sector involvement in wasteland reclamation. Companies possess the skills and capital to do it. At an IERD lead-up conference the work of a Bombay company was described. Ion Exchange Ltd. acquired, with government approval, 1000 acres of wasteland. On this land the company is establishing a commercial plantation to grow a variety of trees (e.g. *Leucena* and *Eucalyptus*). The concept is to bring new land into cultivation, employ landless labourers and make a profit with a fair wage for the workers.

DIVERSIFICATION OF LAND USE

Small farmers, used to raising only field crops, are now have the opportunity of a whole range of new enterprises for their land. Supplementary income can be derived from subsidiary enterprises. Dairy, goatery, piggery, aromatic plants for perfume manufacture, fuel, fodder and quick growing timber are some uses which practitioners are now introducing to help small farmers earn higher levels of income. Some enterprises such as sericulture (raising of silkworms), dairy, bee-keeping and fibre plants lend themselves to the production of more valuable products by increasing productive employment and income. Mixed farming methods, such as agro-forestry, inter-cropping, crop and livestock combinations are the other means for maximising the productivity of land and income. A number of these options have been combined into packages for marginal farmers such as the 'one acre technology' introduced in some parts of India. On one acre a family can develop productive assets of fibre, fruit, fuel, fodder plants and a cross-bred cow.

A variety of organisations are promoting other supplementary income sources. The Asian Institute of Rural Development (SA-3) in India, receives requests from many countries to introduce sericulture for small farmers who can afford to invest in labour intensive operations. The Bharatiya Agro-Industries Foundation (SA-78) has been involved in cross breeding local cows and educating rural farmers in techniques of water development and fodder production. The National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) (SA-33) works with small and marginal farmers and the landless to provide access to technology and services to raise cows and buffaloes. Dairy co-operative members earn higher incomes by marketing the milk without a middle-trader, and having milk collections twice daily.

In Indonesia, the dairy and agricultural work of Sikeb Dairy and Agricultural Project North Sumatra (SP-4) was begun to increase the community's self-reliance and sense of responsibility for their own future. Community leaders established the project to provide new options for local people who were unable to provide adequately for their families due to lack of skills training and job opportunities. They were able to improve living conditions for the whole community as well.

The formation of organisations can facilitate the process. In Peru, a general drop in income due to the eradication of cocoa resulted in the migration of youth and lessened use of land in Proyecto Especial Alto Hualca (LA-30). The Project organised and diversified land use with agriculture, livestock and agro-industry. Sixteen rural women's clubs and twenty-nine Peruvian young agriculturists' clubs were formed, facilitating this process.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Such diversified farming systems utilise available resources and contribute to soil fertility while they enable small and marginal farmers to increase labour demand, reduce risk and spread cash flow. They usually include crops, livestock and permanent trees. Much international, national and local research effort is being directed to developing a range of technologies suited to particular geographies and climates.

IRRIGATION

Where irrigation schemes are possible they make a major difference in overall development. The Surat and Standard Cotton Mills Rural Development Project (SA-10) in the Panchmahals District of Gujarat was discussed in New Delhi. The tribal peoples were leading a nomadic life, migrating out of their villages for six months of the year due to the lack of work in their own environment. The villages are now undergoing rapid transformation toward a non-migratory life and trying to improve their living conditions. This series of changes was brought about by irrigation.

So far, the project covers about 5000 families and is served by nine small irrigation projects. A number of supportive services have been developed including supply of inputs for intensive agriculture, access to co-operative credit and health care. The school attendance by children has improved. The awakening and training of local people for their own development continues. The renewed pride and concern among the people to directly involve themselves in their own new situation is clearly visible. The rural development programme has added opportunities and training for people to take responsibility whether as a pump operator, mechanic, teacher or nurse. Villagers now understand the irrigation equipment and can repair it when necessary. Those who have pursued education have returned to the villages as doctors, engineers and teachers. Local leadership nurtured through the programme now negotiates decisions both among the various villages covered by the project and with external agencies like the banks which contribute to the programme.

The construction of bunds across rivers, the installation of pumpsets on river banks and the construction of tube-wells have provided a breakthrough in agriculture for tribal villages around Rangpur in Gujarat. This is facilitated by the efforts of Anand Niketan Ashram (SA-23), a voluntary organisation founded by Harivallabh Parikh, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. Water was the crying need of most of the tribal people. Anand Niketan decided to introduce pumpsets making a technological leap over intermediate levels of traditional irrigation practices. The first diesel pumpset was installed as an experiment at the ashram. Its success led the way for more pumpsets to be installed. The Ashram workers were also trained in operating the pumpsets. The initial costs were provided by private donors but later projects were mainly financed by banks. In 1983 there were 400 irrigation projects in 800 villages where 56,000 acres were irrigated and multiple cropping was practised. Irrigation today covers 80 per cent of tribal croplands in these villages.

In the Gonda district of Uttar Pradesh, India, the Gonda Gramodaya Project, a project of the Gonda Gramodaya Prakash Research Institute (SA-6) was able to construct 30,000 tube-wells in two years with the assistance of Peoples' Action for Development in India (PADII). Out of a total of 2,814 villages, 2,008 were covered by this minor irrigation and development programmes. Diesel or electrical pumpsets were installed on the tube-wells. The invention of a bullock-driven pump by a staff member was one of the highlights of this project. The increase in crop yield as a result of irrigation was 35 percent.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

In the state of Pariba, Brazil, Maria Dos Graces established the Agricultural Project for the Cultivation of Garlic (LA-19) by creating conditions whereby people could profitably stay on land which is very dry. She promoted simple irrigation for cultivation of garlic as a cash crop as well as the processing of garlic and creation of a producer's association. With the development of social infrastructures including education, health, food and water supply the migration of people from the village to the cities has stopped. The rural people have found for themselves a new sense of pride and satisfaction. In addition, imports of garlic into the state have been minimised.

In the Philippines there are two systems of irrigation: large scale schemes under the National Irrigation Systems which are built and run by the government and Communal Irrigation Systems which are built by the government but maintained and operated by farmers. As farmers did not participate in the construction work their maintenance and operation systems were neglected and the result was bad management with ineffective, or no, irrigation of the fields. The government became concerned about this and wanted to involve the farmers more directly in the management of the communal irrigation system.

The National Irrigation Administration introduced a more integrated approach which involves water users' associations. The associations are actively involved in planning and construction, system lay-out, obtaining water rights and right-of-way, organising volunteer labour and exerting control over expenditures. The farmers are involved in all phases. Construction costs have been lowered and management of the irrigation systems has improved. This decentralised management of irrigation systems entrusted to local farmers' associations gives control of these important assets to the local people and facilitates local development.

IDEAS INTO ACTION—OVERCOMING THE RELUCTANCE TO INNOVATE

Small and marginal farmers caught in the subsistence cycle are hesitant to take risks since they are uncertain of the results. When it comes to adopting new practices in farming or any other aspect of living, their intuitive reaction is to wait and see if anybody else nearby has taken it up, and if so, with what results. At home with their traditional practices they are hesitant to try something new. However, if the improved methods are discussed with them they are likely to weigh the pros and cons of the new practices in the light of their own experience and most often react favourably. If practices are selected which meet their direct and immediate needs the chances of their acceptance are even greater. The New Delhi exhibition sparked discussions about techniques for introducing new farming approaches to small farmers.

CHANGING PERCEPTION

The stagnation of the rural poor and their apathy toward improving their economic condition and style of living are largely due to fixed images of the impossibility of getting things done. This impression comes from previous experiences and their difficulties in approaching people in authority. Having intuitively perceived the futility of working for new development they often resign themselves to things as they are.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

The tribal farmers of Panchmahals District in Gujarat, India were not aware of the available resources lying idle or unutilised such as water in the small lakes for irrigation. Most of them believed that irrigation development was not possible in the area. These lakes were not designed for gravity irrigation, and getting lift irrigation fixed by the government was an extremely difficult task. The Surat and Standard Cotton Mills Rural Development Project (SA-10) highlighted the irrigation potential and worked out a strategy to mobilise government aid, public opinion, financial institutions and co-operative societies.

The image that irrigation development in their area was almost impossible underwent a complete change as the project exposed the tribal farmers to a whole range of new developments to improve their living conditions. They had never imagined a change in their nomadic life. Now that the irrigation facilities could provide them with work at home all the year round they adjusted to a situation altogether different. They sent their children to school, acquired household articles and secured their houses. The practitioners participating in the IERD at New Delhi, India noted this example as an important element of their learnings in rural development.

The women members of the dairy co-operatives in the India Development Service (SA-22) had never imagined that they would be able to work together, market their milk and eliminate the middle-trader. This was possible due to the painstaking organising activities of the rural development practitioners in IDS and the training programmes the women members of the co-operatives went through. Their image was changed from one of inevitable destiny to confidence in their ability to manage their affairs to improve their socio-economic conditions.

INTERCHANGE—SOMEONE HAS TO GO FIRST

Innovative approaches are increasing the productivity and the income levels of small farmers. The varying situations in agriculture make it essential to adjust the land-use methods, technologies to be introduced and enterprises to be developed. The lead in this direction is being taken by enterprising farmers and by institutions which are oriented to both research and development. These new practices or innovations or improvements have to be spread to other farmers so that they can also reap the benefits. This task is usually undertaken by government extension services; but a number of farmers' associations, industries, educational institutions, banks and other non-government voluntary organisations are also taking the initiative in this way.

Kandito Women Goat Project in Nairobi, Kenya (BA-20) set up a demonstration of goat-rearing with assistance from private non-government organisations and the Ministry of Agriculture. The initial success of the demonstration goat centre has resulted in the expansion of the project to five other areas.

The IERD team visiting the People's College in Uttar Pradesh (India, SA-19) found that the college works with relatively large farms (amalgamations of the holdings of several family members) where intensive agriculture and in some cases mechanised agriculture is practised. The college provides many kinds of support for these farms and uses them as demonstrations for other farmers in the area.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

TRAINING PROGRAMMES AND CLINICS

Specific training and local clinics are helpful in initiating new activities. In Germany (BRD), Stienkens Hof, the Farm for Active Living and Learning (EU-3) organises meetings and seminars on organic gardening and farming. Farm Clinics are being offered to farm families by The Syndicate Agricultural Foundation (SA-12) of Karnataka, India. Depending on the funds allocated by Syndicate Bank for the programme every year, the foundation expands the programme by organising new Farm Clinics. Each Farm Clinic covers one or a few villages and has an office in the village which serves as a base for a field assistant. Each clinic is linked to a branch of the Syndicate Bank. The main objective of the Farm Clinic is to help selected families from among the poor to improve their social and economic position. Through its efforts, the Farm Clinic also seeks to improve the villages where it operates. The clinic achieves its objectives through the following steps:

- One or two villages are selected for its area of operation;
- Details in the village considered poor are selected and surveyed in
- A family development plan is prepared for each family;
- Based on the family development plan, the family is helped to obtain financial and other assistance like the supply of inputs, raw materials and marketing facility;
- Educational programmes are organised to teach the selected families vocational skills;
- Community action for establishing various facilities needed by the village people and for improving the environment is organised.

TELEVISION AND VIDEO

The development potential of television and video must not be overlooked. The Indian Space Application Centre is transmitting TV programmes to 700 villages on behalf of the Anand Milk Producers' Union Ltd. (AMUL) (SA-33). When the farmers bring their milk to the dairy centre they see news, an educational film and some entertainment. In the middle-income countries of East Asia and Latin America receiving sets are much more widely distributed.

Both television and video are potent influences for communicating and changing attitudes. Television can be effective in introducing new ideas and techniques and in modifying the attitudes of the more conservative farmers. It could for example, change people's thinking about the role of women in agriculture and illustrate ways they can supplement their earnings. Video can be much more project-specific and even more relevant to grassroots requirements. Some practitioners have found the video to be a means of helping local people to develop their own potential and implement their community's social and economic plans. They have used it to relate to issues, problems and responsibilities which are authentically their own.

DEMONSTRATIONS-SHOWING THE WAY

Demonstrations, effectively organised and conducted, are a means of communicating agricultural methods to farmers. While passing on information they also create new attitudes. If followed up promptly the demonstrations can often lead to the adoption of innovations and improved practices.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

The Banavasi Seva Ashram, AGRINDUS (SA-2) is itself a comprehensive pilot demonstration in new agricultural and industrial techniques in India. The demonstration farm is on 250 acres of land donated by The Forest Department. Successful experiments in ravine reclamation, leveling, earthen dams, water reservoirs, crop patterns, cross-breeding of cattle, fruit orchards and mineral-based village industries were established. By demonstration these spread to the neighbouring villages in four blocks (approximately 1400 villages per block) nearby.

In Mexico, Granjas Integradas (Integrated Farms) (LA-12) aims to incorporate diverse but related components of farming. This demonstration of alternative ways to manage natural resources involved 184 families in the production of food for consumption. Different aspects of farming were integrated, such as animal management, production of vegetables and treatment of garbage. Members of the community were trained in management skills. All of this was done as a demonstration for the community and as a proposal for other communities. It is also a micro-level suggestion for the economy. The committee itself owns the farm. There are 25 farms like this which started in 1981. The demonstrations are an integral part of a whole range of educational aids the practitioner could use to facilitate adoption of agricultural innovations by farmers.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

UNITY IS STRENGTH—CREATING LINKAGES AMONG FARMERS

FARMERS' ORGANISATIONS

Competing with the economy of scale, small farmers have devised various forms of associations to raise their income levels. These associations also protect their interests in competition with large-scale agriculture and urban groups. Stable and well-managed local associations and co-operatives have provided the needed resources for taking up new ventures and for surmounting the hurdles that may arise.

The river in Dhanaka Shirur, a village in the state of Karnataka, India, was eroding the lands of many farmers. Under the leadership of a dedicated person in the village, the people organised the Dhanak-Shirur Cooperative Joint Farming Society, LTD. (SA-70). They constructed bunds across the river banks on the eroding side. A series of walls were constructed along the bank to stop the erosion and cause the soil to be redeposited. Common need led to the formation of a co-operative venture. Leadership was responsible for community-wide decision-making.

Associations of poor farmers and the landless can achieve remarkable results for their own development. The working group highlighted the necessity for the members to be trained in the management of both their enterprise and the association whether it be a co-operative, a registered society, or a non-formal association. In unity lies strength.

In the Philippines, the Small Farmers Development Project (SP-19) worked with the government to acquire land ownership. The project promoted local participation through both public community meetings and working with designated leadership. Participants acquired skills in leadership, defining objectives and encouraging broader community participation.

In 1953 following the land reforms in China (Taipei), Farmer's Associations (SP-9) were formed at different levels, owned, operated and governed by bonafide farmers. Such associations have been cited as useful because they are effective partners with the government in planning and programme implementation in agricultural and rural development. A federated system of farmers' associations renders such services as credit, merchandising and marketing, livestock insurance and agricultural extension. They provide a way for the farmers themselves to increase agricultural production and improve the general well-being of their communities. Farmers' associations at the lowest or township level are the most important as they keep direct contact with the farmers and render direct service.

They evolved options for group farming adapted to regional differences and farmers' preferences. In joint operations small farmers organise into groups of 20 to 30 to co-operatively carry out one or more operations. Each group can jointly purchase inputs, market outputs and own and utilise expensive farm machinery. This system maintains individual farm identity, reduces labour and production costs and accelerates mechanisation. Entrusted Farming is a kind of contract farming. Farmer A may entrust Farmer B to carry out one or more of Farmer A's operations. These various farming practices have resulted in a 56 percent increase in per capita intake of protein, 31 percent increase in per capita intake of calories, and a 17-fold increase in the export of agricultural products over the last 30 years.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

The Vaishali Area Small Farmers Association (VASFA) (SA-20) project is a good illustration from India of how small farmers can form associations, develop common productive assets and increase their production several times. Farmers with small fragmented pieces of land were brought together to form a registered society, without loss of identity of individual holdings, around a newly constructed tube-well. They were provided with common equipment, trained in its use and given the usually available incentives to increase their agricultural production. Routine farming operations are carried out independently and individually. VASFA is now used as an extension agent for government and non-government agencies. To date 35 deep tube-wells have brought 1000 acres of dry land under irrigation and high yielding varieties of crops have increased the production. Assured irrigation and increased income led the farmers to switch over to cash crops in many cases. The association is careful that the nutrition level of farm families is not reduced. Production of domestic needs of food grains and other vegetable and fruit crops provides a reason for bringing additional areas under cash crops.

The three women's dairy co-operatives in the India Development Service Project (SA-22) illustrate what rural women can achieve with relevant training and assistance in organising themselves. These women formed co-operatives to market their milk in the nearby town. They realised that they needed to be trained if they were to do a good job of it. So far 300 women have been trained in all aspects of dairying including raising fodder, rearing cows, managing a co-operative, testing milk, keeping accounts and all other related aspects. The women members themselves discuss and resolve problems which come up in the work of the co-operative. Sometimes they ask for the assistance of IDS staff members. These dairy co-operatives show what good management can accomplish when rural people make up their minds. They now negotiate with the bank for cow and buffalo loans and make decisions about issues such as setting the price of milk and settling disputes arising out of the quality of milk delivered by some members to the society. The entire programme is a realisation of the concept of transferring power to the hands of women. This was made possible by the organisation of co-operatives, training of women and helping and guiding them in the management of their dairy affairs.

Similarly, in Kenya, Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development Project (BA-15) started four projects: bee-keeping, honey and wax refining, improved goat breeding and stabilised earth brick-making. All are generating additional income for women who had no future beyond subsistence farming. No other livestock can survive in that area due to tsetse flies. Bee-keeping, traditionally a men's occupation, was taken up by the women. Following training organised by the Ministry of Livestock Development the women have formed a co-operative for this purpose. With the help of outside funds 100 acres have been fenced for honey producing trees and shrubs. Nineteen Women's Registered Goat Breeding Co-operatives are providing extra cash income and better nourishment. There are 30 to 50 women in each co-operative, each with 30-50 goats. They are learning the necessary skills like fodder cultivation. The added income from these projects has encouraged others to join the effort. Now 2,017 women are involved in these projects.

Not every effort towards local organisation of farmers has been successful. Speaking at the 1981 training course of Small Farmer's Co-operatives organised by the German Foundation for International Development, Professor V.K. Gupta of the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, India, observed: 'the reasons for the general failure of co-operatives in developing countries is ... the lack of congruency between the functions carried out by these co-operatives and the needs and aspirations of the small farmers.'

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

The co-operative structure in most developing countries normally enveloped distributing, disbursing and collecting organisations. The secondary and apex organisations had neither the capability nor a will or sense of responsibility for developing primary level organisations of small farmers which was the main objective.'

The Small Farmer Development Programme (SA-36) in Nepal found that the delivery mechanism of government agencies could be adapted to the needs of the rural poor with greater prospects of benefiting the target group. Small Farmers Development Projects plans and programmes are formulated so that small farmer's un-utilised or under-utilised skills, labour and available resources are mobilised. The group approach has encouraged meaningful participation by the people. Small farmers' groups are organised at the village level. They formulate their plans for economic, social and other community programmes. Matching the programmes of delivery with the plans of the associations to strengthen the receiving mechanism of the small farmers is the most important step in the process. After a household survey has been conducted the group organises the farmers into smaller informal groups. A group of 10 to 20 farmers has been found to be effective in implementing their own agricultural and social development plan. The groups of small farmers also monitor and evaluate their projects. Agricultural services (improved seeds, chemical fertilisers, veterinary services and improved implements) and social services (family planning, sanitation, drinking water, adult education, health) have been made available to small farmers through these farmers' groups.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY IDENTITY

The institutional inability or failure to cater to the development interests of small and marginal farmers can be traced to the cultural and social power structure which allowed little or no grassroots level participation in decisions. The IERD deliberations repeatedly referred to this as a reference point for the local practitioner. Projects showed that village-wide structures and decision-making can be helpful in enabling agricultural development to take place among the landless and small farmers.

The IERD team which visited the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (SA-4) in Jamkhed, India, found that the establishment of Farmers Clubs with a free mix of different caste members had created a united village group capable of absorbing improved farming technology. Working through such local groups gives greater impetus to development programme implementation.

In many places decision-making in open meetings and consensus of the whole community has been an effective approach. The Agricultural Project for the Cultivation of Garlic (LA-19) used a series of meetings in the community where the problems facing the community were discussed and a consensus reached as to the actions to be initiated. The project taught them how to organise themselves into a co-operative and administer it in order to improve their standard of living. With the increased income from garlic, many saw a way to stay in the community rather than emigrate to the city for work.

The India-based Auroville Co-operative (SA-45) with 500 people from 30 countries and the surrounding villages as members, adopted communal living after analysing and seeing what brings satisfaction to them. All earnings were pooled together and distributed according to their needs. Decision making is by consensus. A meeting is held once-a-week where everyone takes his or her turn as the leader of the meeting. Consensus management brings people together both physically, in thinking and attitudes which facilitates community activities.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Local associations can support the participation of the poorer sections in managing and implementing new activities. The Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society (CROSS) (SA-25) of Andhra Pradesh, India, organises village associations to give poor people the opportunity and structure to make decisions about their own lives and make plans to tackle problems of social and human rights. The associations support the development work of CROSS in many ways. The associations are a basic structure to give poor villages an opportunity to be united in decisions about their lives and livelihoods. They gain the self-confidence and courage to meet their own requirements individually and in the community as a whole.

Harassment and atrocities against harijans are very rare in CROSS villages. In most cases the traditional leadership is questioned and associations have taken a lot of power into their hands. There are associations for both men and women. They efficiently manage the revolving funds for fertilisers. If any member fails to repay on time they exert social pressure rather than use coercive methods often practiced by local co-operative banks. The members have started repaying the amounts borrowed for the community wells into accounts in some villages. This has removed the doubts of outsiders who had misgivings about the capacity of a village association to operate revolving funds.

VERTICAL LINKAGES—TYING SMALL FARMERS INTO THE GLOBE

Local development is facilitated by the establishment of strong links with institutions and sources of information and services to help rural people, in their efforts to increase agricultural production. The stratification of local communities served some functional basis in the past but needs to be reoriented for local development. Linkages among the various sections of rural people and with the outside development environment, need to be developed. Exposure to other people and development efforts encourages local people to be more receptive to new ideas, technologies and strategies for developmental action.

Practitioners' Roles

In some projects vertical linkages with organised industries have increased local agricultural production and returned a fair price for their produce. Access to technology, credit and services, and meaningful dialogue for non-exploiting relationships with local trades people and organisations, are a necessity if local people are to take control of their development process. The rural development practitioner needs to give his attention to the establishment of positive relationships between local farmers and other public, private and voluntary bodies. IERD delegates in New Delhi visited and studied some of the rural development projects in India and reviewed projects from other participating countries. They found a good deal of experience which can be profitably used by practitioners in working to link villagers with the available resources.

Krishna Agarwal, the chairman of Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh (SA-9) described their work in India this way: 'We have become an agent for the economic welfare of the community by acting as a link between the poor farmers and the financial institutions, like banks.' The project has established links with the Indian Council of Agriculture Research and the Directorate of Extension in the Ministry of Agriculture, India, and arranged for demonstrations for the benefit of villagers. Mostly farm women are involved. The programme aims to link education with the development of family and village life by educating not only the women but the whole family including farmers and farm boys. The local people get direct experience of working with these outside agencies.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

The India Development Service (IDS) (SA-22) has helped rural people to come into direct contact with various government agencies, banks, professional volunteers, and industries in the area. This linkage process has been intentionally developed so that rural people can continue to get support when IDS withdraws from the programme. It is the philosophy of IDS that rural people should develop the capability to deal with all their situations in the course of time. Their experience with IDS has helped other institutions and organisations to become more oriented to deal with local people without the pressure of an intermediary organisation.

Specific organisation and training in economic activities can enable women to generate additional income. SEWA (SA-32) has arranged for women of small farming and landless families to receive training in agriculture and dairy techniques. They describe their experience like this: 'Although women traditionally care for cattle, most have been exploited for years by private dairy interests. ...Low caste and harijan women have rarely had access to milk cattle because of the investment involved.... SEWA arranged five-day training courses, for about 500 women, in veterinary care, cattle-breeding and methods of producing high quality milk. At first resistance was encountered to such training to illiterate women but the training proved to be successful. After an uphill battle against certain vested interests the first women's co-operative was registered in 1980. There are now seven such co-operatives. Women have been trained to measure the fat content and keep records. The milk is marketed through the National Dairy Development Board (SA-33) and the Sardar Dairy.'

The ANARDE Foundation (SA-11) is another example of effective connections between farmers and financial institutions to the benefit of the farmer. The foundation is funded by the Aegis Chemical Corporation in Bombay. ANARDE has taken up the government Integrated Rural Development Programmes by adopting 350 villages in five centres of Gujarat State, India. They attempt only work which is part of current government programmes and in which they are confident of financial input. This ensures that village programmes which are initiated can be successfully implemented without raising false hopes. The staff are thoroughly conversant with government programmes, attend all government meetings and are prepared to guide villagers and help them to obtain financial input. ANARDE mobilises and co-ordinates various resources such as government, banks, voluntary agencies and its own by providing managerial and technical assistance based on modern business norms.

ACCESS TO RESOURCES, MARKET, TECHNOLOGY AND CREDIT

Access to Productive Resources

Ownership of productive resources whether in the form of land or machinery can make a major difference to the poor. Security of tenure and guarantee of a fair share in the produce of the land the tenants cultivate have contributed to increasing production in India and Korea. Transfer of the ownership of land from the landlord to the tenant has resulted in fresh investment by the tenant to increase the productivity of their newly acquired and highly valued land. The small farmers in VASFA (SA-20) formed a registered society, procured bank loans and bought all the equipment they needed such as a tractor and other implements. This prevented their exploitation when hiring equipment from others. Whenever and wherever fisher people have secured the rights over inland water reservoirs, they have done well in the catch of fish and in maintaining the continued productivity of fish. When working for contractors their productivity was low. Similarly, when Tignish Fisherman's Cooperative (NA-8) bought boats and gear their profits rose.

Access to Markets

A further vulnerability from which small farmers suffer is competition from large scale agriculture. Policies and structures often favour large scale agriculture as well. Enabling them to organise themselves to identify and follow up courses of action can be a profitable approach to them. The farmers' markets promoted by the Association of Rural Development (EU-30) in Belgium are self-supporting local initiatives of small farmers to co-operate for direct commercialisation on the farms and at the farmers' markets. Farmers sell directly to consumers. The selling prices are discussed together before each market. Consumers and farmers set the prices so that the farmers' costs and labour are paid and consumers can save about 20 percent over store prices. This successful approach is a real alternative to a large-scale agriculture policy. There are now 25 markets spread over Flanders. While the Belgian agricultural policy is aimed at large-scale agriculture, specialisation, heavy investment and export, the Association of Rural Development vindicates the interests of small farmers and growers squeezed by the large-scale policies.

In the commodity markets for non-perishable cash crops such as grains and pulses the bargaining power of farmers has been significantly improved when they have been able to withhold their produce from the market until prices are more favourable. Community and individually-owned storage facilities have made this possible. The capital required for building these structures is greatly reduced when the local people themselves do the construction. Nevertheless, capital is required for at least the building materials. Even more important is the availability of working capital to take care of the lack of cash flow while the farmer's produce is being withheld from the market.

The problem was tackled in Mexico by the Grupos de San Bartolo (LA-33). The foundation has 'the loaning of crop storage buildings' among its programme activities (and it also promotes the production of jams in its projects). The Agricultural Project for the Cultivation of Garlic (LA-19) tapped the assistance of PRODECOR, a government organisation, to ease the key problem of raising the necessary capital. Here is an area where collaboration with organised industry can be advantageous. Etah Integrated Rural Development Programme (SA-71) which concentrates on the Etah District of Uttar Pradesh, India, is pursuing a very relevant integrated scheme of storing, processing and marketing rural produce. There is some confidence that the company will succeed in helping the local people work this scheme so that it operates to their benefit.

The private sector can play the important role of helping to find markets for village products. The Cigarette Company Farmers Programme sponsored by the Cigarette Company of Jamaica Ltd. (LA-41) aims both to put idle land into commission and initiate the production of an exportable crop. One thousand men, women and youth are involved in the project out of a population of 30,000. The accomplishments claimed are improved living standards, earnings, and employment to unemployed, and unskilled people who learned farming methods through technical training. The Project earns foreign exchange.

IERD delegates strongly suggested that priority should normally be given to local and regional markets in preference to the more difficult and capricious export markets. However, when there is an opportunity for exports they do give a poor local community access to affluent markets. From the point of view of the local people and the company an important possibility arises from Cigarette Farmers Programme marketing arrangements. It is the contract between the processor and the farmer under which the quantity and the price are negotiated and made firm for the season.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Access to Technology

The gulf that exists between the village and the urban centres is seen in the long time it takes for new technological applications to make their way to small farmers. This is often the case even when the source of technological innovations is no further than the district centre. Rural programmes such as workshops, science fairs and science quizzes and technology fairs are being used in many countries. The information reaches parents through their children. The mass communications media and agricultural fairs also help get the word out to farmers. Projects that participated in the IERD are using a wide variety of approaches to make technology available in villages. (See also COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY, Part I, Section 7: (1-700).

A bold experiment in getting technology to farmers is being undertaken in France by the World Centre for Informatics and Human Resources (BA-31). The experiment (a programme of education assisted by computer and interactive videodisc) is to train farmers using a combination of the system developed by agricultural institutions with electronic technology which allows the learner to interact with the material to be learned on a touch sensitive color-tv display. This project is underway training farmers in the Ivory Coast and in France.

Farmers in Southern France grouped together and bought a simple computer with which they use programmes to manage their dairy herds with greater profit (Technical and Financial Farm Management Assisted By Computer, EU-23). In the process farmers have learned more about the techniques of managing a dairy as well as why good management is important. The technology of the computer has become a link between research and application. It allows a saving of 10 percent to 30 percent of feed, producing the same amount of milk.

The Edgemont Neighbourhood (NA-16) in Ohio, USA (with the assistance of the University of Dayton) created one community garden in 1980 and built three solar greenhouses in 1981/82. By 1983 the number of gardens had increased to 90. The solar greenhouses make year-round food production possible and serve as a focal point for community building.

In Colorado, USA, the San Luis Valley Solar Energy Association (NA-21) is an umbrella organisation for the many solar projects occurring in the valley. The association is a private non-profit corporation supported by voluntary interests to promote understanding and development of solar and other alternative energy resources through individual and community effort. Its activities include sponsoring the San Luis Valley Energy Centre which is largely responsible for more than 3,000 solar installations being operational. This figure represents nearly 25 percent of all San Luis Valley homes that utilise low-cost do-it-yourself solar technologies. It publishes a newsletter, 'Solar Flashes' with substantial 'how to' articles distributed across the nation. It also 'weatherises' more than 300 homes of low income families and has increased the percentage of families using solar energy from .06 percent to 5.9 percent.

French and Senegalese farmers have been working together to design a unique technology in an effort to produce market gardens and off-season crops in Senegal. Five members of the French Agriculteurs Francais Et Developpement International (EU-24) joined with the Association Jeunesse Agriculteurs Casamance in Senegal (AJAC) (BA-8). The watering of crops was dependent upon women who had to carry water from wells and this was insufficient. Because neither windmills nor motor pumps were viable, the farmers of the two groups came up with a third solution, using a long piston pump coupled with a donkey driven wheel which could be used in neighbouring villages as well.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

In Mexico, Centro de Estudios de Tecnología Apropiada para México (CETAMEX) (LA-49), generates and implements appropriate technologies in the fields of soil conservation, afforestation and integrated farming. Professional volunteers transfer information about these technologies to rural people. These technologies are appropriate to local conditions in the seven regional projects in arid, humid and tropical areas of Mexico.

The Al Ain Agriculture Experimental Centre (NM-2) in Abu Dhabi, was instituted in 1972 and turned over to the government in 1982. Their work demonstrates the possibilities of vegetable production in the desert. Technologies include green-houses, sun shelters and drip irrigation.

The Bharatiya Agro-Industries Foundation (BAIF) (SA-78) has developed technology for cross-breeding local cows and cultivation of exotic fodder plants. They make these services available at the door of farmers in many states. This approach helps the farmers not only to know about the technology but also to get it serviced locally.

The project in the village of General Ricarte (SP-10) in the Philippines, sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture and supported by the Agriculture Management Foundation whose staff live in the village, offers training in different technologies like increased crop production, livestock and poultry production, development of marketing and community organisation to farmers.

The Suruchi Campus includes the Chapshala and Agricultural Tools Research Centre (SA-13), in Gujarat, India. Here is a self-supporting technology centre working on agricultural technologies such as agricultural hand tools which reduce physical strain and also increase production. Renewable energy sources including solar cookers, stove design and biogas plants are popular. Several hundred artisans have been trained to produce these technologies for the village market. Artisans' training in improved technologies, such as installation of biogas plants has been organised by a number of organisations. Such training provides an effective method for farmers to gain access to new technologies and also to get the relevant services to make use of these technologies.

India Development Service (SA-22) also found that for their dairy development project, services like training village youth in taking care of animal health, testing of the quality of milk and artificial insemination were available at nearby university research stations and farms, government dairies and training centres. All it took was to develop a relationship between them and the villages.

The major concern with technology is getting it located in the village. For example, successful artificial insemination is a sophisticated technological process. Its implementation depends on villagers with practical experience with cattle. No technological qualifications are required but an ability to gain co-operation from the villagers. On this subject, Dr. V. Kurien, Chairman of the National Dairy Development Board (SA-33) speaking at an All India Management Association Workshop of Rural Development in 1981 noted, 'The human input for rural development...starts not with the technologists or the manager but with the village men and women who are prepared to defy...the bondage of tradition....Effective personalities...capable of making change happen right in their own villages where change has been long abhorred. These become the lay artificial inseminator (and)...the first aid worker....Only when these makers of change are living and working in the villages...can trained technologists and managers organise modern services...economically.'

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Access to Credit

The difficulty of getting credit to villagers is often cited as a bottleneck for development. In Jamaica, a cheese and milk processing facility that was established by the 3M Development Project (LA-5) named the securing of revolving loans as the major factor to enable the farmers to begin dairying. In India, the Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh (SA-9) have given interest free loans to more than 200 farmers for improving their living conditions and for additional income from providing buffaloes, goats or sewing machines to the housewives. The Action for Welfare and Awakening in the Rural Environment (AWARE) (SA-21) and the Agrindus Project of Banavasi Seva Ashram (SA-2) have also helped villages to build up village funds from which needy farmers can get low interest loans immediately. These funds are under the local control of villagers and hence free from bureaucratic procedures.

In addition to designing a credit-worthy project, the presence of leadership in the community who can build a relationship of trust, confidence and responsibility between the bank and the village is important. The India Development Service (SA-22) identifies the community leaders of the villages as a creative influence in obtaining finance for their residents from various sources. Many of the loans to purchase sheep wool were sanctioned with the bank officials. Similarly, the village leaders are helped to approach various government offices to convince the officials to release government subsidies. In this way a direct, positive and constructive relationship is developed between villagers and government officials.

Co-operatives are an important source of credit. Although the lengthy procedures in the co-operatives discourage poor farmers from availing themselves of the credit facilities, the village leadership can establish fruitful liaison between poor farmers and officials of co-operative societies. Many a rural development practitioner has facilitated this process.

The Banks

The banks have a real interest in effective development projects because in these the demand for credit is high and a good repayment record is the consequence of well-organised community action. They have been strong supporters and sometimes initiators of specific development projects. The state-owned Syndicate Bank has set up a Rural Development Cell (SA-12) in India and its Syndicate Agricultural Foundation which promote integrated rural development and a number of activities aimed at training farmers and assisting them in various ways. For example, their farm clinics aim to assist in training farmers and assisting the poorest of the poor and they have started Information Exchange Clubs and Future Farmers Clubs which offer education, training, and practical advice and discussions among experienced farmers. The Foundation promises credit and financial services but the programmes have a broader development content.

The Canara Bank in India has taken a creative interest in The Institute of Cultural Affairs, Jawale (SA-28) and Chikhale (SA-31) Clusters in Maharashtra. Encouraged by the high level of loan repayment (over 90 percent compared with a national average of just over 50 percent) the bank has put particularly effective staff into the field. A consequence of this is the dramatic increase in the volume of lending. Furthermore, the bank in Jawale has provided finance on easy terms to the villagers which has enabled them to obtain lift-irrigation that will greatly benefit crop yields.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

PUBLIC SECTOR LINKAGES-LARGE SCALE PROJECTS

When local people are fully involved in and benefiting from an idea that works it can produce a ripple effect and spread the coverage and impact to more people. Such situations are sometimes capitalised to build up a strategy of rural development which may have far-reaching ramifications extending over an entire region or even an entire country. Almost always in such cases there is a person whose dynamic leadership, personality and work methods may elevate the strategy into a movement. Some critical factors influencing the impact of the movement on rural people and their development are:

- The extent and quality of involvement of the people and the encouragement and opportunities for the growth of grassroots level functional leadership;
- The extent to which the rural people identify themselves with the movement, support it and own it;
- Technology or packages of technologies which are of immediate and long range benefit to the people, particularly the poorer sections;
- Servicing the technologies is crucial to sustaining the programme;
- The extent of the professionalisation of the approaches and programmes incorporated in the movement;
- The degree of government support, explicit or implicit.

These factors influence the quality and sustainability of local development. In fact, as the movement gains momentum and strength, practitioners find themselves working more and more with the people and helping them to improve the quality of their lives by improving their socio-economic conditions, cultural life and the democratisation of their functioning as individuals and groups.

Operation Flood in India (National Dairy Development Board, SA-33) is an example of vertical linkage of agriculture. It began with the Anand Milk Producers' Union Ltd. (AMUL) in Kheda district of Gujarat. AMUL has set the pattern for the Operation Flood programme. The National Dairy Development Board was established in 1965 under the Ministry of Agriculture to duplicate, in other parts of the country, the pattern of milk co-operatives developed at Anand. The basic unit is the Milk Producers' Co-operative Society, an association of milk producers in a village for the marketing of their milk. The Milk Producers' Co-operative in a district are the members of the respective district co-operative milk producers' unions which arrange for procurement, processing and marketing of milk and milk products. A number of services including an artificial insemination service, veterinary service, fodder cultivation and demonstrations are organised for the benefit of the members. The district level unions are also members of the federation at the state level which is the implementing agency for Operation Flood programmes.

Although primarily oriented to provide a remunerative market for the milk produced by members, the programme is gradually incorporating and strengthening the strategies for increasing the production of milk. The most distinguishing features of this programme are:

- Organisation of single commodity co-operative service societies;
- Ownership of production, marketing and processing of milk by the members themselves through their representatives of the three tier co-operative institutions;
- Application of professional management methods.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

In the Republic of Korea, Saemaul Undong (SP-33) is a movement which 'was first initiated among farmers in the rural area with a view to bringing about rural modernisation as well as to reduce the gap between the urban and rural areas. (It is) a movement to make a new village or a new community, a movement for daily practice of the Saemaul spirit: diligence, self-help and co-operation. The goal of Saemaul Undong is to improve living conditions and also to encourage individual initiative. By so doing, individuals can prepare the solid grounds of their lives where family and society can remain stable and where one can look forward to a promising tomorrow.'

Saemaul Undong is spreading over the entire country with units working closely at each level of the government. The government supports the movement with incentives. Agriculture development has received a remarkable impetus. The national advance in agriculture is in many respects due to the mutual support between the government and the movement. To improve linkages, Saemaul Undong is encouraging the establishment of spheres or clusters of five or more villages where horizontal linkages would be improved as farmers work together and where vertical linkages would be facilitated by co-ordinated efforts.

PRIVATE SECTOR LINKAGES-WORKING WITH COMPANIES

In developing countries, where a major portion of the population lives in the countryside, commercial enterprise has a long-term interest in developing rural purchasing power building a major market for its products in the rural areas. Some agro-industries, as producers of goods and services for rural use, know enough about the social and economic circumstances of villages make an intelligent contribution to their development. Such corporations have of their own initiative and sometimes with the encouragement of the government applied their managerial, technical, financial and research skills to rural development.

The experience of most industrial companies (although there are some honourable exceptions) is that their top-down style of management results in a technocratic approach to development. This may misfire by failing to involve properly the decisions of the villagers concerned. Nevertheless, some outstanding work has been done. The Mafatlal Group's Surat and Standard Cotton Mills Rural Development Project (SA-10) embraces nine villages spread over some 16,000 acres with 25,000 people in all. The report of the Central International Event field visit states 'It is an example of how a project starting from the basic need of supplying food to the area has gone on to include, not only the provision of other services, but also inspired the commitment and dedication of the whole community. It is an outstanding example of private sector initiative which focused on a major perceived need. It had the effect of stabilising the life style of a hapless nomadic tribal people through the irrigation of their land. The management skills which the co-ordinating agent brought to bear have yielded results of wide scope and rapid success. It is a replicable mode of launching community development from very low baseline. A private sector agent forged the linkage in bringing to the local community both technical and financial resources and a sense of pride and commitment among the tribal people themselves in tackling their own situation.'

Industries tend to view the rural scene out of enlightened self-interest or long-range commercial motives as a part of the consumer economy. A more organic and creative role may be expected of industries which see the rural areas in the light of the producer economy. Among these are companies which rely for raw materials upon agriculture, forest and fishery, and produce—such as fresh and processed foodstuffs, sugar, tobacco, dairy, tea, coffee and cocoa companies.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Some are knowledgeable about rural areas and have a long-term business concern about their development. They see that if the villages are to be reliable suppliers of quality produce they will need research, infrastructural, technical, credit and welfare support.

Through non-farm income generation the private sector can provide a means of obtaining the working capital to bring marginal land into workable condition and to initiate supplementary enterprises. Typically companies of this type are located with ready access to the villages. Their interest in rural development may stem from a wish to visibly fulfill their social responsibility.

In the States of Bihar and Orissa, India, the Tata Steel Rural Development Society (SA-17) works with 250 villages surrounding their steel plant and their mines and collieries. They have two important objectives: 'To harness the support services of government agencies, non-government agencies and banks for rural development and to encourage whole-hearted involvement of rural people and the gradual increase of self-reliance until development projects can become self-supporting.'

They try to encourage local initiative and to create relationships among the rural people within and across villages. 'When a development officer initially goes into a village he identifies three people: a village leader, an ambitious young man and an ambitious young woman. These people are presented with various opportunities for their village and the initial education and information necessary to understand the opportunities. It then becomes their responsibility to disseminate the knowledge and awareness within the village. Not until the village as a whole chooses a development opportunity is it provided. When the villagers come to the TSRDS village centres they are provided with the support, training and education in skills and management needed to develop their infrastructure.'

The Central International Event field visit team to Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO) (SA-17) said, 'Tata accepts that part of its duty as a corporate citizen is the assumption of a considerable degree of responsibility for the standard of living and the quality of life of its employees in and around Jamshedpur. This is achieved specifically through a Community Development and Social Welfare programme, a Family Welfare Programme and an Office for Adivasi (tribal) Affairs.'

This interest in rural development may also be motivated by the desirability of maintaining a contented workforce whose extended family connections in the surrounding rural areas may be strong.

Such companies are well-placed to stimulate the growth of the non-farm industries so badly needed to generate income which may eventually be turned into farm capital to provide employment and to promote the desirable long-term aim of diversifying the whole village economy. They may be able to organise immediate markets for village products as in TISCO's large scale purchases of traditionally-made baskets for carrying earth in construction. The basket-making was a traditional village industry which the company expanded by providing crafts training as well as the market. In the same vein it also encourages the growing of tassar silk worms and provides craft training in spinning, weaving, and finishing the cloth for sophisticated markets.

Perhaps one of the more significant things Tata does for the villages is the assistance in marketing. With approximately 60,000 direct and secondary employees Tata is able to provide markets for the villages' economic products.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Projects like this tend to move or be pulled into a comprehensive direction which includes farming. The Tata Steel Rural Development Society's activities encompass 230 (mainly tribal) villages with a population of over 100,000. The dominant occupation is agriculture. The quality of the soil is poor and classified as wasteland. Irrigation is at 2 percent as against the national average of 18 percent. The programme works to encourage village planning and decision-making structures, demonstrate modern agricultural methods and provide the means for agriculture, forestry and dairy, assist in applications for bank loans and in the organisation of economic ventures. The Society is also involved in providing infrastructure through drilling water wells, constructing catchment ponds and building roads for village access to main roads as well as making health care available. They also use a system of reducing and withdrawing subsidies designed to make the project self-sufficient over time.

TELCO 'lorry harnesses' (assemblies which carry a truck's wiring to be subsequently fitted into the chassis), a project of the TATA Engineering and Locomotive Company (SA-8), are made by a village entrepreneur trained by the company in collaboration with the Xavier Institute of Social Service (SA-7). This is within a modern industrial context. It points to a model that could apply to many industrial enterprises within range of the rural areas. Developing villages as a source of supply for the ancillary requirements of organised industry has been taking place in many places in Japan with notable success. In India income generation of this sort is taking place in a number of locations and in different industries. For example:

- Village artisans have traditionally supplied plough shares, scythes and other tools for local use;
- Many Punjab villagers manufacture bicycles in the state;
- Village sports equipment and other sports equipment factories in Maharashtra;
- Bata Company teaches villagers how to make fashion shoes, supplies them with new designs, updates their technology, provides them with a quality control apparatus and, most important of all, with a market.

The long association that the sugar factory of Walchandnagar Industries Ltd. (SA-16) in India has with the surrounding community had them initiating relief work during the famine of 1972-1973. This kind of concern in the areas where their employees and their families live led them in the direction of comprehensive development. In 1979, a village development trust was formed to develop and implement a strategy for 15 surrounding villages. A lift irrigation scheme for 1,600 acres was built for the benefit of the communities and a process took place of, 'gaining the confidence of the villagers, to enable them to see that the company was out to offer genuine support and backup for the projects that the villagers initiated.'

They work within a very low budget to broaden leadership and to provide practical training. There has already been an impressive amount of local investment in the project.

The visiting Central International Event team discerned six approaches which the company considers important to their success:

- Using the experience and expertise of the company;
- Forming co-operative structures of the landless;
- Letting positive experience strengthen organisations;
- Utilising non-traditional education;
- Involving youth in doing projects;
- Locating connections to available resources.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

PROCESSING AND PACKAGING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

In the early 1950's Japan was building up its food canning industry. It was crucial that not only should processing capacity match very rapidly expanding demand stimulated by heavy advertising but that the supply of the right quality and quantity of vegetables should be available for processing at the right time to satisfy that demand. A market of about 750 million per annum the farmers had to be persuaded to grow vastly increased quantities of vegetables with a huge increase each year. The farmers' past experience with fresh produce markets told them that higher crop output invariably meant lower prices. They were reluctant to invest in higher production without guarantees from the manufacturers. The outcome was advances of credit against future supplies and contracts under which the farmer was guaranteed a price for his crop. The farmer for his part made certain undertakings about supplying specific quantities. Such contracts have been found over time to be beneficial to both parties. This co-operation between the processor and the grower has led to much crop research to enable the farmers to improve the quality and yield of their crops. Again both parties benefit. This example is given in some detail because it illustrates what can come out of a symbiotic relationship between organised industry and village based farmers.

To highlight the lessons of the Japanese case it is worth mentioning a different approach made to the same problem at about the same time. In the Indian case the food processors recognised that the farmer could get his best prices in the market for fresh produce. The processors therefore entered the market as buyers only when the demand for fresh produce had been satisfied and prices were dropping or when prices were low on account of a glut. In practice this meant that the only produce which got preserved was the surplus available after the 'fresh' market had been satisfied.

This arrangement proved to be against the long-term interests of both the grower and the food preservers. For the farmers the growth prospects for the sale of fresh produce were limited because no refrigerated transportation facilities were available. They could have benefited greatly from any growth of food preserving. The wastage of raw produce that happens when there is no co-ordination between growing and processing can be as high as 25 percent in the case of fruits and vegetables. Therefore it is desirable that the village process its own produce locally wherever possible, preferably co-operatively or by village entrepreneurs. Jams, pickles, chutneys and fruit squashes have been mentioned in a number of project reports. It should be noted, however, that freeze-drying and canning are both technologically and capital intensive. They could be handled by a large co-operative venture. If that is not operating in the area, the best deal for a farmer wishing to increase his business growing fruit and vegetables could lie in coming to contractual arrangements with food processors.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONER

It is clear that more than one sector can be usefully involved in the support of development. The foregoing paragraphs suggest that there are circumstances in which organised business can further the social and economic development of a rural area. In particular it can be useful in the transfer of technology, marketing village produce and manufactured goods, generating employment, promoting income-supplementing activities for the farming community, helping to diversify its agriculture and in some cases its total economy. It may be willing and able to make wasteland productive that otherwise could not be worked in the foreseeable future.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

Development practitioners are invited to consider if there are ways in which industry with socially responsible or responsibly commercial motives may be a useful resource in the projects with which the practitioners are connected. The resources available to companies include money, land, machinery, equipment, technology and people. These may be caring people with management, marketing, engineering, other technical medical, financial and economic skills. Can the company or can its personnel be of service to the project? If it seems that they can, do the local people in the project community want to involve them? If so, where and in what arenas could such involvement be useful?

In several countries the business community is involved with rural development. At one level the Association of Indian Engineering Industry co-sponsored the IERD. At another the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry runs its own rural development programme (SA-79). Many other chambers of commerce and industry, industrial associations and management associations have rural development committees (some with their own Rural Development Advisor) and a number of these bodies have run rural development symposia. Practitioners who are located near enough to one of the larger towns could approach the local chamber of commerce or management association directly. Probably the most ready interest in helping will come from companies located nearby, particularly agro-based industries. The initial objective should be to identify with the company the local needs that it is interested in meeting because they lie within its area of expertise and product range.

The next tactic is to persuade an executive of the company to visit the project. This is the first step on the road to building a real relationship between the company and the project activity. In the earlier stages contributions of goods or services that relate to the needs of the local people breed involvement quicker than contributions of money. Even if what is truly required is seed money the route to take with the company is still the same. If, after the initial contact, the request is passed on to a committee or a company trust it is likely to receive more favourable consideration than if the interest of senior management has been engaged.

What has to be considered is how important the obtaining of resources is in relation to need, and how much time practitioners can afford to spend away from the project raising them. Though there were some in New Delhi who said with conviction that bottom-up grassroots development rarely required charitable donations, other projects had experienced times when seed money was absolutely essential or when the absence of some quite small inputs slowed down unbearably the pace of the progress being made towards sustainable development.

INCENTIVES AND 'WAGE GOODS'

Two concepts that were discussed in the IERD which are relevant to the strategic thinking of rural development practitioners relate to approaches that work at the village level but derive from economic thinking. One is the concept of the availability of 'wage goods' as a means of motivating farmers to increase their productivity thereby addressing the major problem posed at the beginning of this report. This concerns having a readily available local source of supply of the sort of goods that farmers want to buy if they have the money.

In India when the Rupee Coin was replaced by a paper note and consumer goods were in short supply throughout the economy the farmers came to a realisation that the cash crops which they were in the habit of 'exporting' to the townfolk were not worth their while to produce.

MANAGING AGRICULTURE

There was nothing to spend their savings on and what they were getting in return for their crops was not the silver coins they believed in but pieces of paper that were visibly diminishing in value as inflation took its wartime toll. Had the government not made the right economic (and psychological) responses food riots and other unpredictable violence would have prevailed. Gold was pumped into the village economy along with such simple consumer goods as kerosene, baby foods and medical supplies. The results were magical. The farmer was motivated into working harder to produce the goods he needed to sell in order to afford goods he really wanted.

The same principle is recognised in China (Beijing). Farmers are now allowed to cultivate small plots of their own and market their goods in private sector markets where prices are not under control. That this expedient has boosted farm incomes and national output quite disproportionately is partially due to the availability of 'wage goods.' Government has reversed the usual order of Marxist priorities. Light industry which supplies consumer goods (which incidentally gets 70 percent of its raw material from the rural areas) comes first. Second is the agricultural sector. Last is heavy industry. Under these new priorities living standards are rising. The leadership believes that the consequent increase in agricultural productivity will have a powerful effect on the prosperity of the whole population, 80 percent of whom live and work in the rural areas.

Farmers' purposeful pursuit of economic improvement may not be sustained if the quality of their own and their families' lives is not visibly improved. They may well believe that it will be if they are able to acquire more land. For that, farmers in many countries traditionally will work harder. Land is frequently in short supply. With little additional land available farmers will work hard to improve the security of their home and farm buildings replacing sun-baked mud with weather-resistant bricks and mortar or to buy time-saving pumps and other equipment, increase the size of the herd or flock or to obtain a tractor (or a share in one).

The point is that incentives to improved productivity will only be effective if the ultimate prospect is something more than accumulated savings. Farmers, to be able to afford to pay for consumer durables, must produce more from their farms than their families can consume. Subsistence farmers are struggling to keep alive. By definition the wage goods principle will not work with them. At least not until they have succeeded in struggling out of the poverty cycle into the marketplace for such goods.

Normally there are a number of exploitative forces in and around the village scene. The assumption is sometimes made that any shop or distributive source which is not owned by a co-operative or a villager should be discouraged. It is for the practitioner to pause and reflect on the role that the particular goods and services may have as motivators. If they indeed are 'wage goods' it is important that a ready supply of them should be easily obtainable. Throughout the IERD, participants emphasised the importance of the practitioner's concern that the villager be able to procure his supplies at favourable prices.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

ELEMENTS OF AN EMERGING PERSPECTIVE

'The crux of the problem is how are we going to convert this 70 percent population in the rural areas (of India) into an effective market with purchasing power? Our people know, they have the skill to produce the most beautiful things which no machine can produce. Women do this with their deft fingers. Production must be done by the people in the village, in their habitat. The whole distributive mechanism should be such that these goods and services can be distributed there and then, where they are being produced. It cannot be that first you pool all these things at a centre and then decide how to distribute them. Why can't we have a system where this surplus known as capital generated by the entire human effort can be so diffused, so shared, so spread, that the majority of human beings can have work, can have jobs to produce goods again?' (Shri Vasant Sathe, Honourable Minister of Chemicals and Fertilisers of the Government of India, Inaugural Address at the Central International Event, New Delhi, India, Feb. 1984).

The questions above provided a context for a serious discussion on rural economic development. The delegates assembled were concerned about how to promote increased and diversified rural production and commercialisation with greater equity and participation.

This report is an effort to draw together the deliberations and reflections of the delegates on economic and commercial development. The delegates' experiences in their projects shed light on enterprises based on a self-help approach, on access to credit, on schemes to expand local economic development and on the role of the practitioner as a change agent. These reflections are not intended to represent a coherent model for economic development. Rather they provide a summary of the concerns of a wide variety of practitioners in the field. Four elements characterise the emerging perspective of this documentation:

- Focus on the poor;
- Role of government;
- Viable local economics;
- Cultural values.

First is the focus on the poor. It was emphasised many times that benefits of economic development seemed to be more accessible to those who were in a better economic situation than the poorest of the poor. Within villages where development is taking place, conscious effort is needed to include every part of the village (especially the poor and weak in economic growth).

The second element relates to the role of government. The findings of the Exposition seem to suggest that there is a complementary relationship between associations involved in development and statutory local government bodies. The effectiveness of both can be enhanced through interchange and dialogue.

A third element is the importance of approaches that promote viable local economics. Subsidies, handouts, distant markets, suppliers and buyers leave people in the rural areas vulnerable to economic forces over which they have little control. While recognising that the world economy is an inter-dependent process, it is also important to develop local industries, nearby markets, and local food sufficiency as much as possible. Lasting development rests on the increase of peoples' capacity to co-operate and control the economic dimensions of their own lives and of their community.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The fourth element is a concern for cultural values. Often individual or cultural identity is a key factor in the actual success of a given enterprise.

FOCUS ON THE POOR

Until the poor can make use of opportunities that offer additional income, they cannot achieve the purchasing power necessary to break out of this poverty.

Economic and social disparities have widened, not only between the urban and the rural, but between the strong and the weak within rural areas. There is considerable evidence that a broad-based approach may not deal with the needs of poor families. How do we ensure that development activities actually benefit the poor? This dilemma had been experienced in several of the projects which were visited by the delegates in India. The Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti in tribal Gujarat (VIAS, India, SA-14) experienced that between 1977 and 1981, despite their most concerted efforts toward development of agriculture and small industries, the income of an additional 1000 farmers in the 40 villages where they were working dropped below the poverty line. The marginal increases in productivity that they had been able to generate were more than neutralised by the rising prices of essential commodities and general inflation. In some cases, for a variety of reasons, the poorer people were not in a position to make use of available inputs.

The poor of any community are not a homogeneous group. They include young and old, men and women and those of different cultural backgrounds. Usually lacking access to the productive resources of capital, land and water, they tend to miss new opportunities that become available in their area because they do not have the education, position or the contacts, or because they are afraid to offend those upon whom they depend.

THE ROLE OF VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN DEVELOPMENT

'A good working relationship is essential between the voluntary agency and the panchayat (village government) if the former is to be at all effective in filling the gaps of the government machinery.' Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti, (SA-14).

Local Government and Rural Development

Rural development is development of rural people. Sustainable rural development is possible if there is active participation of rural people in all aspects of the process from the beginning. Local government can provide an appropriate forum for facilitating this process. Through its links with regional and national governments it can secure external resources for building up infrastructure, particularly for economic development. Its leaders should receive training in the dynamics of managing local government and identifying local resources.

National and regional governments have introduced many support systems including subsidies and seed money. These are mainly channeled through local governments and local organisations for stimulating economic and commercial development. There are many training programmes such as TRYSEM (Training the Rural Youth for Self-Employment) in India which train rural youth in skills needed for economic development.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The global development picture reveals a number of efforts to revitalise and strengthen local governments and broaden the leadership base. These efforts are related to associations and organisations of local people often supported by voluntary organisations from outside. There is a growing conviction among practitioners that self-government is basic to development efforts. Local associations are necessary in villages to tackle local problems and as a training ground for village leaders. Most voluntary organisations have a priority of building strong village associations through which self-respect and self-confidence are created among village leadership.

In Peru, this priority is seen in the case of the Proyecto Micro-Regional de Desarrollo Rural en Huancavelica (LA-31). 'They train rural promoters elected by the assembly from among the authorities and natural leaders and support the infrastructure and the social and economic organisation through irrigation, potable water, and school gardens. They have wrestled with the mechanics of recognising and diagnosing problems at the community and regional levels, and has developed a mechanism for rotating funds for feasible projects.'

The Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti (VIAS, SA-14) feels that the 'panchayats' (village government) cannot perform as effectively as they should under the existing framework of both the statutory bodies and rural-urban society. A special planning and training programme was established to work with panchayats in understanding their problems and to train the officials in reorienting their approach to the people.

Local government bodies often tend to relate more closely to the rural elite than to the poor as a result of an inverted power structure and the tendency of the powerful to monopolise the productive assets. In such situations local governments cannot initiate development which is sustainable, for they often ignore or bypass the rural poor and the weak. In such cases local governments are seldom an effective force in initiating durable local development.

Another reason for the relative inactivity of the statutory local governments is the paucity of resources or the cornering of available meagre resources by the elite in power. Traditional societies often have their own indigenous structures, instituted and controlled locally, which are outside the statutory framework of government. They perform such roles as settling disputes and raising and maintaining community funds used for building up community assets and for community celebrations. Along similar lines several projects have promoted local bodies, which seem to perform better in raising local resources and undertaking economic development functions.

Banwasi Seva Ashram, AGRINDUS, (SA-2) Uttar Pradesh, India promoted 'Gram Swarajya Samitis' (local village self-government committees) and also helped each village to start a 'gram kosh' (village fund). Both these measures have more than offset the inactivity of the statutory panchayats. Thus, they have provided a vehicle for rural people to plan and execute their development programmes and raise the necessary resources. These parallel bodies are facilitating sustained development. They often undertake programmes such as the construction of 'bunds' (small earthen dams) which have multiplied the crop harvests and the income realised by local farmers.

The Xavier Institute of Social Service (XISS, SA-7) Bihar, India has also adopted this course in their project villages through similar village development committees and community funds which support the local government.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

If the existing government institutions cannot be immediately activated to carry out development functions, new village organisations like these will be required. These will not replace the local government but initiate a course of development which would also energise the local government to action.

Working with traditional or statutory institutions of local government is certainly not without problems. Development has a specific connotation for the rural poor, and utilisation of the resources of the local government for the poor will not always go unchallenged by the elite in power. Conflict and confrontations may follow. The insight shared from the India Development Service (SA-22) was that 'such conflicts can be managed more smoothly if proper equation (of relationships) is developed with all agencies concerned and if rural people are actively involved and associated in all stages of development.'

Training for Village Governance

The continuous education and training of rural people and the organising of the rural poor is crucial for effective development. For a strong, effective local government the rural people and their local leaders must know not only about technology and skills for improvement but, more importantly, about village structure, economics, politics and social relations. This enhances local control in development and ensures outside intervention is limited to a facilitator role.

The Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society (CROSS, SA-25) in India, report that they 'successfully built people's organisations in the villages. The issue-oriented education helped them to evaluate their existing position in the society critically, along with the structural reasons for the same.'

Their intention has been to raise people's consciousness of their rights to basic services available through government policies and to assist in the effort to secure basic community infrastructure. One of the main strategies is to organise low-income farmers into 'sanghams' (associations) around common activities or social issues. They encourage sangham members to undertake economic activities as a group as well as on an individual basis.

Systematic training of village leaders, working with them, involving them in planning and executing plans for the development of their communities has been the approach used by the Kenya Replication Scheme, East Africa, (BA-19). Thus people have a vehicle for participation and involvement in development.

Action for Welfare and Awakening in the Rural Environment (AWARE, SA-21) Andhra Pradesh, India, has promoted village associations which have developed a village-based economic system using a revolving loan fund available for any economic venture that is approved by the village association. Organisations like this can have a supportive influence on the functioning of local governments. Hsui Ling Huang from China (Taipei) commented that, as a result of the efforts of the Young Farmers' Career Development Programme (SP-25), 'The local government and the farmers' association focus on the people and make loans available at lower interest than a bank.' More than 360 farmers' associations have been organised.

The government-sponsored Saemaul Undong (SP-33, New Community Movement) (ROK) is, 'A movement in which people co-operate in order to construct better and richer villages and, as a consequence, a richer, stronger nation. The movement is designed to encourage the village and energise socio-economic activities based on the spirit of self-help, co-operation and diligence.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

This organisation helps in integrating spiritual reform, social and economic development and brings government leaders and people into the process of planning and development at different levels.'

Local governments can be effective instruments of local development. They can be empowered by the formation of rural peoples' associations or organisations. Local associations involved in social and economic development projects can train leaders and provide them with the experience that enables them to perform creatively in local government roles. The type of organisation that is needed to influence local governments for development action depends on various factors such as:

- National policy;
- A favourable climate for voluntary action;
- Leadership that is informed and committed to grassroots;
- Organisations and local governments.

VIABLE LOCAL ECONOMY

Economic enterprises should not be confused with charity. Policies that involve subsidies must be employed carefully because they tend to create dependence.

Income generation in village economy is complex and diverse. The landless need full time employment as an alternative to farm labour. Others need seasonal employment to make use of slack periods between sowing, weeding and harvesting. Still others need supplemental work that can be done by members of their family whenever they have the time.

Although there are many different approaches to generating income locally, the industries that are built on local or regional resources, skills and markets have been found to stand a greater chance of becoming viable. As previously mentioned, *village industries and agricultural schemes that rely on distant markets are vulnerable and do not provide a stable foundation for village self-sufficiency*. Production and processing of a commodity which depends on economic forces operating on a national or international scale can be disastrous. The Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti (VIAS, SA-14) experienced this when its profitable small diamond-cutting units had to close as a result of shifts in the international diamond market.

Many rural projects which began their work using subsidies and free services found that villagers in the surrounding villages tended to wait for more handouts rather than acting on their own initiative. The shift to investing more in strengthening people's skills and local organisations rather than in providing subsidies or free services has not been easy.

In Germany (BRD) the European Economic Community's subsidies for cattle-raising to increase milk production encouraged many farmers to change from raising sheep to raising cattle. The unique topography, climate and culture of the Bavarian Woods area are more suited to sheep raising. Many farmers had become heavily indebted for purchases of milk production equipment. A small group of residents decided not to follow this trend but to return to shepherding and formed the Bavarian Woods Shepherders Association (EU-28). They have not only succeeded in this enterprise but have developed products such as fleece-lined slippers, organic fertiliser from sheep dung and interior panelling from roundwood for the local market.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

A wide variety of approaches is being used to initiate local enterprises. Sometimes there is an overlooked market for a currently unused skill. For instance, The Honeybee Project (LA-26) in Jamaica has revitalised the bee-keeping industry by training over 100 youths who have set up bee colonies in 20 locations on the island. Sometimes non-traditional skills can provide more income. The Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society in Andhra Pradesh, India, (SA-25) has successfully trained village women in bicycle-repairing. A third way to keep income in the area is to process a local agricultural product, locally.

CULTURAL VALUES AND IDENTITY

Some of the structures and values of tribal culture such as respect, equality, solidarity, sharing and co-operation hold many answers to troubles facing people in modern society.

Improving the Quality of Life

The concern to improve the overall quality of life includes the economic situation of the family but is not limited to it. The definition of quality of life cannot be made in monetary terms. In the earlier cited example of the Bavarian Woods project (EU-28) residents wanted to be able to stay in a region where their families had roots and to live in a way that harmonised with the agricultural tradition and ecology of the area. The official policies of both government and national farming organisations promoted dairying which was neither traditional nor suited to the terrain nor necessary (there is currently a 12 percent surplus in milk production for Europe as a whole). The shepherders actually suffered a reduction of cash income when they shifted from dairy cattle to sheep because they were now ineligible for the lucrative dairy subsidies. However, the return to sheepherding produced a number of other benefits including wool for homeknitting and sale, promotion of locally raised mutton in the region's resort hotels and pensions, more flexible herding hours and lowering of indebtedness due to smaller capital investments. The families experienced an affirmation of their identity and an enrichment of their social environment.

Building an Identity in an Enterprise

There was considerable discussion on the relationship of rural economic activity to the conscious identity of a particular group of people or a particular undertaking. Participants in a project must have a way of grasping the significance of what they are doing. In the midst of this an identity is created. For example, in the Savings and Credit Cooperative Society, Ltd. (BA-28) credit scheme in Kenya, people remained as members of the co-op bank even when its rate of interest was lower for savings than that of nearby private banks because they understood the significance of credit within their own control.

In a number of projects identity is greatly enhanced through cultural activities. Christa Sharan Social Development Society (SA-44) a project for tribal women in Karnataka, India has worked on dance as a means of increasing the pride of the women and building a community confidence. They see this as directly related to the success of their economic ventures.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

In Ghana, the importance of self-identity is seen clearly in a venture like the Kokrobitey Ebenezer Fish Curing Cooperative (BA-25) where the members have a strong sense of the value of the co-operative. Mrs. Grace Acquah commented, 'The management of this co-operative society is entirely in the hands of the local people which inculcates a sense of belonging. Members of the society and the whole community feel elated with the attention they are getting and mention with pride the group photograph of the society used by the National Council on Women and Development to produce a calendar.'

In some projects there has been a conscious effort to reinforce a sense of identity throughout the whole community. Most of the economic activities on Navajo reservations in Arizona, USA, have been controlled by outsiders. A non-profit, Native American Indian economic development corporation, Dineh Cooperatives Inc. (NA-15) has found that having their own logo, artwork displays in various facilities and the use of the Navajo names of ventures have contributed to a strong local pride.

Identity is also related to awareness of the existing situation in which economic activity is being attempted. This can be seen in the struggle against exploitation in the spontaneous movement for higher wages by forest workers who pick bidi leaves to make cigarettes in the southern Indian state of Andhra Pradesh (SA-21).

The Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti (SA-14) in Gujarat, India has discerned two tendencies when poor people benefit from economic improvements. One tendency is when they go into debt in order to develop their economic situation. A second is the tendency of the more resourceful of the poor to grasp as many of the fruits of development as possible. This slightly broadens the ranks of the 'better-off' in a village by adding a new class of elite. Making it clear to everyone that the intention is for all to benefit equitably has been found to be helpful in preventing these tendencies from only slightly broadening the ranks of the 'better-off' in a village or adding a new class of economic elite.

Strengthening Cultural Continuity

Identity is created from a story about a group's uniqueness. A number of groups emphasise building on the unique cultural identity of specific groups. The Xavier Institute of Social Service (SA-7) in the Chotanagpur tribal belt in Bihar, emphasises the need to become self-reliant and self-sufficient without destroying the gifts of the local culture. Although few co-operative tribal ventures have yet emerged, the entrepreneurs they have trained have so far tended to retain tribal values rather than become exploitive of other community members.

Such considerations influence the choice of economic endeavours as well as decisions about whether they should be organised individually or collectively. Traditional informal Korean co-operation systems such as 'hyangyak' (a community contract), 'kye' (a mutual savings association), 'tonghoe' (community assemblies), and 'pumas' (the exchange of human and animal labour) are fading away due to changes in social structure and economic situation. However, the Saemaul Undong (SP-33) has been able to encourage more ancient and fundamental values of diligence, self-help, and co-operation, which catalyse increased production and income to improve the rural environment.

Cottage industries generally do not generate high income but they are a boon to people such as women with children who are not able to leave the home for employment. They can also play a role in maintaining a cultural identity.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The Palestinian Needlework Programme (NM-1) involves about 500 women in six villages in Jordan. Most of them have been dispossessed by the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars. The Director Suhir Dajani, spoke of their product, 'Its objective is to feature the art of needlework and the talents of Palestinian women to do this difficult work. At the same time it gives village women who must remain at home an income. They are very dedicated and co-operative. They know that what we're doing is for their benefit and to keep Palestinian culture alive.'

Where a wide geographical spread is involved it is not so easy to generate or maintain a cohesive identity. Sometimes when a pilot project undergoes expansion the rules and procedures become so rigid that they stifle the development of responsibility for an undertaking. The women in the India Development Service project (SA-22) have organised themselves into three milk dairy co-operatives covering several villages. For the present they have decided not to register them. When asked to register by the Karnataka State government officials because of their obvious success, the women replied that they would first like to gain more experience in running their own co-operatives and to avoid the laborious bureaucratic procedures that are entailed in registered societies. In a number of cases, a key factor in the success of a self-help project was building solidarity before formalising the structure. Sometimes, though, the registration process for forming an organisation can be used as a tool for focusing the group's identity and purpose.

The delegates stated that while the scale and speed of development in rural areas were important, the quality was even more important. Development that addresses the vulnerability of the poorest of the poor and secures the participation of local government in building a viable village economy, while at the same time enhancing the quality of life in villages, is what the delegates wanted.

CONSIDERATIONS IN DOING SELF-HELP ENTERPRISES

Projects which are engaged in a number of different economic activities have a better chance of enabling their members to transfer learnings from one venture to another than those which deal with only one activity.

EACH PROJECT HAS MANY ASPECTS

What is the market? This is a standard question to be answered in starting any economic venture, but when viewed from the perspective of local self-help, the question changes. It becomes, what is the starting point for the learning process that will bring the group through an exploration of the unfamiliar terrain of economic self-reliance?

Several projects that have existed for some time point to the appropriateness of an initially slow journey. In Columbia, Grupo Social (LA-51) started a small workers' savings and loan association in 1911. In the past dozen years it has expanded into a wider group of economic and social ventures (23 in all). All of its profit-making enterprises are designed to increase the cultural, social, economic and political participation of the people in everyday life.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The Ahmedabad Study Action Group - Poverty Project: Dholka (ASAG) (SA-1) Gujarat, India, began their work with housing for landless labourers. They later expanded to other areas of economic need with a core of people who were formed in the housing effort. The Dasholi Grama Swarajya Mandal (SA-77) began its work in the Himalayan foothills by organising tribal people through the 'Chipko Movement' against destructive deforestation by contractors. As the needs of the villages changed, their effort turned toward a comprehensive programme of small industries, watershed development and upgrading the environment by planting useful and productive trees.

THE UNBROKEN CIRCLE:

LAND-BASED, NEED-BASED AND SKILL-BASED DEMONSTRATIONS

Land-based Demonstrations

An effective project uses available resources. The Mohawks of the Gibson Band (NA-5) (Canada) live where cranberries grow wild. Then they hit on the idea of growing cranberries commercially. They now have 27 cultivated acres. The North Clarendon Development Project (LA-10), Jamaica, was set up in 1966 to process fruit and fruit peels for preserves to expand the existing market for local producers and to reduce the island's dependency on imports. Fifty to sixty local farmers are employed by the project and the savings to the island's imports are now estimated at US\$600,000. An industry that imports materials starts from a significantly weaker position.

Need-based Demonstrations

A key approach is to focus on answering a need or scarcity in the immediate community or in the region. The fish-processing production by the Kokrobitey Ebenezer Fish Curing Cooperative (BA-25), and honey production in Jamaica by the Honeybee Project (LA-26) are examples of this.

In some cases this can be done through a guaranteed market. To have a secure market is a great advantage for goods produced in the early stages of a commercial endeavour, whether provided by a governmental scheme or by a private interest. In the long run, this can become counter-productive. Such programmes usually have a limited lifetime. When government policies or private interests change, the local producer, having participated successfully in only one aspect of the effort, finds that the lack of experience and training in the whole area of marketing hinders the profitable functioning of a business. Projects reported the importance of local residents gaining experience in the full economic cycle of setting up a self-help enterprise.

Another approach is to aim production at sophisticated national or international markets through attracting larger existing enterprises via economic concessions and/or promotion of the local community. The economy of Lamar, Colorado (NA-26), USA, which was dependent on farming and raising livestock, had seen a continuing decline. Poor farming practices and a ten-year drought had destroyed the topsoil. It had become unprofitable to produce the sugar beets required to operate their sugar beet factory so it closed down. The rest is a story of courage and persistence. An unusual coalition of citizens, the Chamber of Commerce, and city and county officials formed an industrial committee. This group of town leaders sent task-forces to Denver, to Germany (BDR), or wherever necessary to make presentations to lure industries to Lamar.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

A major breakthrough came when a German bus-building company decided to locate in Lamar because it believed that an agricultural-based area generally offered a dependable and productive work force. As this industry became established, suppliers of fibreglass components, air conditioning and bus wiring systems moved in and built plants. Other industries followed. While agriculture continues to be a major interest in Lamar the new diversification has stabilised the area's economy.

Skill-based Demonstrations

A skill-based project producing for a market beyond the producers themselves has to deliver according to the market standards. Skills training is obviously required but it seems to be much more effective if it is oriented toward real job or the possibility of self-employment and not a general training that assumes a market somewhere. In Jamaica, the Honeybee Project (LA-26) aimed to train unemployed youth in practical employable skills. The project is doing well because the market, both domestically and internationally, is under-supplied. Graduates have the option of working for an existing bee-keeping operation or setting up one on their own.

In India, a major resource is human energy. 'Rural artisans form the life blood of the economy in India,' according to Dr. Pathni of Deendayal Research Institute. A survey of their project (Gonda Gramadaya Prakalp, SA-6) area disclosed between 600 and 700 artisans per development block of about 100 villages, with about 80 percent of those being carpenters and blacksmiths. India Development Service (SA-22) in Karnataka, India saw how such artisans were gradually being forced to migrate to the cities or to work as agriculture labourers because of competition from cheap mass-produced goods of better quality than they could produce by hand. They established training-cum-production centres to upgrade the skills of leather workers, carpenters and blacksmiths. With the improved skills and equipment, the artisans are able to produce articles with better local designs and quality, and thus the articles can be marketed in spite of competitively lower prices of the mass produced goods. These artisans now produce for the local rural market and any additional goods are sold in other regions.

The projects involved in the International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD) indicate that these three types of demonstrations (Land-based, Need-based and Skill-based) are interlinked. Strategies for rural development that only deal with one of these may create other problems.

All of these factors can be seen in Takunda Honu Industries (BA-5), a self-help project sponsored by the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau. The resources were available locally, the need for school uniforms was local, the skills training in tailoring was feasible in the local situation. This is also the case in the nation of Hungary where a project to develop small rural industry led to an interest by women in further training (Development-County Bacs-Kiscun, (EU-40).

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

THE GROWTH VENTURE: DIVERSIFICATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Any local economic venture automatically participates in the dynamics of the larger economy. Many projects indicated that growth of a single effort depended upon the linkages which tied the venture to the broader economy and upon the establishment of locally based related efforts. A single local economic venture is highly vulnerable.

Diversification

Diversification of the economy can happen in several ways. *As an enterprise becomes established and grows, opportunities for diversification emerge.* Sensitive response and successful exploitation of these opportunities can lead to the opening of new ventures which strengthen and stabilise the original venture as well. Koh Do E Ri Human Development Project, Republic of Korea, is an integrated project located on Jeju Island. A pig rearing industry was one of the first programmes. As it grew, a co-operative society was begun for the pig farmers. Later the society started its own project growing fodder and soon after that purchased a truck to provide a transportation service for marketing the pigs and other goods as well. Sometimes diversification happens as a result of a crisis which leaves the venture with the choice of either diversifying or quitting.

Diversification through maximising the productivity of limited resources can be seen in the 'one acre technology' approach. This model, developed by the Mafatlal group of companies in India is currently being used in villages in several states in India. One acre of land is taken as the base even if it is fallow wasteland. A small farm pond of 5,000 gallons capacity is constructed and filled up once a week from a tube-well, a dug well, a check dam, a lift irrigation scheme or whatever is feasible in that area. About 3,000 fodder plants of subabul, a fast-growing deciduous tree, are planted in rows. About 250 fruit plants such as papaya, grafted guava, lime and amla are planted as border plants or between the subabul plants. About half of the subabul is pruned to a height of one metre to allow easily harvested fresh side shoots for use as fodder. The remaining subabul grows in four or five years to a height of 25 feet and can be used as fuel and timber. Three rows of sisal plants are planted on the border to produce fibre for making rope to be sold, while serving as a fence to protect the land. In the rainy season a short term crop of fodder-cum-grain varieties such as jowar, bajra or maize can be grown in between the subabul rows. High value crops such as medicinal or aromatic plants can also be grown to facilitate village industries through distillation of alkaloids. A few beehives are kept on the one acre, and the farmer's local cow is cross bred and fed with the fodder harvested from the subabul. A small amount of hybrid napier grass and vegetables can be grown.

These enterprises together on one acre of land involve the entire family throughout the year and enable them to earn an income of at least Rs5000 net per year. With this careful designing of land use they can raise their standard of living.

Regional Integration

In order to grow, the venture has to establish its relationships broadly and intimately with the region in which it is located. This raises the important question of how each community creatively participates in the economy of the region while neither being exploited nor victimised by it.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Dr. Rodrigo Medellin Erdmann, of The Committee for the Promotion of Rural Development Research (COPIDER, LA-42) in Mexico, underscores the gravity of this issue in his analysis of the rural situation in his country where 'campesinos' (peasant farmers) struggle to their utmost to survive.

'An important factor of this serious crisis we are currently facing is that it begins with a systematic pillage of rural areas, whereby rural areas lose the economic surplus of their work which is appropriated by other sectors or classes. This prevents campesinos from building up capital or gaining adequate resources for an increase in rural productivity and for their survival. The people who caused this crisis are not the campesinos and they are not going to get the campesinos out of it. Rather the campesinos themselves through their organisations will contribute to this nation by finding the real resolution of the problems which besiege them.'

The 3,000 members of the Lac La Ronge Indian Band (NA-4) are spread over 200 miles in Saskatchewan, Canada. Chief Tom McKenzie described the economic side of their comprehensive development effort, 'We have to diversify our economy. Since we have not been able to raise the capital ourselves, we have gone into two joint ventures. We now have our own trucking company with certain running rights. These rights are for taking certain types of goods from one spot to another. The system is competitive but it's going well and we're always looking for more contracts. Because of our legal status we cannot locate our businesses on the Reserve. The banks will not provide capital for ventures on the Reserve. There's no way for them to collect, so we have to locate off the Reserve. That way we can get loans and build up our credibility and capital. The other venture we have is a smoked meat plant where we make a variety of smoked products. We've thinking of expansion. In trucking we have 51 percent of the shares. In the smoked products we've 40 percent shareholders, but we still have quite a bit of control. We made sure we had the benefits for the workers, nine of the eleven are Band members. We had the facility from a previous venture in smoking trout which was not successful. Because of Federal regulations we could not compete in the market. So we switched. We provide the building and the labour and our venture partner was able to buy out some brands on the West Coast and there was a ready market there.'

For the effective integration of economic units to take place within the region, cheaper, better and closer sources of raw material have to be discovered. Improved services and processes have to be found and larger and more sustained markets have to be created for the products. Developing these relationships within that region ensures the continued survival of the venture.

A villager from Jawale Human Development Project (SA-28) in Maharashtra State, India, describes the linkages the village now has with its region.

'You can see the lift irrigation projects. Two societies have been formed to irrigate 500 acres of land. Through the co-operative society we purchase buffaloes and cows. The milk production has increased because of the dairy society. Unemployed youths received training in welding at workshops of companies in Pune and have started a welding industry in the village. These things began to happen when two banks opened their branches in the village; in the Satara District there was only a tea shop in this village. Now eight shops provide our basic needs, including fertiliser and guidance for agriculture. With the bank loans the people were able to purchase a Matador truck...and now the Matador is providing transportation in this area. The people can carry their things to market or get things in the market place or town.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

THE DIMENSIONS OF LOCAL MARKET CONTROL

Local people should be able to participate significantly in influencing the means by which they gain a fair return on the value they produce. This ability is necessary for self-sustainable local development.

'A need to move towards sustainable development is a crucial component of rural economic growth. Most frequently such efforts tend to focus upon production and are applied to consumable farm products from home or community gardens, or adequate portions of land used to meet the basic nutritional requirements of a community. A critical aspect of self-sustenance is marketing. *There is a trend in rural development towards community finance management involving co-operatives, credit unions, and adequate markets as the base of rural development.* Improved and expanded market sources are needed to increase income to economic ventures. Instruments are also needed for obtaining and expanding markets, making the best use of the money available, and providing a corporate base for negotiation externally and management internally.' (Central International Event Working Papers).

The Market Choices—Local, Regional, National or Foreign?

Local and regional markets generally are to be preferred to large national or global markets. 'Agriculture and village industries schemes which are based on external markets are vulnerable and do not create a stable foundation for village self-sustenance.' (Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti, SA-14).

Action for Welfare and Awakening in the Rural Environment (SA-21) Andhra Pradesh, India, has targeted its efforts toward uplift of tribal people and Harijans. Through associations totally governed by village people of the target groups, marketing centres have been established to avoid middle-traders. These marketing centres are used to store and then release the produce into the market when the price is good, resulting in higher prices for the farmers.

The local producer standing in a Third World community is powerless to respond to rapidly changing demands in an unfamiliar consumer society, or to deal with the often unscrupulous policies of the middle-trader. It is often impossible to change quickly enough to produce something new requiring new skills in order to keep pace with the market. Such change comes with no advance warning. Continuity, as well as growth, of production reduces unit costs. When there is high dependence on export, rapid market changes will affect the viability of village enterprise and diminish the level of local control. This applies especially to handicrafts industries.

It was apparent that, given the difficulty village industry has in finding worthwhile markets for its products, an important issue is the extent to which there can be a greater symbiosis between the established and the village sectors of industry, so that villagers can have an increased and stable income throughout the year.

Systems and Structures for Local Control

Marketing systems should be appropriate to the cultural and political realities of the local, regional and national setting. At the same time as much local control as possible should be achieved. 'In selling, it is very important to eliminate the middle-trader as much as possible. Many people produce a lot but they are nevertheless in poverty because the middleman takes more than his own share of the profit.' (Delegate from Nigeria).

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

'Plattelandsontwikkeling VZW' (EU-30) In the rural area of Flanders, Belgium, (The Association for Rural Development) has established Farmers' Markets for small farmers. These benefit both the producers and the consumers. Farmers sell directly to consumers, assuring that products are fresh and of good quality. Before each market is held the farmers discuss the selling prices and, together with representatives of regular consumers, set the prices. The farmers' costs, labour and a reasonable profit are covered. At the same time, the consumer saves up to 20 percent on the prices charged elsewhere. The farmers receive an acceptable income and are able to create further employment on their farms. They co-operate with a high degree of independence and, *everything is happening under their control*.

In the USA, Dineh Co-operatives Inc. (NA-16) is governed by a board of directors comprised of elected and appointed residents, making it a Navajo owned and controlled organisation. Its meetings are conducted in the Navajo language. Initially involved in assisting consumer and community co-operatives, in 1976 it expanded its activities to include a high-impact large-scale economic development. This included, upon the request of the Chinle Community, the Tseyi Shopping Centre. The former marketing services were non-Navajo owned. Goods and services were available only at a trading post hundreds of miles away. Now they are quite centrally accessible to all the communities. The centre created 110 new jobs and now serves as a catalyst for future development. Furthermore it constitutes a source of pride as a North American Indian-owned enterprise.

In addition to direct systems of marketing, local organisations provide a means for economic control to belong to the community. The legal form and operational requirements will shape the structure and the effectiveness of accountability in any local organisation designed to facilitate marketing of local produce. This pertains most frequently to marketing co-operatives which, with some exceptions, have been vulnerable to fraudulent abuses on the one hand, and factional control on the other. When either of these two conditions exist, it is the poorest segments of society who suffer. They are excluded from participation and from the potential benefits of corporate action.

One activity of the Co-Chomunn Nis-Ness Community Cooperative (EU-14) in the Western Islands of Scotland is to provide marketing outlets. The co-operative is owned by the shareholders and operates on a 'one person, one vote' basis. There is no question of majority shareholding. A committee is elected yearly to be responsible for policy decisions and to be the link between the management of Co-Chomunn operations and the shareholders. One-third of this committee of 15 retire each year and new appointees replace them.

The use of marketing intermediaries is an essential and responsible phase in the journey toward local self-sustenance. However, it can reinforce dependency rather than self-sufficiency and needs to be temporary. In Mexico, Comité de Promotores de Investigaciones Para el Desarrollo Rural (LA-42) is a network of professionals who formed a committee to work with campesino farming organisations to provide financial, marketing and purchasing services. There are several networks of economists and technical assistants designed to serve the rural poor at the request of local organisations. Servicios Integrados de Comercialización y Abasto (SICA) is a marketing component which exists legally as a corporation but functions on a not-for-profit basis. It searches for both domestic and export markets which are otherwise inaccessible to the campesinos. Comercializadora Campo-Ciudad (CCC) is a goods purchasing entity which buys supplies in bulk and offers them to local organisations at a 20 to 30 percent discount. Such marketing alternatives enable the campesino to retain more of his meager resources by avoiding the cost of using middle-buyers.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Training For Economic Control

An important aspect of control is the ability to manage and operate. *Both formal and non-formal entrepreneurial and marketing training are essential.* Ready access to practical knowledge is a doorway to the future. The Xavier Institute of Social Service (SA-7) has established an Entrepreneur Development Programme to locate, encourage and train rural youth, including tribal people, to start small businesses. Potential entrepreneurs are chosen on the basis of need and their willingness to participate. Included in the curriculum are skills training, understanding the markets, business feasibility, communication skills, accounting, business law and practical apprenticeship.

'They have demonstrated their talent for changes in the primary sector of the economy which is extraction (mining) and agriculture. They have made little progress in the secondary sector of manufacturing and even less in the tertiary sector of trade and services. There they remain the victims of exploitative middle-buyers and marketing structures.' (XISS).

The Institute has realised a 50 percent success rate for the 300 who have been through the programme over the last ten years. New businesses like carpentry, automobile repair, bicycle repair and tailoring are changing the situation.

While particular businesses have recognisable stages of development, the larger economy does not develop along a straight line. It evolves. The final results may differ greatly from what the community anticipated at the beginning. Grupo Social (LA-51), Bogota, Colombia has grown from a small savings and loan association to a group of 23 profit-making and non-profit-making enterprises, which are working for the socio-economic development of the area.

A similar story is related by the Tignish Fisheries Co-op (NA-8) situated in a town of 1000 people on Prince Edward Island, Canada. Around the turn of the century attempts were made to form agriculture co-operatives in Tignish. Although they did not flourish, they set the stage for the formation of the first fisheries co-operative in 1925. This gave fisher people control over their own operations and they were able to purchase their own boats and gear rather than renting from outside interests. In later years a consumer co-operative service complex was formed. Today there are eleven co-operatives.

The evolution of project can depend on the readiness of the initiators to learn from their experience along the way. Practitioners need to schedule sessions during the course of the year when they can take stock of their situation and re-create their strategy. Being able to interpret the significance of what is observed about the venture correctly can be difficult for the practitioner who is unfamiliar with the nature of the venture or who needs to see success. For example, the success of a co-operative cannot be judged merely by the immediate results. Authentic and lasting changes can include the habits of good management that people learn over an extended period of membership and can have creative effects elsewhere.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

CREDIT FOR SURVIVAL AND GROWTH

Train the people in the use of credit through successful demonstrations as well as through other kinds of education.

RELEASING A BOTTLENECK TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For a successful loan programme with good recovery, AWARE (SA-21) in India, has found the following components to be necessary:

- A strong urge to develop an understanding of the utility of the assistance being given;
- Receipt of the entire loan (rather than losing a large share to an agent who helped to obtain the loan);
- Full accountability to other villagers like themselves.

If self-sustaining growth is to happen in villages, investments must be made in new productive activities, in addition to honouring past and present commitments. This requires that individuals or the whole village gain access to a credit cycle of borrowing, repayments, savings and perhaps more borrowing. The following pages report some of the words and deeds of local practitioners who talked about credit for rural economic development and diversification.

There seem to be five guidelines which characterise the successful use of credit in projects represented at the International Exposition of Rural Development in Delhi.

- Begin with a carefully thought-out scheme rather than modeling a scheme on possible loan opportunities;
- Endeavour to raise investment locally before looking for outside aid;
- Integrate the factors along with the money so that loan repayments are secure. This includes the local availability of raw materials, skilled personnel and other productive inputs as well as market outlets;
- Involve, through some local structure, all sections of the community in both planning and implementation. Especially involve target groups concerned with the enterprise;
- Train people in using credit.

THINK THROUGH THE SCHEME BEFORE SEEKING LOANS

Many effective projects seem to have started with an intention, a scheme, a plan and an enterprise to implement. Then loans were sought to support it. Sometimes this beginning comes from the dreams of the residents themselves, or through their exposure to new ideas by a change agent, by a visitor, by a visit to a nearby village, or by exposure to a government scheme. However it comes, this local decision seems to be a precondition for the use of credit. AWARE's first two criteria for a successful loan programme are relevant here:

- The urge to develop;
- Understanding the utility of the loan.

Only after people are committed to do something and they have understood how a loan can be used to enable that plan to come to fruition, should the loan be sought. 'We should mention that all credit schemes must be based on comprehensive development schemes, otherwise this credit goes under.' (SA-21).

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

GIVE PRIORITY TO LOCAL INVESTMENT

Plan how to encourage local investment as a primary element of your scheme. This was stressed by participants in the IERD who felt strongly that *sustainable development requires community investment in local ventures*. This involves both savings and loans. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (SA-32) in India, started a bank when their members were unable to use the regular banks because of their complex regulations which were not suited to the situation of poor illiterate women. A loan scheme, according to them is, 'only a means to achieve a state of responsibility in self-help.'

Projects use a variety of approaches to encourage both local savings and the availability of funds for short-term loans. A number of projects require a minimal contribution as a preliminary step. Fondo Rotatorio Para Proyectos Productivos (LA-45), Honduras, gives credit to women for agriculture activities. They require that part of the material for any project come from the community. Membership in the AWARE (SA-21) village-level revolving fund costs Rs11. The Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society (CROSS, SA-25) has a general policy that, 'beneficiaries must contribute to an economic programme from which they will benefit.'

A loan scheme is only a supplement to local investment, not a replacement for it. 'We emphasise the internal generation and use of local resources. Of course, at some point when they (the local people) have acquired a certain maturity they go to borrow from other banks, but even when they have reached this stage we always emphasise the value of doing this for the sake of strengthening their own resources. So they do not fall into this problem of dependency on outside institutions.' (Sarilakas, Philippines, SP-32).

A number of projects indicated their preference for loans over grants for economic projects precisely for this reason. Taking responsibility for loan repayment is a form of local investment. Several of them state further that an actual *cash contribution from local savings is an investment in the project which tends to solidify local commitment to the project*. It also begins to build up a stock of community capital which can be reused in the future. Some aid organisations emphasise this as well. In the case of the Co-Chomunn Nis- Ness Community Cooperative, (EU-14) Scotland, the Highland Development Board matched, pound for pound, money raised by local people. The Trickle Up Programme (NA-32) in the USA, provides small amounts of seed money for self-employed people in 54 countries to initiate enterprises. They require the venture be planned by the people themselves, where a profit can be anticipated. They also stipulate 20 percent of the profit be reinvested.

The success of an initial loan programme may depend upon two factors:

- The extent to which markets exist or can be created;
- The local availability of skilled personnel, training and other productive inputs.

There is a gap between providing money and having what is needed for a viable venture. Successful projects have tried to integrate direct material inputs, pre-loan training and markets with the loans. Other projects have considered voluntary labour as a component of the loan package. 'In some cases, credit in kind has been more useful than cash. We try to procure inputs for customers like farmers and fisher people.' (Biriwa Rural Bank Ltd., Ghana, BA- 26).

The INGRID Experience

India's New Group for Raichur's Integrated Development (INGRID) (SA-5) Karnataka State, began with next to nothing in the way of health care resources. They have been able to draw upon outside help and, at the same time, to motivate villagers to take a stronger interest in creating their own preventive schemes. They have also been able to combine western medicine with traditional practices.

The increased interaction of local villages with established health institutions has led to an innovative integration of preventive, curative and traditional forms of health care forming a more comprehensive system. INGRID (SA-5) selected its project area because it was one of the poorest districts in the state and had the least development activity. The ten targeted villages had a total of 10,000 people and were those where no voluntary agencies were working. Two trained social workers decided to live and work with the communities in order to catalyse the process of enabling the people to begin their development. The Project Secretary G.N. Narayana Prasad explained, 'The success of the work depends more on the beneficiaries themselves. If they can work towards achieving greater material comfort through their own collective action, taking assistance from wherever it can come and also generating independence and self-confidence, then it is beautiful.'

In response to the need to establish low cost health care, their priorities were to establish a medical dispensary in one of the larger villages and to organise health education in all of the villages. Getting health personnel was one of the biggest problems for an organisation like INGRID with no direct ties to any established health care system. Initially, they planned to find a young physician who would be a member of the INGRID team. All efforts to recruit such a person met with failure. Finally, a help-wanted advertisement was placed in a Bangalore newspaper. Not one application was received.

Then a physician living and working in private practice in the area was convinced to run the community dispensary from 8 o'clock to 10 o'clock in the morning and from 5 o'clock to 8 o'clock in the evening. This work includes night excursions to the surrounding villages, immunising scores of infants against polio, diphtheria, tetanus and whooping cough at INGRID's expense.

Also receiving funds through INGRID is a small 'native-style' dispensary in one of the other villages. Consisting of a simple wooden chest stocked with a complete selection of modern headache and cold tablets (plus leaves, roots, seeds, oils, salts and assorted herbal medicines), the dispensary functions on the veranda of a village healer who was trained by his father and enjoys a good reputation among his neighbours. Furnished with a budget of Rs1 200 to stock its inventory, this dispensary is directly in the hands of the villagers.

To meet its objective of providing low-cost preventive care and initiating health education in all the target villages, INGRID has sponsored three health camps in collaboration with the Lions Club of Raichur. A proposal for comprehensive community health care has been prepared for delivering health services to 20 villages including the training of local village health workers.

HEALTH CARE

Rapid expansion has made it possible to serve nearly 1 00,000 people in 70 villages involved in the project.

The project developed a three-tier system of health care delivery to meet the health needs of the most neglected segment of society, the rural poor. The first tier consists of at least one village health worker (VHW) resident in each village. The second tier is a mobile health team which visits each village once a week or once a fortnight. The third tier consists of the main centre in Jamkhed with facilities for diagnosis, emergencies and in-patient care. There are also four sub-centres. The key to their success has been the selection and training of the 350 village health workers. Dr. R.S. Arole notes, '...to reach this stage, it needs continuous work of years together. When we (his wife is also a doctor) came to this area, we came to do health care. Our idea was very different. Then we thought that we would go to the villages and operate on them, take care of their heart attacks, and so on. And we thought we would recruit other doctors and nurses to help us. But we could not think of anybody below the level of a nurse (who) could even think of health. This was our background. Then we began to think of all those who did not come to us and found our help was really a trickle compared to the problem of health. Then was born the idea of teaching the local people to manage many of their own health problems.'

As the delegates shared their learnings from project data, field visits to rural villages and their own experiences, they emphasised their concern that *health systems support rather than control village health activities* so that rural people have quality and affordable health services. This approach allows for more flexibility in using available resources.

Integrated and supportive systems begin by discerning the willingness of a village to become involved in a health scheme, then work closely with the people to create the care system and the training to meet that village's specific needs.

In the Lardin Gabas Rural Health Programme in Gongola State (BA-4) an attempt is being made to develop a new pattern of primary health care by shifting emphasis from institutionalised medical care to health education and preventive medicine. First, communities are contacted. If they are willing to participate in the planning, establishing, supervising and control of their own health system, they are organised to be a part of the health project. On-going technical guidance is provided by Church of the Brethren staff. Support includes a three-month training programme for local health care workers, on-site training and refresher courses at periodic intervals. To date 355 local health workers have been trained.

Working group members highlighted the importance of community involvement in decision-making. If a village can symbolise its willingness to begin the journey toward more comprehensive health care, it can claim ownership of the proposed programme right from the start. This type of approach helps to build foundations to sustain health care that best meets the particular need of the villages involved.

In some projects this dimension is included from the start. Many villages surrounding Jamkhed in Maharashtra State, sought to become involved and establish their own health projects. The Comprehensive Rural Health Project (SA-4) undertook such programmes only in response to a firm invitation from an entire village.

HEALTH CARE

A working group also discussed how in Nigeria the focus on prevention was being promoted. All medical schools are assigned to a rural area in an attempt to change their curricula. A shift from an exclusive focus on curative medicine to preventive medicine began in 1973. Government workers visited and talked with village leaders raising this question: 'Why do rural people accept their illness?' In the responses they discerned an unmistakable receptivity to a new approach to health care. They then began a new system; the village selects a man and a woman to be trained to be responsible for the day-to-day activities of primary health care. Full-time medical personnel travel to the villages to supervise the work and to provide pre-natal clinics and immunisations.

In Nigeria, the Lardin Gabas Rural Health Programmen (BA-4) illustrates another important step in the evolution of health care systems: the partnership of the professional health community with the villages in both planning and implementing health care. The effectiveness of preventive measures depend upon the active participation of the villages. Even in remote areas where usual medical services are not available, it is possible to produce remarkable results if the villagers are involved and engaged in practising appropriate health care.

Various schemes are being used to further village involvement in order to provide the best possible health care to rural villages. Frequently they have been initiated and run by established health institutions such as; hospitals, medical colleges, government health agencies or by private or voluntary groups.

RUHSA (SA-27) is the community health and rural development programme of the Christian Medical College in Vellore. *The programme uses a team concept to relate to the communities and to other health delivery institutions.* An emphasis is placed on the realisation that, 'the people's participation and involvement in their own future is essential for meaningful development.'

In Kenya, the Kibwezi Community Based Primary Health Care Project, (BA-16), sponsored by the African Medical Research Foundation, began in 1978. The goal is to make health care available to villagers using 114 trained health care workers selected and supported by their communities. An extensive programme of preventive health care and education has started. This division-wide programme is directed from the health centre in Kibwezi. It is providing a model of how effective health care can be made accessible to the villages of Kenya.

TWO APPROACHES TO INTEGRATED SYSTEMS

The Jamkhed System

'The significance of the system is the delegation of the practice of health services out of the hands of the doctor and into the hands of the nurses, the para-medical workers and, most important, the village health workers (VHW). They are the link with the local village. They ensure the training and usage of simple, effective and low cost methods that meet the village needs. Through this system the VHW, who are respected, experienced resident village women, are covering 78 percent of the curative health needs and are the major vehicles for the preventive and promotional health care services.' (Comprehensive Rural Health Project, SA-4).

The journey to an integrated health care system can be shown in the experience of the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (CRHP) (SA-4) in Jamkhed and Karjat Talukas (sub-districts) of Maharashtra State, India. The project initially targeted 30 scattered villages with a total population of about 40,000 to receive primary health care.

HEALTH CARE

INTRODUCTION

Based on their experience in working in the health field, delegates to the International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD) in New Delhi stated that the key element today in rural health care is the focus on preventive health care. Many of the illnesses seen in rural areas in both developed and developing countries can be eliminated with basic preventive measures and early detection. This emphasis on preventive rather than curative health care is causing a major shift in the field. Essential health care for every community involves preventive measures such as immunisations, health education, nutrition training, sanitation and family planning along with direct curative treatments.

The forerunner of rural development across the world today has been health care. Medical concerns and professionals followed closely the expansion of economic and religious interests as they introduced western health technologies into new areas. Hospitals and clinics were built in urban centres and later, in more remote areas far from trade routes and centres of communications, to address the overwhelming incidence of disease encountered by expanding settlements. Great strides have been achieved in dealing with serious and debilitating diseases and much has been learned about causes and cures. A related result has been an increase in population.

COMMUNITY ACTION FOR HEALTH CARE

'Health is a state of positive well-being; not just the absence of disease' (Report of the International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma Ata, 1978).

LINKING VILLAGES WITH PROFESSIONALS

An increasing emphasis is being placed on the training of local people themselves so that they can understand and implement preventive health care practice. One physician, a delegate to the New Delhi event, said, 'Health can then become an individual (or community) responsibility, not just a doctor's responsibility to remove illness.'

As an example of the benefits of using a localised approach with a preventive emphasis the Rural Unit for Health and Social Affairs (RUHSA) (SA-27) cites the decrease in infant mortality rates over a five-year period from 116 per 1,000 to 47 per 1,000. RUHSA (SA-27) understands health to be one of the important aspects of rural development. Since 1978, 133 villages have received training in health care measures and immunisations. Still they state: 'We must work harder to help people work for themselves.'

Health projects represented in New Delhi dramatically expressed this shift. There were efforts using this more comprehensive approach in even the most remote rural villages. In the Nutrition and Primary Health Project (LA-36) of Chiapas, Mexico, volunteers are taking a preventive health package of nutrition and preventive measures to mothers and children in isolated communities. When these measures are used, 'with the aid of rural health workers and trainers, the adequate physical and mental development (of children) can happen in spite of poverty'.

The Integrated Community Health Services Development Project of Nepal (SA- 65) has had a similar experience. It provides basic minimum preventive and curative health services to the rural population on a door-to-door basis and mobilises local resources by involving local communities in health services.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

'For a long time society has treated women with an attitude of sufficiency, protecting them as if they were children, without any consideration for their capabilities, their desires and directing them toward the exclusive roles of mother, daughter, wife, sister or teacher. Their work on the farm was only appreciated as an aid to man's work or it was tolerated (and badly paid) when there were no men willing to do it.' (ICRA Information. 9/10 Dec. 1979)

Use of the Media

The media is another resource which has been found to be helpful to the cause. Press publicity was one means of bringing before the public the existence of a group, and drawing attention to its interests and activities. It was sometimes used as a weapon to put pressure on other bodies, including one government which was mentioned in the group discussion. One needed to be aware that once one gave a story to the press they tended to use it in any way that would benefit them most. On the other hand there is the belief that, 'any publicity is good, even bad publicity.' *The media is a powerful information tool and the use of television and radio was recommended in addition to the press, for spotlighting issues.*

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

In Canada, the Reading and Writing Tutoring Project (NA-7) is an adult literacy project in a developing agricultural area in which 33 percent of the adult population have had no formal education. Lorna Ferguson, the project co-ordinator, described the approach that had been used to involve the German-speaking Mennonite community in the programme. 'It is what I'd call the 'foot in the door approach'... in 1977 there were a few women from this large Mennonite community who formerly had no use for education. They had had some schooling and came to be trained as tutors in order to teach their husbands to read and write. That was all the literacy activity in that community. Today, we have over 80 trained tutors in the community—about 40 who are active this year, working with students, some with more than one student. Most of them are women. We have had a struggle over the last two years to involve men in the programme. Most of the women will not tutor a man unless he is her husband or father. This year there has been a breakthrough: a number of men have started sending their sons and nephews to train as tutors.'

These women have developed a new sense of self-worth and confidence from the discovery that they can earn money by working as tutors. One of the manifestations of their new status is that they have started family planning. No direct approach was made to them about this but it has apparently arisen out of the reading matter that is part of the literacy programme. The other is their decision to take political action for the first time in their lives. It was over the matter of school transport for their children and they got what they asked for. In this action, they were inspired by a women's group in a neighbouring community who were politically aware, and who gave them support and advice about the action they needed to take to achieve results.

Among their learnings that could be helpful to the local practitioner are the comments by the project organisers that co-operation with all ethnic groups is important to emphasise cross-cultural interaction. Researching proven methods is invaluable as is the need to tailor any method to the specific individuals and geographic location of the community under consideration. 'Literacy is a key to many arenas of community self-help. Persons who have never taught or been employed can be good tutors. There are people in every community who will be willing to help their neighbours.'

Legal Rights

On women's legal rights, a Jamaican delegate made the point that legal reform might offer solutions to the problems women face, but this was not useful unless it was accompanied by education and changed attitudes in society. Women were not keen to resort to legal action even when they were within their rights. The advice she gave was that women should not be shy of the legal machinery that exists—it is there to be used and they should use it.

Educating women on their rights within the legal structure was an approach that has been found to produce results beneficial to their status and power influence in society, and helped to improve their relationships in their family and the community.

Finally, recourse to the law is a matter women need to be reassured about. If women are going to take action to ensure that legislation does not hamper their cause, either by exerting pressure through an umbrella body, or electing the right women into public office, then women need to know what rights are theirs so they can use the law if they need to.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

There is a stage in the career of the VHW at which her status is considerably enhanced. It comes at the end of her training period, when she has successfully passed the 'examination' and she is symbolically handed the key to the medicine cupboard of the village. This gives her license to dispense simple medicines without prior consultation. The effect is captured in this brief passage: 'The most fascinating part of the training is in the dimensions this independence assumes. Women come forward to take loans to purchase their own milk animals. They stand for elections, they become more assertive and people start taking notice of what they had missed as effective alternatives.'

Adult Literacy

'Women are the base of a village. If they are educated, the education and development of a village is 60 percent done. Hence the need to educate women.... *All illiterate women have a desire, however dormant, to become literate and know the world around them.*' This is one of the presuppositions on which the Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh (SA-9) based their plans for the education of rural Indian women. How have the programmes fared? Reported accomplishments include: 'In traditional literacy classes about 3,500 rural adult women were made literate.... In functional literacy more than 10,000 village women were made literate ... 1,500 children have benefited by formal education; 25 women teachers are engaged. In non-formal education 160 destitute women have been educated and helped to settle in a (new) life. Three hundred fifty drop-outs from literacy classes were given tuition to join the main stream of education again. Our target of a high percentage of literacy among women was achieved.'

Functional literacy among rural women is one of the basic programmes for which they received in 1979 the prestigious National Nehru Literacy Award. Over the years of running the programme, they have been able to assess the suitability of the syllabus with which they started out. This had been designed to meet the needs of rural women as seen by the change agents. Once they formed 'mahila mandals' (women's groups) they were able to better gauge the women's interests and needs and revise the syllabus to respond to them. The theme they adopted was 'Woman's role as a good housewife, mother and Annapurna (the goddess of good food) to the family members, as a good citizen, and an agent of change.' This curriculum resulted in the motivation and response evidenced by their accomplishments in the last decade.

As their next move, they started non-formal education programmes to enable women who were now literate to go on to primary school examinations. They also developed condensed courses which helped older women, who had not had education opportunities earlier in their lives, to study for the Higher Secondary examinations. Many of the women who took these courses are now teaching the literacy classes. In addition to imparting functional literacy, the educational programmes have opened up new avenues for vocational training and this is producing a side effect on the cultural practice of 'child marriages' which was prevalent in the villages. Parents are now able to see the benefit of allowing their daughters to take advantage of the educational opportunities available to them instead of following the traditional idea of marrying them off in early childhood. The Extension Training Centre of the People's College (SA-19) in northern Uttar Pradesh, India, has found that education has had a similar effect on the tribal and hill peoples.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The Social Development Aides trained in the Christa Sharan (SA-44) programme, in their role as catalysts and change agents, are responsible for identifying committed 'leader' figures from among the women in the community and helping these women to develop to their full potential so that they can assume responsibility for the women and the community in which they live and work. In projects where the focus is on women's development, experience shows that rural women are most likely to respond to leadership from within the community. It is easier for them to accept another woman whom they already know and trust. Local leaders, once spotted, need encouragement to upgrade their skills through literacy classes and training for management, decision-making and policy planning.

Through Health Care

Because of the debilitating effect of poor nutrition and sanitation on a community's health, preventive health care is a highly rated aspect of any community integrated or comprehensive development plan, and women are the important factor in its implementation. Training women in villages to look after basic health needs is taking place through a variety of approaches.

In Maharashtra, India, *the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (SA-4) uses a three-tier system of health care delivery*. At the first tier is the Village Health Worker (VHW), a local woman selected by each village. The second tier is a mobile health team which visits the villages weekly or fortnightly; and the third tier consists of the main health centre in Jamkhed and four sub-centres with facilities for diagnosis, emergencies and in-patient care.

The VHW, often illiterate herself, is given strong support by the literate members of the Women's Clubs and Farmer's Clubs in matters such as weighing children, keeping records and programmes for health, education and nutrition. In preventive and primary health care training, literacy has not been found to be a prerequisite. Training in para-medical skills, even of partly-literate women, has raised their status and improved the health service to the community, particularly the women and children.

According to the Tribhuvandas Foundation whose programmes have been developed by the National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) (SA-33), in India the village has to select the VHW by consensus from among all adult females in the village. After training she returns to her own village and is expected to give health care to every person there. Much of her time is spent on the preventive aspects of her work involving health education, immunisation and environmental control (water supply, sewage disposal and insect control).

The India Development Service project (SA-22) focuses attention on health education and community health programmes. They see the VHW as a vital link between the health team and the community. Her duties involve regular home visits, immunisation campaigns, nutritional programmes, family planning advice, settling disputes and misunderstandings by interventions and explanations. She assists in or handles deliveries and post-natal care, first aid, record-keeping, and camps for eye care and leprosy detection. The VHW keeps tabs on the health of the community. VHW training has enabled wider application of curative health through greater participation by the community. These women, coming out of the community itself, are well placed to gain their respect and confidence.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Ninety percent of the total population of Nepal lives in the rural areas. The Small Farmer Development Programme (SA-36) has people's participation as one of the important elements in its policy. The objective is to make small farmers self-reliant by mobilising their skills and resources. A Women's Development Programme has been launched in 20 districts. The rural women in Nepal play an important role not only in income generating activities, but also in household affairs. The rural women actually work more than men.'

In the Small Farmer Development Projects separate women's groups are formed on different activities, such as improved methods of crop production, weaving, handicrafts, rice-husking, knitting, sewing, livestock rearing, child-care, kitchen-gardening, health and education. Training is an important component of the programme, and women recruited as motivators in the projects receive pre-service training for the job. A Population Education Programme has been introduced, to emphasise the importance of nutritious foods, primary health care, education, changing food habits and consumption patterns.

There is a wide range of opportunities for women's engagement in non-farming activities in the rural areas. Looking again at the picture, it becomes clear that the available schemes are limited to the traditional low-skilled, low-status, low-paid occupations. There is a need for diversifying beyond the 'household' sector and providing income producing opportunities for rural women other than health and nutrition, child care, spinning, needlework and handicrafts. Some projects train in non-traditional skills. For example, India's New Group for Raichur's Integrated Development (SA-5) has found bicycle repairing to be particularly remunerative for women in Karnataka villages.

Leadership Skills

One of the prerequisites to women's moving into leadership and decision-making positions is the education and skills training needed for such a transition. Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society (CROSS) (SA-25) provides training seminars to meet women's particular needs. These are organised and run by women and aim to create a critical awareness about the problems women face in society, making them conscious of their rights and responsibilities, assisting them in forming groups for learning and productive activity, and for achieving economic viability.

On return from their field visit to CROSS, which has projects in over 200 villages among the tribal people in the arid state of Andhra Pradesh, the delegates wrote: 'Green patches in the midst of the desert, determination to turn unproductive land to productive...' They have been working with these villages for the past nine years, to build awareness, and through formal associations, 'Sanghams,' to provide structures for village development, planning and implementation. The male literacy rate in the area is 25 percent, female 8 percent. Training courses have been provided in the areas of health, law, agriculture, women's issues, government programmes, group dynamics, village accounts and animal husbandry. Special training sessions are run for women, and women have their own Sanghams in each village, which are organised and run by women. This ensures that women's particular development needs are catered for.

The Kanita Project (SP-21) in Malaysia works with rural and urban women in an action-research project. The particular emphasis is on identifying and solving problems related to the role and status of women in the rural Malay environment. *Their concern is to enable women to realise and develop their full potential and skills in leadership, entrepreneurship and community organisation, in a just and egalitarian manner.*

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Most women's economic activities tend to be confined to the traditional areas in which they have worked for centuries. One of the occasional breakthroughs, however, is Iris Drukkerij Stichting (EU-21) in the Netherlands. Five years ago a group of ten young mothers in the Netherlands decided that in view of the shortage of employment opportunities, especially for women—a situation even more difficult for those with children—they would meet weekly as a group to discuss the situation and think about what they might do. It became clear, after they had talked for a few times, that they did not want to go into traditional 'women's jobs,' but rather do something technical, even though they had no particular ideas about what that might be. The strategy they agreed upon was that they would all set out to find part-time jobs which would enable them to care for their children and at the same time get trained on the job. With initial assistance from the government and local municipality, they managed to bring their plan to fruition and in two years' time 'Iris' was launched as a project for part-time training and employment for women.

Their venture is a small offset printing shop and the women still work part-time. They are providing a printing service to their community, training opportunities for other women, and are self-supporting as to rent and other overheads. So far none of the women receives a salary, but they expect to start paying themselves this year.

The Family Life Training Centre of the Kenya Food and Nutrition Training Programme (BA-13) focuses on training local field volunteers who then organise and initiate community projects. There are now 23 projects which directly benefit 593 families (4000 people) and indirectly benefit an additional 913 families. *Women's groups have been organised in the Eastern division. Training is given in trading and marketing, health caretaking, workshop and community leadership and project management. The project activities include vegetable gardening, rabbit raising, poultry farming, bee-keeping, gardening techniques, nutrition, weighing of children and record keeping.* The garden produce serves home consumption, and the surplus is sold so that seeds for the following year can be bought. Some gardens include small tree nurseries producing saplings which are also sold for cash. Participatory training methods are used, and they are not necessarily dependent on highly qualified instructors. Commenting on the factors that made for its success, the project director said that this was due to community participation and mastery of planning skills affecting the communities' living environment—better homes and public utilities. People are confident of their ability to bring about changes in their life styles, and they are pleased to recount these benefits and achievements.

In rural society, women may be motivated by a variety of factors, of which the economic is usually the most pressing. The Development Plan for Middle Distance (EU-36) in Hungary presents one example. Veresgyhaz was a typical agricultural village which faced a declining population and lack of resources. A plan for reversing this trend was initiated by inviting small industry to the village and developing a recreation area for people from the larger settlements. Through local planning processes and citizens working together, the people's interest was aroused in the benefits of education and skills training. *'Women were particularly interested in completing their secondary education or getting a semi-skilled or skilled worker certification to increase their earning capacity.'* The increased earnings benefited not just the women but the entire village. The new employment opportunities brought a higher degree of income all round which resulted in holding the population within the village, in a stronger attachment of the people to their village, and an improvement in the social and cultural life of the community.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The Bonechere Metis Association (CAN-7) has trained and organised women to produce traditional crafts. They found that, 'working with government funds (the project started as a federally funded venture) made it very difficult to adapt. The project's needs and methods did not run parallel. A native-oriented business totally operated and managed by natives was rather new and the government was skeptical of their abilities. It was strongly recommended (almost enforced) that the project submit to outside management. This was totally rejected by the staff resulting in the loss of funding in the second year. The group survived the second year, re-submitted their request the third year and got it. The working staff said they would refuse to work under a non- native manager.

The general consensus of the workforce was that only natives can produce a truly authentic native product and it is important to them to take part in product design to achieve full production and harmony.... *It has become almost an obsession to prove that native people can operate and administer businesses of their own choice and be a success.'*

Through United Efforts

The strength derived from working in groups is obviously appreciated by women, and there is abundant evidence to show that such groups can be active and effective bodies in the field of development. A fair proportion of the group discussion time was devoted to the experiences of women who work in groups in their local situations, with affiliations to national and international bodies. These networks form an important and useful support base for women. Often the national and international associations are able to exert pressure on the machinery that produces legislation which affects women. It is useful to be represented in those circumstances by a voice that 'speaks the same language' and is familiar with the issues and recommendations that women need to draw to the attention of those who need to hear them.

TRAINING FOR EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Income Generation

In many places women were attracted to part-time work. This enabled them to work outside their home for a period often not more than two or more hours a day because their energy was still needed in the fields and in the home. Home-based jobs were found helpful which could be done by the woman or as a family occupation.

Over the past three decades several voluntary groups in India have designed rural development programmes based on Gandhian ideas. These have had government support and many schemes are in operation today. Among those benefiting rural women, the 'khadi' (handloom) production scheme is one that provides home-based income generation. Often in collaboration with voluntary agencies, the 'ambar charkha' (a modified spinning wheel) is now widely distributed through the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC). The charkhas are supplied at subsidised prices, operators' training is arranged and marketing is undertaken by the KVIC so that there is a guaranteed outlet for the production. Because the wages are not high, this may not be the ideal solution to women's need for income supplementation, but it is a convenient part-time occupation. Almost all these women are farmers or seasonal labourers who spin only in their spare time.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

She also mentioned how they were trying to handle the situation: 'We decided that we were going to deal with the knowledge that rural women need to contribute to the development of the country and to achieve real development for all the people. We used the assistance of the women's organisations in every rural area. We stated what women need. We decided that to change things for women they needed to know accounting, to have day care centres, nutrition classes.... We visit the rural areas to work out the most effective way to do the development effort. This is what we do. We do not teach them how to do their farm work, we don't give them directions on how to keep their livestock.' (Bisi Ogunle, Country Women Association, BA-22)

For the local practitioner in development, the area of behaviour patterns is crucial because knowledge and skills can prove sterile if there is no shift in attitudes. In the group discussion, the experience of an approach from Kenya indicated the steps for getting women involved in a project. There was an emphasis on talking to the women on a one-to-one basis to create confidence. The next step was talking to the district officials and arranging for access to available resources. Then it was necessary to have dialogue with the men, which was done in a meeting at which a the keynote was frankness. It was felt that the men needed to be alerted to the problems as well as the possibilities arising out of the involvement of the women. The particular suggestion put forward to the women was that they should start by forming themselves into a group. After some opposition, the men agreed to allow the setting up of small women's groups (which were linked to an 'association'). These small groups operate their own projects: the benefit of being linked to the larger body is that they then have a resource base for advice on identifying strategy, agency contacts and other inputs for their projects. As the projects developed, the women grew in confidence and set up their own network for exchanging information about their work and progress. The example discussed was a bee-keeping venture. After the project was established and growing, the women persuaded their husbands to get the conventional beehives. They now have a thriving honey co-operative which has transformed the economic and social environment of the community, given the women a boost to their morale and status, while the men enjoy their share of the credit for their wisdom in giving their consent in the first place!

General agreement emerged from the group that the practitioner needed sensitive antennae which would pick up the signals and avoid any breach of social convention. In some societies the elders in a community are the group that need to give their approval; in others it may be the men who have to be convinced. But whoever it may be, the concern that had most often been expressed was that the women's changed work patterns should not disrupt the family or community harmony. In most cases there had been no difficulty in dealing with this hurdle, and going on to demonstrate the benefits that accrued, particularly those which enhanced the family's life style.

The story from Sawauchi (SP-28), Japan, in the Appendix gives an insight into attitudes which, though they did not change easily, and though they were particularly oppressive towards women ('You impertinent women! You don't need to learn!'), did not succeed in deterring the women. The story certainly supports a quote that was produced at the group meeting on women's role and development at the Central International Event. 'Women often think they are weak and cannot do anything without men, but women, if they are united and bent on achieving something, are more powerful than men.'

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The result is that the women from the city are now working with three villages in the area on programmes in agriculture and industries and a mutual trust has developed between them. The benefits from this relationship are also mutual: the urban women have a better understanding of the life and working conditions in the rural areas, and they have been able to share their experiences in a way that has been educational for the village women. They have also effected changes in the economic viability of the rural women which is reflected in their growth in confidence and status.

In the same discussion it was suggested that *the exposure of village women to the cities was in itself an approach that had been found to work*. It had been done by arranging tours and excursions to places of national interest as well as establishments which presented images of efficient working and environmental awareness, like museums, parks, schools and hospitals. SEWA (SA-32), in addition to arranging outings for village women, takes them to the city for training: to attend a conference or to see and discuss a relevant film which exposes the women to new situations and ideas. The women are paid a stipend for the day so that the exercise is seen as an 'official' engagement, and this enhances the prestige of the women in the eyes of the community. This status can be very practical: women in small farming families who have received training in modern farming techniques find that their husbands and neighbours now come to them for advice.

Approaching women through their children was mentioned as yet another effective alternative. This had usually been achieved by providing kindergarten facilities for children first, and attracting mothers to spend any time they could in literacy classes.

Conveying information and achieving motivation by presenting images has been found to be an effective approach in training. This has been done by using drama, role-play, songs and other art. APWA (SA-48) has been using radio and television to educate people about the need for immunisation of children against polio which is prevalent in Pakistan: the results of the media campaign have been good. Around 200-300 children attend the clinics daily for immunisation.

As a teaching aid in their Population-Education Programme, which deals with family planning, nutrition and health-care education in Nepal, the Small Farmer Development Programme (SA-36) uses audio-visuals like radio cassettes, drama, episodes, songs, posters, pamphlets, flip-charts and flash-cards. APPLE (BA-27) in their non-formal education and development work in Ghana, uses 'flannelgraphs' (made locally from jute sacks and home-made cardboard and pens), 'improvisational drama' which not only makes a tremendous impact but forces feedback, and they have begun to experiment with video, also as a feed-back technique.

Enabling Attitudes to Change

Unless the women's own attitudes change, there will be little benefit to be gained. They need to be prepared—both in practical terms, which can be done by education, training or whatever other devices may be used, and more importantly, in emotional terms. Human beings are conditioned by their culture, tradition and by their environment. If anything is suggested or attempted that will change the familiar pattern, then it represents a 'threat' and might, at first, meet resistance. The difficulty of changing attitudes was very plainly dealt with by a Nigerian delegate: '... you cannot play the role of the mouse for so long and then suddenly be expected to play the role of the horse.'

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The programme covers a daily hour-long training session. Parents contribute to curriculum development for the pre-school and learn to give instruction. A weekly 'pre-school in the home' takes place in the more scattered rural areas. Teachers meet with both parents and children. The mothers teach on other days. The project has contributed to improved family life, through a better understanding of the school environment and an enhanced sense of community. This has enabled the professional teachers to shift from traditional curriculum to a child-centred one, and it has reinforced the significance of their role.

In many of the developing countries the cultural and social setting demands that any activity needs to be family-centred. The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) projects in these countries invariably cover nutrition, health care, health education, family planning, disease prevention, and domestic crafts. Family workers are trained local people, who are members of the communities in which they work. Born and brought up in the village, they know the local customs and life styles, speak the local dialects, tackle their work with great enthusiasm, and have the respect of the families they serve.

WAYS TO INVOLVE RURAL WOMEN

Clearing the Hurdles

It is sometimes necessary to reach women by means which may be less direct than the normal approaches. The Reading and Writing Tutoring Project (NA-7) in Alberta, Canada uses what they call the 'foot in the door approach.' Once women have been exposed to new ideas and have access to information or other resources, they use their own imagination and initiative to take the next steps. The same effects were reported through 'education by demonstration.' *The Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh (SA-9) in Madhya Pradesh, India, reports that their Socio-Economic Programme had as one of its aims 'increased income through improved agricultural practices and use of improved seeds.'* A start was made with 100 farming families in eight villages giving 'demonstrations' on their own land. A one-acre plot was put under cultivation using improved seeds and fertilisers. The increased output that resulted encouraged them and other farmers around to adopt these methods for the entire land available to them. A demonstration by a group of women in the Netherlands (Iris Drukkerij Stichting, EU-21) is described later in this booklet.

The All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) (SA-48) work through their centres for women's development in practically every district of the country. *Before working directly with the women, the traditional pattern of society requires that the permission of the elders be obtained. Discussions with the women themselves then follow,* in which the APWA's community development worker, sometimes a teacher, seeks to convince them to set up a multi-purpose centre. Teaching the women religion, the Holy Quran is used as the approach to gain their participation. Other programme activities include literacy classes, needlework and knitting, and nutrition and child care. The benefits are apparent in the improved health of the women and the higher family incomes.

Another approach that had been adopted was described in an interest group by Esther Ocloo of Ghana. In this instance, it was the business women who were wanting to get among the village women to set up an interchange. They learned that the only day that the women would not be working in the fields was Friday. On the following Friday when they went out to the village they had first to talk to the Chief. It was after this that he called the women of his village together for a discussion with the urban visitors.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

THROUGH FAMILY AND HOME

Women are most likely to become engaged in income-producing activities if there are arrangements for the care of their young children during their absence. There are some work-places where mothers are encouraged to bring the children and they are cared for or kept amused while the mother works. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (SA-32) on this subject feels that: 'Day care centres for rural agricultural workers' economic and social emancipation is a must.

Besides being a supportive service, they can be used to unionise rural women, to train them in motherhood, health, labour and social legislation. SEWA's first creche was just an entry point into the rural women's programme. By now SEWA operates ten creches, with local women as managers. The children get daily baths, a mid-day meal, milk, medical care and play in comfort...

An approach recommended as 'workable in any community' comes from Marshalltown, Iowa, USA, from the Parent-Child Home Stimulation Class (NA-D). The programme is designed to give parents the training and skills needed to be their child's first teacher. This is done through a 20-hour course with weekly two-hour sessions offering an overview of child development, a weekly prescribed learning episode with an assigned toy to facilitate experimentation in learning styles, class discussion on assigned topics and learnings from the toys in play at home. A playroom is provided for children which enables parents to be more involved in the class and gives children an opportunity to interact with peers. The course is built on methods that allow all to participate at their individual levels of readiness, that involve the entire community as resources for child and parent development and demonstrate positive approaches by building on strengths.

'Working with families in their home environment through a broad process of education, to create a better economic livelihood' is the objective of the Home Education Livelihood Programme (NA-18) in Albuquerque, USA. The programme helps families and local communities through adult education, job training, leadership and economic development projects, early childhood education, self-help housing construction and renovation, rural health clinics, land and natural resources development, water systems and finding resources for medical, legal and social services.

In the rural areas, farm families sometimes need help to acquire practical skills and knowledge about management of their day-to-day affairs. The Rural Family Development Project (NA-XXVI) in Iowa, USA has designed a programme to meet this need. Through helpers with practical experience who visit them in their homes, low-income farm families are given advice and information on farm and/or home management skills. Having counsel and technical information available to them has helped families reduce their stress levels. The greatest impact comes from counselling clients against actions that carry a high probability of risking the family's finances. Farm families have been helped to set realistic goals consistent with their financial and physical resources through improved home and farm management knowledge.

In Spain, the University of Granada's Institute of Science and Education has designed a pre-school and home-based scheme, involving parents in their research project Guarderías Infantiles-Programme Andalusia (EU-43). This focuses on better techniques of infant and child care, with families participating to achieve increased attention to child health and sanitation during the early stages of a child's development. Mothers particularly are invited to take part.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

These are run on a co-operative basis. This has led to new job opportunities which have given the women greater economic independence and enabled others to see the need to support women's activities. Through this project two learnings have emerged, namely:

- training should be done in 'steps' to enable women to acquire different skills at different stages; and
- support for women's projects will be forthcoming only if men are also convinced about the need for them. The Elders and Youth Programme (LA-16) sponsored by the Jamaica Bureau of Women's Affairs addressed the issue of unskilled young rural women, many of whom are mothers, by using the skilled elderly as a resource. The approach has helped the young women to acquire skills to produce income, saved traditional crafts from extinction, built better understanding between the generations and raised new consciousness about the need to support rural women's activities.

The elderly are a valuable resource for the development effort. Where traditional crafts are in danger of extinction because the younger generation are moving away from the homeland, there has often been no incentive for the older generation to keep the skills alive. In the group discussion, a Jamaican delegate expanded on the idea that involvement of elders also had another facet, when younger women are suspicious of older generations. Some direct involvement of young and old together is needed to bridge the gap. She described her project's approach of holding a demonstration of the older women's skills on International Women's Day. Excitement was generated among both young and old and as a result training centres were set up to teach these skills. Now a co-operative has been formed to market the products. In addition to handicrafts, culinary and recreational skills were being taught by the elderly (Icyline Seaton, Council of Voluntary Services, Jamaica).

PROGRAMME CONTENT

HOME AND WORK

Gyorgyi Lugossy talked about working women in her country of Hungary: 'It is good to create working opportunities near home, to have projects near and not to have to travel far to work. Our agricultural co-operatives try to create special working opportunities for women in the auxiliary activity of the large-scale farm. They transport material to each home, especially for a woman who has small children, so that she can stay at home and work with the material—something like packing small things. In this way women can stay at home but can earn more money.'

On home-based jobs, a unique feature of the Trickle-Up Programme (NA-32) is that it, 'allows each group to make its own decision as to who to work with, the time to work, the place of work and what to produce and market.' It is up to the women to work in the ways to which they are accustomed or change them. They can decide to work together or separately, away from or in their homes. It is difficult to generalise on whether women want to work in or out of their homes. A group who started a clothing business were very pleased to have purchased a building and were looking forward to getting to the work-place. In the same country another group of women reported that one of the positive features of their bakery business was that it was run conveniently from their homes. In both cases, the women had young children. The important thing was that the women should have the choice.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The first year, eleven women were involved and before the year was over a feasibility study was done on the viability of their products. The group then decided to go into wholesale supplying and the project is, after five years' operation, on the road to being self-sufficient. The effects on the community have been: *'Otherwise unemployable women work; hope for the other trainees for future employment; pride in seeing the tribal designs and styles rejuvenated and recognised; there has been an awakening of self-confidence in their abilities and awareness that there is something more than social assistance in the world if one is willing to work at it. Also families are showing pride in the achievements of (their) members.'* (Central International Event Interview)

Involving Men

Another aspect relates to men. It was agreed that unless men and women work alongside each other the barriers that exist will not be removed or diminished. If women are to be accepted as equal partners, they need to share responsibility and be involved in the planning and implementation of the task. Because they have for so long done less skilled tasks than men, their work has seldom been rated highly. From some of the project information and discussions, it might be concluded that men need to see the results before they are convinced. If this is so, how better then for women to work with men and let them see. This indicates the importance of integrating women's participation into community-level projects beyond specific women's components.

There are many more, but the following two references are relevant. The Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society (SA-25) has been working in Indian villages for the past eight years and in the last three years they have been organising the women to form 'mahila mandals' to create awareness among them as well as training them in literacy, child-care, health, housekeeping, family budgets and other practical and skills-related subjects.' At the end of their report, they write: '... the men are changing their attitudes about women's roles in village political and economic affairs.' In Khadgodhara village, a member of the Anand Milk Producers Union Ltd. (SA-33), the women's co-operative had achieved quite outstanding results through their skillful handling of affairs and there were a number of improvements made to the social environment in the village as a consequence. 'The men of Khadgodhara are indeed proud of what the women have accomplished because they see the results.'

Working With Youth

There were positive recommendations from the discussions that women's groups should work with youth groups which would build better understanding and greater acceptance of new thinking and attitudes. One of the suggestions was that *since 1985 is International Youth Year this might be an appropriate time for women's groups to start some activities which seriously involve youth.*

Cross-Generation Activities

When women work in groups that cut across the 'generations,' this has been found to have positive effects in creating understanding and building relationships between older and younger women, as well as in the preservation of traditional skills. El Colegio de Mexico has developed a programme which is being run by PROMUDER (Participation of Women in Rural Development, LA-39), to train women for participation in rural development. The older women are given opportunities to earn added income and train younger women for employment in their own communities. To do this training, agro-industrial units that process agricultural and livestock products have been set up and run by the women.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The group discussions led to three expressed conclusions concerning the subject of partnership with other bodies. First, that working within existing structures and organisations are more effective when linked to national, regional and international bodies; particularly those that are recognised and/or consulted by governments and the international development agencies. Secondly, that professional groups can exert pressure to influence policies and decisions affecting women. Thirdly, that *forming demonstration and action groups is necessary to achieve a stable power base at the planning level.*

The President of the International Council of Women, Dame Miriam Dell, in her address to the New Delhi Central International Event, mentioned the role of the International Council of Women in relation to the United Nations. The ICW work at many levels and they have category one consultative status as an NGO with ECOSOC (the Economic and Social Wing of the UN).... 'We were the first women's organisation to have that status ... we maintain a team at the UN Centre in New York, in Geneva and Vienna and at all the Economic Commissions of the UN around the world. We also have appropriate consultative status with UNESCO, ILO, WHO, UNCTAD and FAO. We take a full part in all the NGO activities and committees associated with these organisations ... any idea that comes from any member of a National Council of Women can go through the process of our Council, become policy and be presented at the United Nations deliberations ... we have been many years ahead in our thinking on equality, development and peace ... and have developed policies on the law of the sea, the use of outer space and the care of dangerous drugs and all other concerns of the world. We usually have had policies in advance of other international and governmental concerns.' This illustrates the advantage of working through networks and other women's groups.

WORKING WITH ALL THE PEOPLE

Indigenous Women are Most Effective

'The people should play an important role: the role of decision-making and planning their own future, and work towards achieving it.' This was the view expressed by the director of The Christa Sharan Social Development Society (SA- 44), working among the gypsy tribal people in the Indian state of Karnataka. The project emphasises a woman-to-woman approach in development, or the development of women through women. The Mother and Child Health programme has been an educational entry point that brought about noticeable change in the homes and general environment, as well as better health among those who responded and their families. The women who have been trained as Social Development Aides have responsibility as rural health workers and as 'educators' of the village women in health care, nutrition, savings, child care, organisation and management of women's groups 'mahila mandals' and co-operatives. They believe in 'education by doing.' Their interpretation of adult literacy includes non-formal education and functional literacy: health, hygiene, cultivation methods, savings, banking, poultry, rabbit and/or duck breeding, sheep and/or goat rearing, dairy farming, bee-keeping, tailoring and handicrafts and others which help to increase the family income as well as encourage co-operative action.

Because Golden Lake, Canada, is a depressed area with very few opportunities for women, the Bonnechere Metis Association (CAN-7) saw a need for creating employment opportunities, as well as saving the traditional culture and heritage which was on the verge of extinction. A group of women met to discuss this situation and designed a training programme available to all groups—Metis, Non- status and Status Indians.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

When the organisation was founded 15 years ago, the objective was care of infants from birth to three years of age. For this service they receive from government one-third of the cost of Rs60 (US\$6) per child per month. However, older children are now being served, and the two-thirds creche costs plus all other costs have to be raised by the voluntary organisation. This is done by contributions from the general public, sale of greetings cards with drawings done by the older children, in-kind donation of necessary space (room in a building under construction or a hut on the property) and some furniture supplied perhaps by the building contractor, and the free-will offering of any parent. There is no required fee.

In addition to caring for the children six days a week, from 9 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening, with paid workers in charge, the Mobile Creche Society amateurs produce instructive plays which are performed at the 20 or more sites at any one time. These plays give entertainment and information to the parents. A visiting nurse checks on necessary medication for routine childhood illnesses. All staff members at a site perform whatever is necessary without distinction: preparing food, diaper changing, leading the play and dance activities.' (Central International Event Field Visit Report)

PARTNERS IN DEVELOPMENT

From the support and co-operation that is being accorded by local and state governments to projects initiated by women's groups, women are being recognised as making a contribution to the development effort. Some illustrations follow:

- Kandito Women Goat Project (BA-20) in Kenya, with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, has established a demonstration goat rearing centre. The main activity is raising goats to provide milk and meat to combat malnutrition, in addition to providing cash income for the women. The project has catalysed women to begin other community activities such as nutrition classes and home gardens.
- Sponsored by the Women's Association of Borno, the Borno Community Health Clinic (BA-21) in the Plateau State of Nigeria is an effective health care project staffed by local people who serve the backward areas where there are no facilities for medical help. The centre served 3,000 people last year. *The project is financially supported by local and state governments and local organisations.* The charge per patient is normal, and each family pays a regular sum each month toward the running costs.
- The Jamaica Federation of Women's Basic Schools Project (LA-44) was established 40 years ago with island-wide branches. Their major concern has been child-care, specifically early childhood education for three to seven year olds. They have organised community-based basic schools supported through the branches or the headquarters of the Federation. They make grants for the upgrading of existing school conditions (buildings, materials, sanitation), for teacher training and for student sponsorship. They have had government recognition since the 1960s.
- Project Kanita (SP-21) in Malaysia works with rural women 'to enhance their position in society.' They seek to solve issues concerning women, working at a local level to encourage them to identify the problems and work together on solutions. They have access to the national planning body in the government so that they can, and do, represent women's views and influence planning policies that affect women.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The bank has granted credit to over 2,000 agricultural producers to save them from money-lenders, to enable them to expand their enterprises, to increase their output and to improve their lifestyles with better health care facilities, nutrition, education and vocational training. Many women have added extensions to their farms; some have invested in small-scale industries like corn-milling, distilling and transport.

The project officer keeps in touch with the women to whom credits have been granted, monitors their use of the funds and offers advice on improvement of their operation and repayment of loans. In lending to organised groups like co-operative farmers' and fisher people's societies, the default rate for repayments has been minimal. Members of each group are held severally and collectively responsible for any default. *The Union Banking Section of the Muranga Savings and Credit Co-operative Society, Ltd. District Co-operative Union in Kenya (BA-28) grants credit to women agricultural producers ranging in age from 25 to 75.* The project caters to all local people within the rural community without discrimination. 'Women enjoy equal rights and privileges with men.'

The SEWA Bank (SA-32) offers credit and savings facilities to its members for economic activity (but not for personal or social expenses). The concept is based on the knowledge that self-employed women in India, because they do not own capital or the equipment of their trade, are exploited by the landowners and middle-traders on whom they are dependent for their livelihood and who charge them interest at rates of up to 10 percent per day on loans taken. Every year about 50 percent of the monies advanced are repaid by members, so that funds are available for further advances. SEWA bank charges 12 percent annual interest, and loans are repayable in 20 monthly installments. The field and bank staff help borrowers where needed to ensure that the money they borrow is used effectively. Savings facilities are also provided. Repayment has been generally good. The repayment rate of SEWA borrowers was 87 percent, as against 16 percent that was being received by another bank in this same area. As rural borrowing rises, the repayment rate has fallen, but it still compares favourably with the national average.

Child Care

Another important factor in the support structure is the care of young children while the mother is working. *The Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society (CROSS) (SA-25) in Andhra Pradesh, India, runs special creche (nursery) training programmes for women and for out-of-school children* who cannot attend the regular government school because of having to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is at work all day. They attend the out-of-school children's classes, bringing their younger brothers or sisters with them. Creche and kindergarten facilities for working mothers' are a must. Infant day care centres are needed for agricultural labourers and others where a mother can leave her infant child safely and go to work, if necessary for the entire day, returning to breast-feed the infant in the afternoon. The direct and indirect benefits are easy to perceive: the child kept in creative and hygienic surroundings acquires sound social and civic sense, and will understand the need for cleanliness and sanitation. He or she gets wholesome nutrition and, when old enough, some basic education—not formal reading and writing, but rather a sensitivity to his or her immediate environment.

A group of delegates visited the Mobile Creche Society headquarters in New Delhi, and presented the following report. *'The purpose of the organisation is to provide on-site child care for the children of migrant workers brought in by labour contractors to work on construction jobs.'*

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Besides, most of these international associations have consultative status with the UN or its agencies and have the capacity to influence policies affecting women.

Women's Networks

Once such links have been made, a local women's group will have established a wide network of contacts, and this can only be helpful. *It is often suggested that, for the women's movement to grow and spread faster than it has done to date, a series of networks are needed to link people and groups who would be prepared to pool and exchange information....* What transpired in the New Delhi discussion groups confirmed this.

THE KINDS OF SUPPORT NEEDED

To enable poorer women to participate in programmes to improve their incomes, a range of supportive services have proven helpful. What the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (SA-32) does for self-employed women in India is useful to record here:

- creches in several villages for day care of very young children;
- skills training for older children not in school;
- access to credit and savings services and help in retrieving pawned jewellery;
- night literacy programmes;
- access to marketing services including transport for the finished products;
- procuring the raw materials at fair prices and access to production equipment;
- training in skills and in equipment maintenance.

In addition, the SEWA legal unit provides assistance to women in dealing with marital problems and work-related conflicts. Cash assistance to meet funeral costs and for widowhood support are also available. Five hundred rural women annually have taken advantage of the 'maternity protection scheme.' These services are provided through the SEWA Union, the SEWA Bank and the SEWA Trust, legally autonomous units which work closely together. Problems included the distances that people had to travel on inadequate roads with no bus services. At first, very few women came forward to work. But SEWA's basic know-how on income generation and their experience in the functional management of economic ventures has stood them in good stead.

Access to Resources

Of the resources women need to facilitate their role in economic development, credit represents a crucial constraint. Most banks are not prepared to deal with illiterate women unfamiliar with banking procedures. They tend to regard women's projects as high risk because they are usually small scale ventures with no collateral. Often government schemes are not accessible if the farmer is not a man. In the discussion on this subject suggestions for dealing with the situation ranged from demonstration and action through lobbying to forming co-operatives.

There are banks which have experimented with granting loans to women. In Ghana, the Biriwa Rural Bank Ltd. (BA-26) 'does not discriminate in granting credit to women, be they married or unmarried mothers.' Their credit scheme favours small-scale fisher people and farmers and those processing agricultural products.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

THE IMPORTANCE OF ORGANISED GROUPS

For women in rural areas, their local group is often the sole source of their courage (to voice views) and consolation (to share problems). There are too many groups in every country to attempt to enumerate here even those that were represented in New Delhi, but they were discussed in the groups and some of the conclusions about local, national and international groups, linkages and networks follow.

Local Support Groups

Whatever they are called, groups such as village women's associations, mothers' clubs, farmers' clubs, 'mahila mandals' and 'sanghams' can provide a forum in which women voice their views and experiences, discuss matters affecting themselves or the community and participate in reaching and implementing community decisions. Often these groups are effective tools for bringing about social change. They organise activities involving the whole community and, as a group, are able to influence its social and economic life. It was agreed that linkages need to be built with women's self-help groups in other villages, with farmers' clubs in the village or neighbouring villages, and between rural and urban women.

Njalai Zuki Mibyo, an industrial sociologist at the University of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, spoke during the New Delhi event about support and self-help groups for working mothers, a subject on which she had done research. *'Especially in the western part of Tanzania, the women form self-help groups so that even though they do most of the work in the rural areas, they are able by helping each other—to find time for their domestic activities....'* Ms. Mibyo spends her holidays working with rural women in villages. She finds them eager to have contact and share ideas with people from outside their villages. Against the backdrop of their tradition, she felt there had been very little change in the women's work situation: 'They still do more than three-quarters of the farming and the domestic work, though the men sometimes fetch firewood or build houses.'

National Associations

National groups of business and professional women can help village women's groups in matters which require professional or technical know-how. Links should be forged with them. They are invariably related to international bodies and have access to information and influence that can be useful. This connection puts rural women into contact with urban women, and this was felt to be an important approach in the context of education and training. Linking literate and illiterate women was seen as one way of educating 'by exposure' or 'by example'. In return, the exposure gives an opportunity to urban women to get nearer to the real life situations that village women face.

International Women's Groups

These are the 'parent' bodies with 'daughters' or 'sisters' around the world. The International Council of Women, Associated Country Women of the World, International Alliance of Women, World YWCA, International Planned Parenthood Federation: these are but a few of the best-known and most widely spread bodies. Relating with these networks through their national associations was seen as a useful approach for several reasons. Because these women's organisations function worldwide, they tend to be attuned to the situations concerning women around the globe.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The concepts of family planning are well known and approved in the village.

Revitalising the Co-operative Movement

A support group of the co-operative movement in Canada, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Women's Guild (CAN-69) adopted the task of building up the co-operative movement by educating youth and women of all races and creeds in the co-operative philosophy and leadership skills. The province of Saskatchewan had been a stronghold of farmer co-operatives for production (the pools and United Grain Growers), for protecting fiscal assets (credit union) and for retail outlets (co-op stores and service stations). Though women account for more than 50 percent of the purchasing for home and family, they were not represented on the decision-making bodies of the co-ops. Also the commitment among the members was not as strong as it had been with the first generation who created the structures.

The opening of the Co-op Oil Refinery in Regina was taken by the women as an indication that some action was necessary to ensure that the needs of the home and family were not neglected by the co-ops. In the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's women worked mainly in the home. As the rural economy changed, more farm women began to look for employment elsewhere; their social and educational interests were being diverted and membership in the guilds declined. It was at this stage that the Guild embarked upon their strategy of training and promotion.

The Guild has presented courses on leadership and the co-op movement through the 83 local guilds in Saskatchewan, and several hundred women have attended these. They have also built up the interest and understanding of youth; and they supported the establishment of, and are now using, the training resources of the Co-operative College of Canada. They have hosted international visitors to spread the spirit and the accomplishments of the co-op movement in Saskatchewan, and they created the 'rainbow' flag which is still the co-op symbol today. The results show that this action was timely and beneficial. The training for women enabled them to assume leadership roles in their local communities; the youth developed a new relationship to co-operatives and some have found employment within the co-op structures. In its time, the Co-operative Women's Guild was the only organisation educating women and youth on the philosophy of the movement.

Training for Management

The Palestinian Needlework Programme (NM-1) in Jordan is a village women's project which aims at preserving traditional crafts and supplementing family income. Started 30 years ago, the programme had women in 'wage earning' roles until 1980. *A change occurred when they decided to convert the project into a women's co-operative.* Intensive training courses were introduced for women in the villages so that they could be equipped to handle all stages of production and management of the venture. *From an informal community activity they became a formally registered co-operative, the first rural women's co-operative to be registered in the country.* There were some obstacles to overcome when their application for registration was turned down at first. The project decided to challenge the decision and resort to legal action. With the aid of a leading lawyer they were registered within a month. The event afforded them the opportunity to use their initiative, the experience of handling a political situation which impinged upon their legal rights, and a chance to take advantage of the training for the new roles they had to fill in leadership and decision-making.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Single-purpose Co-operatives: Industry

The National Council on Women and Development in Ghana was the sponsor of a women fish-smokers co-operative in Accra, the Kokrobity Ebenezer Fish Curing Cooperative (BA-25). The advantages of this new venture to the women includes the installation of time-saving and more economical technology, enabling larger quantities of fish to be processed, and raising the women's earning power. By improving the preservation and reducing waste at times of bumper catches so fish can be stored for the lean season, the project has increased the nutritional value of the food available throughout the country and over the year.

Reporting on the project's progress, a representative of the National Council commented on the improved economic situation of the women. 'Being all local people, mainly at their homesteads, there is hardly any adulteration of the cultural pattern of their life. They live together in their families ... and carry on with the customary practices of their parents.' With this increased income and exposure to modern social trends, the women are able to add to the family income to assist in the education of their children, and save some of their earnings.

The Honduran Federation of Peasant Woman (FEHMUC) (LA-45) is currently involved with 50 projects in which the women work in agriculture, such as growing corn and rice, poultry and pig farming and small industries like bakeries, straw hat making, canning food and running a general store. There are groups running these activities scattered across the country in five locations.

Single-purpose Co-operatives: Dairy

In the report on the Field Visit to India Development Service (IDS) (SA-22) the delegates commented that, 'The star example of their approach of strengthening village industries is dairy production, which is controlled by women.' (Central International Event Field Visit Report). These rural women are treated as equal partners in the project planning. They run dairy societies, have had training which has enabled them to manage production units, and are involved in marketing the milk.

The National Dairy Development Board (SA-33) and 'The White Revolution' have grown out of the struggle of the dairy farmers of Gujarat State, India, who fought exploitation through their successful dairy co-operatives. Some of the most striking benefits of the co-operatives can be seen in the village of Khadgodhara. Ten years ago it was inaccessible because of poor roads, but today the economic and social life has changed radically. *One of the factors to which the change can be attributed is the dairy co-operative which is run entirely by women—from the Chairperson, to the members of the executive committee, to the average shareholder.* The entry of these women into various institutional positions as shareholders and members of the executive committee had far-reaching effects. There is no doubt about the enhanced status of these women. They began facing the men with more self-confidence and were less inhibited when dealing with men from other villages. These women were aware of the fact that they had made inroads into areas traditionally reserved for men. And, as happens when women get into positions of responsibility, they were determined to succeed. There has been progress on the social aspects of village life. There is tangible evidence of the women's work in the co-operative: the Council House, the pond, their own well-built houses. Future dividends are earmarked for new community improvement programmes, like a well for drinking water and an electrification project. There is now a kindergarten and a primary school in the village. Education, the women feel, is a must for progress.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Starting With Community-Identified Needs

Aziza Hussein, president of The International Planned Parenthood Federation, expressed the view that their Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme has shown ways to contact women in deprived areas who have been exceptionally hard to reach with conventional family planning services. The experience of the programme has been that women and communities respond eagerly when projects address the priorities they themselves have named, and when they have actively participated in all stages of the planning and implementation. Although they sometimes meet other obstacles, projects based on needs that the community has identified never fail for lack of response.

The Commission on the Status of Women in Portugal presented a report on the Integrated Family Planning Project in a Small Rural Community (EU-27). The duration of the project was four years, including preparation, implementation and evaluation stages. The field work was characterised by the progressive growth of the community's involvement in a range of activities of interest to themselves. The village had a population of 355 and about 200 dwellings, situated in a relatively fertile, traditionally manual farming area. It began in the areas of health and family planning but gradually integrated other needs such as a literacy programme, cultural and leisure activities, youth pursuits, and action research on women's daily life and traditions in the village, with participation of the women and collaboration with the village leaders. The activities of the various groups that had been formed continued upon project completion. A women's group still offers advice on diet and health care, takes regular blood pressure tests and advises women on child health and family planning.

If indicators and guidelines are to be helpful in family planning programmes, one comment by the International Planned Parenthood Federation is of interest: 'Any family planning approach needs to be linked to women's own perception of their needs and priorities, and the subject should be introduced 'naturally'. When the right stage is reached in a project, women should be involved as active participants rather than passive recipients. Family planning and women's development have become inseparable.'

COOPERATIVE VENTURES

Multi-purpose Cooperatives

The Country Women Association (BA-22) in Nigeria has a project aimed at increasing the earning capacity of rural women and creating sustainable growth through their fruitful participation in the economic and social development of Ondo State, one of the poorest because of the neglect of the agricultural sector during the oil boom. *Using all available government schemes and services, they have established marketing and consumer co-operatives which are run by women and benefit women.* In the space of two years they have succeeded in involving 731 women and have 12 fully functional co-operatives. The retailing system is owned and controlled by the members and this has resulted in the women getting better remuneration for their work. More importantly, they have benefited from their experience of organising and managing the marketing outlets. Whereas women had previously received no recognition for their work as farmers, artisans, home-makers and traders, their status has been considerably improved and they now have confidence in their ability to exert pressure where necessary in matters affecting their interests.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Technology is a resource from which women could benefit and there should be pressure to ensure that women are given the necessary skills training to use the new technology. The tendency was for men to receive any benefits that arose out of innovations. For example, even in farming where the major proportion of the work is done by women, a small tractor tends to be used primarily for the operations for which the men are responsible. '...but guess who got to ride the tractor?' (Dell, M., International Council of Women, address during the Central International Event). Where new technology is being considered for application either in the village or the home, women ought to be involved at the decision-making stage since they are the ones who will have to use the new water pipe or the solar cooker, and it follows that they should have a contribution to make in the choice and location.

The use of solar energy and bio-gas are alternatives for rural areas. The San Luis Valley Solar Energy Association (NA-21) is concerned with the people on low and fixed incomes of the Spanish-speaking villages of the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado, USA. They have constructed several low-cost devices which have not only assisted needy families to utilise solar energy but also have helped other working participants to learn design and construction details via hands-on training experience. As a direct result of their many workshops, public presentations on solar energy and community education efforts, the region has been stimulated to use solar and wind alternatives.

Forestry Movements

The Greenbelt Movement (BA-15) sponsored by the National Council of Women of Kenya has created a 'people's movement' to begin the slow task of re-building and saving the forests of Kenya. Their prime objective has been an environmental one: to avert desertification, to provide firewood for Kenya's rural population, and to reforest the country to restore its natural beauty. The programme activities include the establishment of community nurseries and education on environmental protection. 'The involvement of women has been an important aspect of the Greenbelt Movement.' *Several hundred women are employed in seedling production, and the project also affords employment for the handicapped as Greenbelt Rangers.* The chairman of the National Council of Women talked in an interview with the press about the movement which started on Environment Day in 1977, 'We recognised that the period of empty talk about the status of women was coming to an end. It was time to involve women in the development process so that they could create a positive change in themselves, their environment and their nation.' (BA-15)

Chipko Andolan ('Movement to Embrace', associated with Dasholi Grama Swarajya Mandal, SA-77) aims to help villagers to claim their rights and to stop deforestation. A working relationship and a rapport has been established with the village people to ensure their co-operation. It was the demonstration by a group of women against the ravages of the timber contractors that started this movement in 1974. Massive tree planting camps have continued over the last ten years. There is active participation of the people in their programmes.

The project is located in the Uttarkhand region on the Himalayan slopes, in Northern Uttar Pradesh, India. Only 37.45 percent of the total area is under forest, of which 40 to 50 percent is of poor density; 8 percent has been subject to severe soil erosion and 18.1 percent is snow-covered. There are signs that the attempts at afforestation are producing environmental and economic benefits for the local people. Fruit trees have been planted, tree plots demarcated, loans obtained to improve cattle stock; and more fodder and fuel plants are being grown. Women are still participating on an equal footing with men in the planning and planting operations.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Improving the Village Environment

'Beautification and village cleanliness are regular features of our programmes....' This was true of several of the projects represented in New Delhi. A community often needs to be motivated to upgrade the appearance of their living surroundings. Women find themselves at the heart of any effort directed at enriching the lifestyle and environment, both inside and outside the home. In an interview with Shyama Prasad of the Asian Institute of Rural Development (SA-3) in Bangalore, India, she expressed the view that women are sensitive to the environmental factors that affect their lives, such as, 'population increasing in the village, food requirements rising, forests becoming smaller, energy requirements not being met and rains falling less, meaning limited irrigation facilities.'

The Ahmedabad Study Action Group-Poverty Project: Dholka (SA-1) in India used housing as its entry point. For 15 years they have evolved a pattern of operation which includes the original low-cost housing schemes that involved urban and rural slum dwellers in designing and constructing an improved living environment. Their Dholka Project assists villagers in securing loans for milk cattle and creates opportunities for employment, self-employment and collective self-employment. Women have been organised to form a co-operative for their patchwork and embroidery products; family groups are engaged in dairying and tenant farming. These and other action programmes have begun to create a sense of awareness and social values among the residents of the 60 villages.

The Delph Community Project (EU-32) in England, UK shows how the sharing of skills and combined efforts of the residents of a village and youth from a neighbouring college transformed a derelict quarry into a park and playground. This project had the advantage of involving women, men and children in the design and construction of the grounds. It was a self-educational exercise which enhanced the community's social and physical environment, while providing a safe play area for the children.

Beautifying the environment by reclaiming derelict agricultural land on the Urban Fringe of South Wales (U.K.) and involving the community in the process; this is what the St. Johns's Church in Wales Youth Training Scheme (EU-7) set out to do. The reclaimed land is an agricultural youth training and work experience centre. At the end of their training, these young men and women are able to go on to the colleges of agriculture, seek employment on a farm or seek employment in allied and other industries as a direct consequence of their training in transferable skills.

The International Catholic Rural Association in Rome had this to say about women farmers in industrial countries: 'Women very often show a great ability in administering and organising the farm and succeed in increasing the productiveness and hence their salaries.' (*ICRA Information 9/10, 1979*)

Appropriate Technology

To reduce domestic drudgery and enable women to embark on income-producing engagement is a matter that needs sensitive and imaginative handling. '*Every woman wants to get rid of drudgery in her domestic life by adopting devices that save time and labour.*' (Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh, SA-9)

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

With the introduction of a basic health programme, education and economic viability have greatly improved and a spirit of co-operation has been engendered within the communities. The women have been deeply involved and have assumed responsibility for many of the functions involved in the organisation and management of the project.

Issue-Oriented Action

Women participate actively in the Action for Welfare and Awakening in the rural Environment (AWARE) (SA-21) projects which focus on awakening and economic activity as their main strategies in tribal and rural areas of the state of Andhra Pradesh, India. Strong women's groups 'mahila mandals' have been an important feature of their ability to participate in decisions affecting the community. *A separate women's association ensures the emergence of women leaders whom the village association (made up of men) expects to be involved in community decisions.* The president, secretary and directors are chosen by consensus rather than by election, so as to create a sense of unity right from the beginning. One of the results has been the substantial decrease in alcoholism. Through the support and advice provided by the 'barefoot legal workers' they have successfully fought cases against the moneylenders and landlords. Staff describe their experience of women's participation: 'When women are considered as part of the community development effort (as equals), rather than as a separate identity, they gain confidence to voice their feelings and experience and to participate in the successful implementation of community decisions.'

The Clear Fork Valley Project (NA-12) in the State of Tennessee, USA shows how this was done. The project was built around grassroots initiatives arising out of the residue of the Appalachian 'coal camps.' Community structures collapsed when the deep mines closed down, but through co-operation the fundamental problems of education, land ownership, basic infrastructure and social services had to be dealt with. Women's traditional role had been to hold family and community together, so they were in touch with the needs of the people. They have assumed leadership in many of the projects: job creation, economic development, construction, land acquisition, land use planning, political activity, practical skills training and media creation. Women are on the boards of all the major community organisations, and they participate in national networks. They are the decision makers in the community programmes because they are the workers. 'Those who work decide; those who decide work.'

Beginning With Seed Monies

The International Council of Women (ICW) recently initiated at least 15 projects in different nations for the advancement of women. The sum each project received by way of donation was not large, but the ICW belief is that, *'Women can work miracles with small sums. This was borne out when the small sums turned into small miracles—projects which grew into big miracles'*. Among these was a training centre for rural women on income-generating activities set up in Singapore. This was a follow-on to the previous National Council of Women project covering functional literacy classes for women. In another case, the Trickle Up Programme (NA-32) based in the USA provides US\$100 grants to encourage under-employed people to begin profit-making ventures. Eighty percent of their grants go to women who plan their enterprises themselves and promise to reinvest a minimum of 20 percent of their profits and to report on the results. In a survey of 189 Caribbean projects they found an average yearly profit of US\$616 and an average savings or reinvestment of US\$298.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Until recently, women's development has been confined to a fairly well demarcated area of domestic responsibility. This is no longer acceptable, not just to women but to those genuinely seeking to develop human resources. It is recognised that women at the grassroots level are the most disadvantaged of all and any approach that has worked will have been evolved with a particular sensitivity to their needs, ensuring they have not been treated only as beneficiaries in the process but as agents of development for themselves, their families and communities.

ENHANCED STATUS

'Education and training which improves literacy, leadership, technical skills and functional knowledge have been instrumental in increasing the economic strength of the family unit and the community and woman's status in rural society.' (CIE Plenary). This statement was produced at a group discussion during the event in New Delhi. A number of projects from several continents illustrate this relationship between skills, income and status.

Improved status for women is high on the list of declared objectives. This report highlights some specific projects and groups which appear to have made definite signs of progress toward achievement of this goal.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

Indications from Africa, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere suggest that rural women are being organised and equipped with the skills they need to participate actively in the development process. A number of approaches are being taken to the question of how to organise rural women. These vary from action on a conversation at the well to formal organisations with chosen officers or leaders and guidelines for operation. This chapter will describe some of these approaches. A wide range of attempts are being made to provide the support that women need through access to credit, child care and other services. Whatever the organisational form, these groups are tapping the other human resources in the community and beyond. In some cases the wider women's networks are bringing the experience of these projects to bear on policy.

DIVERSIFIED PROJECTS

These projects start from a specific entry point and broaden both their objectives and programme activities.

Education

Among the resources that help women in their goal identification and achievement, education is the most important. For the present purpose, 'education' covers basic and functional literacy, non-formal and formal education, management and skills training. Another chapter in this series has been devoted to 'LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES, Part I, Section 6: (1- 600).'

Project for Development and Employment of Rural Women in Pakistan (SA-34) works in three villages each with a population of around 1000, of which about half are women. The activities of the project are aimed at educating the rural population (10-15 percent are aged between 60-80 years; 40 percent between 20- 60; and nearly half below 20) to achieve economic uplift through co-operative cultivation of silkworms; encouraging the establishment of basic health centres; and promoting small-scale cottage industries.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

IMPROVED HEALTH

Recognising that the social environment influences the health of the individuals within the community, quite a number of projects are working to improve overall health through the actions of Village Health Workers from the village (see another chapter in this book, 'HEALTH CARE' Part I, Section 1-500). The India Development Service (SA-22) has adopted a 'new approach to health education in primary health care.' It calls for a people-oriented health technology that meets the needs and aspirations of the individual and the community. The implications of this approach imply that:

- 'health education cannot attempt to influence particular behaviour without taking into account the lifestyles of the individuals and communities that are influenced by traditional values and forms of communication, and
- health education models based on human ecology should be developed which take into account the interaction between the biological and environmental factors influencing harmonious development.'

PARTICIPATORY ORGANISATIONS

Among the delegates in New Delhi, there was no dearth of women who represented organised groups. Amidst the discussions and interviews, the message seemed to come across loud and clear: if women are to make real progress towards their declared goals, they must start by getting organised.

Julia Saldanas of the Honduran Federation of Peasant Women (FEHMUC)(LA-45) when asked about the work she was doing among the campesinas, replied: 'I organise the women. *We want the women to take a role in their own development. We are organising them so they will be aware they can do something. If there is no organisation, women don't take any responsibility.*'

FEHMUC is the federation of 300 women's peasant groups spread over 13 of the 18 states that make up Honduras. These groups account for over 5000 women and, through association, some 35,000 family members. This non-government organisation was established as an official entity in 1978 by peasant women who had previously been members of rural women's clubs. They organised themselves into a federation which would represent and reinforce their struggle to obtain and assure their rights. They believe that united peasant women can be a powerful agent for social change and can play a vital role in creating, promoting and protecting their own socio-economic development.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

'We need to alter the patriarchal structure, to change relationships within society that are now relationships of domination.' (Peggy Antrobus, 'The Exchange Report', Mid-Decade Conference, Copenhagen, 1980)

Changing relationships within society is not just a matter that needs attention in the context of women. It is evident wherever development is taking place that changes are needed. The need can be expressed in a variety of ways: grassroots, bottom-up, human resource development. There needs to be some fresh thinking to ensure the best utilisation of the resource of half the world's human potential for the benefit of all.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Apart from the labour-saving aspect of having a convenient facility for washing clothes, this has contributed greatly to the community's well being—a fresh shower every day. An important side benefit has been that it gives the women a place for meeting and discussing matters of interest or for teaching each other new ideas while washing their clothes.

The high proportion of women in the agricultural labour force should share the benefits of improved implements and tools that have been developed to reduce physical strain and increase productive output in farming. The Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology (SA-18) in India does research, development and production of agricultural equipment in addition to work in social, forestry, conservation, energy, environmental improvement, adult education, rural technology, employment, leadership training, sanitation and drainage. The Institute is a demonstration of the creativity released, when sciences and engineering work closely with rural farmers and artisans, to produce products and processes which dramatically increase productivity for the rural population. They have found popularisation and demonstration to be key dimensions of ensuring the diffusion of new technology like smokeless kitchen stoves. The Suruchi Campus, Chapshala and Agricultural Tools Research Centre (SA-13) in India trains local youth to produce for the village market improved hand and bullock implements which reduce women's work-load. *The Centro de Estudios de Tecnologia Appropriada Para Mexico (LA-49), is an association of professional volunteers who work with the government on designing low-cost alternative technologies for campesinos (men and women peasant farmers) in order to save labour in farming and liberate them towards economic self-sufficiency.*

There are occasions when improved technology actually increases women's work-load. Sometimes this is accompanied by a significant increase in income. A number of the Indian projects have significantly increased the farm land under irrigation. The result is three crops instead of one annually. As a consequence, the women have to work even harder.

RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD

'Any mother has both more opportunity to learn about new ideas and more confidence to put them into practice....*For almost all children, the most important primary health care worker is the mother.*' (Grant, J., The State of the World's Children 1984, UNICEF)

Involvement of mothers in the education process, through their helping at the school on a regular part-time basis two or three mornings each week, is an approach that is working at the Lewknor Community School (EU-13) in England. This is a school and community partnership in education, serving both the traditional role of developing children's attitudes, skills, knowledge and the future need to see education as a lifelong process in which young and old learn from, and alongside, each other. The mother-child relationship at Lewknor has a new dimension when mother is seen as someone who 'knows enough' to fill the role of teacher. Also, the child's image of the teacher as a parent-substitute could be helpful.

On the worldwide success of their Planned Parenthood and Women's Development Programme, Aziza Hussein commented: '*... through the work of our national family planning associations and associated non-government organisations ... (the projects are) rooted deeply in different cultures and traditions, where women are learning the skills to help themselves, their families and their communities, while at the same time, gaining the status and confidence that allows them to make personal choices about pregnancy and family size.*'

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

'Today, more women than men appear to be migrating to towns and cities in a number of countries.... It is not happening only in Latin America. Most migrants to Abidjan and Addis Ababa are now women.... Whereas young men may migrate to escape village patriarchy, it could be said that young women are escaping from both village and family patriarchy.' (Palmer, I., International Development Review, 1980)

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

'Unless the economic and social utility of women is enhanced in the eyes of their families and of the nation by opportunities to take part in socially and economically productive roles, the nation will continue to neglect women.' (Bhatt, E., 'The Exchange Report', Mid-Decade Conference, Copenhagen, 1980)

At the Exposition there were some projects working specifically for women's advancement and others which included the involvement of women in an overall development effort. They focused their efforts ensuring economic stability, reducing the quantity and drudgery of the work-load and enhancing traditional roles. Intending to reflect a number of approaches to organising women, they reinforced their positive images and strengthened their status in the community.

BETTER INCOME

Addressing the delegates in New Delhi, Dame Miriam Dell, President of the International Council of Women (ICW) spoke about the aims of the ICW when it was founded in 1888. One of these was, 'To achieve equal participation (for women) in economic development. Women (even at that time) were very concerned that all the work done by them in the home, in family enterprises, on the land, was given no economic value, and women were being exploited in the employment field.'

We have since moved a century forward in time. "*Women hold up half the sky*" says a Chinese proverb. Yet the work and worth of women's contribution to socio-economic development has remained 'invisible' in almost all continents. The extent to which women participate in, and are affected by, economic growth and its accompanying technological changes varies greatly among and within the developing countries. Their participation being different from and less skilled than their menfolk, women remain the disadvantaged section of our societies, and often are deprived of the fruits of development.' (Dholakia, A., 'The Invisible' Woman in Development', unpublished paper, SA-32). This hardly suggests that anything like a hundred years' progress has been made, despite the concerns that are repeatedly expressed.

Having said this, a corollary must be added: rural women are showing no sign of discouragement or lack of enthusiasm for the task of holding up half the sky! In addition, there are some among those holding up the other half who experience similar disadvantages through poverty and lack of opportunity stemming from illiteracy and other social or physical drawbacks.

LABOUR-SAVING TECHNOLOGY

Approaches to the relief of women's work-load include the provision of fresh water in villages and the application of labour-saving technology. In at least 13 Indian villages in one state, the National Council of Women (NCW) has been instrumental in introducing clean piped water which saves time otherwise spent by the women in fetching it from far-off wells or rivers. In Indonesia, the NCW installed two water facilities in East Java which provide public open washing places and covered bathrooms with washbasins.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Their comment on the situation struck an optimistic note: 'Among the extraordinary reactions we observed were the women's enthusiasm for the work they were doing.... Most of the groups we interviewed expressed hope for the future and outlined with enthusiasm practical business expansion plans.'

THE DOUBLE BURDEN

Women in villages work 16 to 18 hours a day with little opportunity for family life or enjoyment. Rural women are not unlike other women who work outside the home in that they have to perform at least two separate jobs. This double burden is made even heavier by virtue of the fact that in rural areas women tend to be at the lowest end of the economic scale. Confirming their plight, an Indian delegate's view was, '*... From early morning they are grinding the flour, then they are cooking breakfast, then looking after the animals, then going to the fields to feed their husbands and bringing back a head-load of grass to feed the animals at home. And from early morning to late at night they have all the activities at home and in the fields. A woman works in a double role, as a housewife and a labourer on the land....*' Any participation in community activities usually comes only on the other side of these two roles.

Rural women constitute around 75 percent of the workforce in the agricultural sector in developing countries. Their activities at home include bearing and rearing the children and the often arduous and time-consuming tasks of fetching water and gathering fuel. 'Rural women are not only responsible for reproduction—they are part of the labour force as well.'

THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

The Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti in India (SA-14) works in a predominantly tribal area where about half the population lives below the poverty line. Their action programmes are 'aimed at improving the lot of these families, most of whom are agricultural labourers, bonded labour or artisans.' The women also work in the fields and there are some income-producing opportunities which would lessen the burden of their poverty. Because of the poverty and the lack of employment, the men often go out looking for work in other regions, and the women are left behind to support themselves.

The most serious effect of men's migration from the villages in times of unemployment is the emergence of the single-parent rural family. *The woman has to assume the role of head of the household, with responsibility for the support and care of the children and elders.* The income she earns is inadequate to meet the family's living costs and these women are often forced to resort to activities like illegal distilling of liquor or prostitution.

Botswana is a large country with a small population. Many of the families are headed by women. The Botswana National Council of Women has at least 63 child-care centres, and a mobile child-care workshop which moves from village to village training women in primary health care.

The Self-Employed Women's Association in India (SEWA) (SA-32) runs income-generating programmes with a full range of supportive services. These have been particularly helpful to rural women because they have gained bargaining power as well as self-respect when men migrate to urban areas or desert them. Of the poor rural families in the Gujarat villages in which SEWA works, 35 percent have women as their sole supporters.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENT AFFECTS A WHOLE SOCIETY

'Recognition of the vital role of women in socio-economic life in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities, in accordance with the goals of the United Nations Decade for Women, is a prerequisite for successful rural development planning and programme implementation.' (The Peasant's Charter, FAO, Rome, 1981)

Representing 50 percent of the total world population, women inevitably experience the same spectrum of reactions to the changes that any development brings to people's lives. Change is never easy to introduce. In every human being and in every community the built-in resistance to change surfaces the moment the familiar environment is threatened. Wherever change is contemplated, those responsible for initiating the process must tread cautiously. The path is fraught with jealously guarded principles and prejudices which no man or woman is anxious to shed lightly.

During the ten day meeting of the International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD) the workshop sessions and interest group discussions produced a lively crossfire between women and men from 55 countries representing both sides of the 'development coin.' Local practitioners and grassroots people talked from personal knowledge and experience, while those from the national and international development agencies and voluntary organisations were able not only to listen but also to express their concerns about the development process.

From the discussions on women's comprehensive role in development, and from the project and field visit reports, it is evident that progress is taking place in the direction of women's fuller involvement. Much still remains to be accomplished if the full potential of the major human resource that women represent for the whole society is to be released. An African delegate commented, 'Unfortunately, when planners have done their planning, women have not been considered.' Another participant said, 'Slowly development planners are becoming aware of the necessity of including women in development plans.'

In referring to women's multiple roles, the booklet describing FAO's action programmes for agrarian reform and rural development remarks that *development programmes have often addressed a part of what women do, while assuming it is the whole.* Women tend to be seen as mothers or as food producers or as family cooks, so changes intended to benefit women often add to their burdens. An innovative programme initiated by FAO, Community Action for Disadvantaged Rural Women, is designed to generate models for involving people in planning and implementing the development that affects them. Because their involvement is not automatic, women are a particular target within the category of 'the rural poor.' The programme considers the interconnected roles women play. Its participatory approach allows women 'who must juggle their time and redistribute their energy among multiple tasks' to define their own needs.

The need for such programmes can be seen in the experience of the Trickle-Up Programme (USA) (NA-32) which uses very small grants of seed money to encourage investment of time and skills toward income-generation through group self-employment. In the three years since the programme started, they have found: 'With each succeeding year, more women than men become involved and that must reflect something—the fact that women are the poorest of the poor, that they are offered the least in terms of job opportunities and training, and that, contrary to the traditional picture of family life, women are heading more and more households with each passing year.' Fifty One percent of families in Costa Rica are headed by women, and in Jamaica the figure is 80 percent.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The fourth day was spent on SEWA and its role and income-generating activities. The last day was spent on development plans and the role of local women leaders and how to involve other women. It is important for a person being trained to be practically engaged in the actual work that he or she is being trained for. This is a kind of on-the-job training which includes the responsibility for success and failure.

MOBILISING THE PEOPLE

How do people decide to develop their economy? Sometimes it may require months of painstaking efforts by practitioners to explain and motivate local people to undertake programmes that will develop their economy. At other times residents recognise on their own new economic opportunities growing out of substantial changes going on in their neighbourhoods. In the case of Lamar in the USA, a farming community of 8,000 people in Southeast Colorado (NA-26), it was the impending economic disaster brought on by the depressed agricultural economy of the 1970's that galvanised local citizens to diversify economically.

When there is a commonly felt need, a confidence in being able to do something about it, a cohesive sense of being a community and pride in their history, the practitioner's role is probably more of an organisational one. In many cases, however, felt needs are not common. The economic advance of one section of a community may have implications for the overall power structure of the community. A weak self-image and lack of leadership skills may contribute to a sense of powerlessness. Living in a subsistence economy affects people's concept of the future, and their attitudes toward plans for marginal improvement which have little impact upon the basic issues confronting their economy. The practitioner thus needs to be aware of this in order to decide the kind of role he or she will play as a catalyst in economic development.

A locally built, comprehensive plan can motivate people to action. The citizens of Bangor, Michigan, a small struggling rural town in the USA (NA-14) worked with professionals to develop a practical, well planned approach to reverse this trend. Jobs were created to give youth an incentive to stay in Bangor and become part of the community's future. A 135 acre industrial park was created to attract new business. Public and private monies became available. Positive attitudes and public participation increased. Nine new industries were established, employing over 800 people. During the process of deciding about the future of their community and acting upon it, the people created a common story about the significance of their day-to-day activities.

Related to this matter of participation is the issue of self-identity or more specifically, self-image. The perception that residents have of their role, their self-worth and their ability to contribute to the success of the development task, affects their commitment to the venture. As people take risks and invest their own resources in building a business, their image of what they can do grows. The practitioner must be sensitive to these influences upon motivation.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Providing Opportunity for Self-initiative

'India Development Services does not aim to work in the area for a long period and make the artisans dependent on us. All our activities are geared toward making them independent. As it stands today we intend to work in the area for 5 years and during this period, we make efforts to organise the artisans on the basis of their trades.' (SA-22).

Arriving at a point where people become the agents and managers of their own development necessarily has a component of trauma for both the initial agent of change and the community. In the Palestinian Needlework Programme (NM-1) mentioned earlier, not only did the village women disbelieve that they could do the work, but also that it was even necessary for them to take over the organisers' role. Even the supervisors of the agent of change in this case did not believe that it would work. Their success in mastering the needed skills for management of the project was a surprise for all.

The Saemaul Undong (the New Village Movement) in the Republic of Korea (SP- 33) is a government effort with a unique approach to development. Since their premise in initiating the project is that villages need to initiate and do their own development, there is never the need to turn over a project to village leadership. Villages request assistance and training through the national structure of the movement. This assistance is given when a strict set of requirements are met. The village must demonstrate the capacity to do development and organise itself to gain assistance. The movement structures are set up at the village level, parallel to the village political structures. Local Saemaul leaders are trained in the mission and role of leaders. In order to lead villagers effectively they must recruit their positive support:

- Assess accurately what residents expect of leaders;
- Sacrificial efforts should be made voluntarily for the development of their community;
- It should be determined in a democratic manner what projects should be undertaken and for what purpose;
- Leaders should concentrate on their role of carrying the projects out on schedule through the preparation of detailed plans and effective mobilisation of resources;
- When a project is over, its result should be openly evaluated before the villagers;
- By making public loss and profits in accurate figures, leaders can earn the trust of the villagers.

TRAINING FOR SELF-RELIANCE

Where direction of the project is necessary because of the type of developmental or social situation, then training is a crucial factor. Training may include basic education, skills development and attitude change. Many projects have found that people being trained need to be involved in all the dimensions of the project. In the Palestinian Needlework Programme (NM-1) women were trained in the finishing process of the needlework, management skills and literacy.

A major issue is the attitude that the people can do the necessary work. After selecting 50 potential women leaders, SEWA (SA-32) offered them a five-day programme where the women shared their village situations and their experiences. They spent a day on the self and the family, and another each on health and sanitation, and available technology.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The activities of the change agent seem to have the following components:

- Direct contact with the community through door to door surveys or visits. This enables the community to become acquainted with the agents of change;
- Discerning the specific parameters of the problems of economic development. This is often done through surveys and meetings with the communities;
- Identifying local leadership;
- Organising the leadership;
- Direct action to implement plans for development;
- Monitoring the process, through regular reassessment of the goals and effects of the activities of the project, creates the possibility of learning from the process;
- Maintaining ongoing contact with the larger society.

Self-evaluation is a crucial part of the development process for the agent of change. The ability to adopt new approaches as they become relevant assures that development of a community or a group of communities continues to be a living process rather than a series of steps to be followed. This is described in the fourth five-year plan 1980-1985, done by VIAS (SA-14).

'After the completion of the second five-year plan, the group assessed their efforts to date and came to the realisation that many of the benefits of the scheme were not going to those for whom they were originally intended. This was because the educated and those with at least some resources of their own were always the first to come forward to take advantage of what was offered in the way of help....Thus, those who already had a little received a little more, while those with nothing by comparison became poorer. This realisation marked a dramatic change in the group's thinking. Although their aims did not change, a different approach to their work was employed.'

PEOPLE AS AGENTS OF THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENT

From Target Population to Participant Orientation

The question, '*Who's in charge here?*' will all too often be answered by identifying *the management or the ones who set up the scheme*. This is often pointed out as a major failing of co-operatives, even ones as successful as the Savings and Credit Cooperative Society, Ltd. in Kenya (BA-28).

'Union officials (staff) know best, but act in a business-like manner. They have been able to keep politics out. Committee members are anxious to run it only on business principles. Ordinary members are more aware than in other parts of Kenya but generally they are not well-placed to exercise the right to hold committee and staff accountable.'

The change required on the part of all concerned with rural development is to shift from seeing rural populations as agglomerations of target groups like *the rural poor* to be *helped* to seeing them as the agents of their own development. This implies enabling them to see themselves in that light. Then those who deliver other services, such as, extension workers, or co-op managers, become advisors, not determiners of projects. Projects from all sides see this image shift as crucial. In Centro Campesino de Servicios (LA-35) in Mexico, the centre links 45 campesino groups for mutual self-help. These 45 village groups are autonomous. The National Dairy Development Board in India (SA-33) instructs its field workers to think of the village milk producers as their employees, not the NDDB.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

How Are Agents of Change Sustained Over Time?

'The ability to maintain a committed core over almost 20 years, while being responsive to basic changing needs and possibilities, is attributed to several factors. Their concern is to do any development which is possible...with the village, and if not with the village, then through some government scheme. Their focus is on all kinds of development in these 27 villages so they can be flexible in their programmes. They try to work problem by problem in a learn-by-doing approach, letting the solution of one problem reveal the next. They support themselves through their own businesses. They do not seek publicity, but trust the village decision. When they agree to something then they do everything to implement it and let the work stand for itself.' (Dasholi Grama Swarajya Mandal, SA-77).

'Yes, we get burned out very often. The problems are serious and have deep historical roots. We cannot sleep when we see people who remain poor, when they lose their dignity. At the same time, we believe that they can overcome all their deficiencies, in short the only motivation we have is really the poor people themselves. We are relatively well off, this is because of them, we have a moral obligation to be of service. Again this is easier said than done, but we are aware of it. This effort, for instance, to bring us together is a motivating factor.' (Rafael Espiritu, Sarilakas SP-32).

Some common elements across the projects seem to be a commitment to change, ongoing contact with villages, including living in them, contact with the larger society on a regular basis and a self-conscious set of values or guidelines that remind the practitioner of why they are involved in the effort.

EVOLUTION OF OUTSIDE CHANGE AGENTS

It is useful to examine the journey that various change agents have taken. 'In establishing Associations of Women and Producers Cooperatives we intended to bring the focus of development to benefit rural women. We went directly to women of the sweeper community and landless labourers. After visiting home to home, SEWA held meetings in which the women discussed local problems, identified local leadership and organised themselves around existing problems and resources; for example, weavers had difficulties procuring raw materials and finding adequate markets for their goods. Once the women were organised, doing something for the children was seen as necessary, and so activities like creches and vocational training programmes were introduced. They were regularly exposed to various places and situations such as visiting the state capitol to deal with their problems and attending meetings.'

'We send community facilitators who stay in the village and who assist the community members to conduct their own village investigation which then becomes a starting point for them to get organised ... to work as a team, and go into livelihood activities. What we emphasise is the internal generation of resources, the use of local resources.' (SP-32).

ASAG's experience (SA-1) has been, 'Continuous monitoring of the action improves implementation and effectiveness in meeting the needs of the client groups. Lessons gained from evaluation of direct action are then communicated to policy-makers, funding agencies, administrators, non-government organisations, research institutes, other client communities and the public.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

QUALITIES OF OUTSIDE CHANGE AGENTS

In 1954 the Mennonite Central Committee organised the Palestinian Needlework Programme (NM-1). The now completely Palestinian central staff Sahir Dajani, Adelle Koury and Odette Abu Leil, have not only shown sensitivity, enthusiasm and perseverance, but also helped to bridge the gap between western Mennonites and the producers in the mostly Moslem villages of the West Bank. Manager Sahir Dajani, reflects on the problems and pains of the programme, 'When I look into the past and remember some of the difficulties that faced me, I realise that one changes and gains experience through the years. *Many problems of the past are not problems of the present.*

'The role of external change agents can be very critical, especially for those who have enough humility, conviction and expertise to initiate the catalytic move in mobilising the resources and creative potential of the poor. It is also their role to see that local change agents can arise one day to take their place. Self-reliance of the people has to be the goal.' (Central International Event Delegates who visited ASAG, India, SA-1).

Various projects describe the qualities of the agents of change in different terms. Some that stand out are commitment, drive, the ability to work with others, and the capacity to learn from doing the project. *'Work with the Self-Employed Women's Association requires qualities of patience, sympathy, the ability to talk with people, an instinct for identifying underlying problems and skills of organising and communicating.* Organisers must do liaison work with numerous government departments, local offices and banks whose representatives can sometimes be unhelpful and even hostile. SEWA provides an atmosphere in which dedication can easily grow from the constant exposure to the vulnerability and suffering that women bear because they are women.' (SA-32).

In particular, many agencies require that the agent of change live with the people with whom they are working. Most often, however, the agent of change is a team of people working with a project. ASAG (SA-1), 'is a group of concerned professionals from disciplines such as architecture, settlement design, civil engineering, planning, economics, medicine, management, rural studies and textiles. They are committed to utilising their skills and training for the disadvantaged in society. In India, professionals typically serve the urban elite, regardless of the survival needs of the majority of society. We wanted to serve an *alternative clientele* and evolve a *new professionalism* relevant to society's real needs.'

Delegates who visited an ASAG project remarked, 'A viable economic base and a comprehensive programme of development can be made more effective when professionals and even the poorest can act as partners to development, sharing their knowledge and skills.'

Over the years, ASAG has found that, 'The professional trained in a single discipline had to be replaced by a multi-disciplinary team. As professionals do not usually work in this fashion, a new ethos and work culture had to be created which would be conducive to an integrated development strategy. Hence ASAG seeks to give its members scope, independence, professional growth and satisfactions as they work in close interaction with other professionals.' (SA- 21).

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

TYPES OF OUTSIDE CHANGE AGENTS

The role of outside influence, bringing new abilities, perceptions and motivation, may be played by those from any social sector. Sometimes the agent of change may be a resident who returns home after schooling or work in other places. 'In 1945, a few students from Valod town were attending the last year of their high school in Kadod (in another area of the State of Gujarat). They were all from higher caste Hindu background, but they had all become affected by the political and social movement in their area and by the promise that the forthcoming Independence held out. Thoughts filling their minds somehow set them apart from the rest of their social strata. Unlike others, they did not dream about wealth and moving to the cities, but instead visualised building up their home, Valod, into a new and shining example of growth and justice that the rest of India might follow. They all had a keen interest in drama and song and used these media during their holidays and spare time to get social messages across to their town folk. They staged fitness campaigns and organised people to clean their houses and the streets of Valod.' (SA-14).

The change agent may be a government agency like the Saemaul Undong (SP-33) of the Republic of Korea, although some feel that this approach is most effective when linked with other sectors of society. Business houses and organisations have played important roles in the development of some countries. Many development agencies, though, are voluntary in nature.

'Because ASAG is free from some of the constraints operating on independent professionals and government agencies, members feel that the organisation is better equipped to confront issues and mobilise resources. Its rôle is seen as an interface between people and power, between needs and resources.' (SA-1).

The efforts of the Valod students led to their affirmation that, 'Volunteer organisations need to be agents of change. In order to break the cycle that perpetuates poverty, volunteer organisations need to participate in changing the structures that create the conditions that cause poverty and the need for development.' (VIAS, SA-14).

When development is effective..., the key is people-to-people interaction. 'The role of Dasholi Grama Swarajya Mandal (SA-77) in working with the village has been to visit the villages, discuss the issues with the people and come to a corporate decision of what is needed. The role also includes doing background research on feasible projects, organising tree camps, getting government assistance for afforestation and serving as an ongoing core.

Is the agent of change always an outside person (even as a returning resident)? While many projects indicate that this is usually the case, some suggest that the agent of change was an idea, a plan, a scheme that came from somewhere else. *The agent of change needs to interact with the ideas of the larger society.* The India Development Service (SA-22) suggests:

- Sending the educated unemployed for training and then assigning them to work in the villages;
- Building up character and personality of project staff, workers and volunteers;
- Giving local workers the opportunity to broaden their context, understanding, training and self-development;
- Assigning highly educated technocrats, like doctors, educators and training instructors to villages to catalyse development (Even then it takes a self-conscious decision by the persons involved for it to work).

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry Project (SA-79) was a different kind of influence. A cluster of 20 villages, 42 km from Calcutta has 29,800 people living on 7077 acres of land. Most of them live on two acres of land or less, and over one in five have no land at all. One out of four adults can read. In 1978 people from the Chamber came to the area to help with development through agricultural programmes. These included demonstration plots, soil testing and irrigation. They supplied the services of an agronomist and modern materials at fair prices, introduced new crops and multiple cropping and set up an agro-service centre. Ventures were set up to provide employment for the landless and for those below poverty level, such as polyester-cotton spinning units employing 58 women, a weavers' industry and a shoemaking co-operative. They provided new management skills and improved the infrastructure. A night literacy class and youth clubs increased educational and socio-cultural opportunities. Since the BCCI left over a year ago, most of the programmes have continued and village leaders are taking up the activities necessary to sustain them.

An outside influence seems to have been a necessary part of the initiation and sustaining of these development projects and programmes. This is true of projects involving a single community or a cluster of communities. This outside influence or agent of change may be a person or a team of people. They offer three things to the development process: a new perspective, motivation and skills. The perspectives that an agent of change brings to a situation may be the result of work in other similar circumstances or dealing with the same issue in different circumstances. He or she is able to call on another point of reference to expand thinking, and imagination in dealing with what is at hand.

The motivator is the spark of courage in the developmental process. He or she enables people to decide what to do and do it, on their own if necessary. 'The philosophy of the programme is that the development has to be self-sustaining, and that a spirit of self-reliance has to be fostered among the people of the area. Thus it is the team's constant endeavour to involve the villagers in both planning and implementation of the projects so that they themselves gain insight into how the process of growth is triggered off and sustained.' (SA-79).

Another role of the agent of change is that of sharing skills, through educational programmes or through direct work with the people of the project. The Palestinian Needlework Project (NM-1) involves mostly illiterate women 18 to 45 years of age. 'After one year of intensive training the women mastered what they were supposed to do and it was a big accomplishment. It was a success. After they had mastered the task they were supposed to take over, so we started to employ fewer people from the central office ... I would cut down on people in the city and then transfer all tasks to the village.'

The Vedchi Pradesh Seva Samiti (SA-14) sums this up in the following way. 'Whereas the group has its roots in Gandhian principles, the continued influence of outsiders has allowed it not to stagnate or be dogmatic in its approach to problems.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Applying No Formula

What is apparent from the above is that rural, economic and commercial development is happening, and is being done through schemes involving dozens or even hundreds of villages. *There is no magic formula, however, to ensure success.*

What can be said is that a consideration of the factors mentioned above will lead to the creation of an approach in a concrete situation which will deal seriously with the needs of the people, for whose benefit the scheme is devised. This is not a guarantee, but a word of encouragement.

THE CATALYTIC AGENT IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: MANAGER OR PARTNER?

'Although I am an outsider, I am an outsider who lives a very normal crofting (farming) life which I feel is important. Being from outside the community, one can see the potential of the co-operatives. Obviously one has seen things working in other places and thinks, well, it is worth putting in a bit of that.' (Carola Bell, Co-Chomunn Nis-Ness Community Cooperative, Scotland, EU-14).

'Firstly, it takes a lot of dedication. And secondly, you will have to take a lot, because if you are a man from the city, used to all the fancy things available in the city, well you won't get that in the villages. If you are going into rural development, I would advise you. You would get a lot more than what you expected. There are benefits that you may not be aware of, you know, and you get them in the village. For example, you see what you really wanted in the village. You are really wanted by those people because you have something that they use and they have something that you need. And this you didn't know when you were in the city.' (Gururaj Parekh, extension officer of the Asian Institute of Rural Development, India, SA-3).

'In Block I the agent played the role of *catalyst* to the project programmes, injected management and agricultural skills and provided start-up money for programmes such as the 'ambar charkha' (an improved spinning wheel), and weavers industries, youth clubs, adult education, community centre, and a medical van. The Rural Development Project staff set up an office in the cluster which they attended five days a week. They made regular visits to the farms and other village areas, offering their assistance, and explaining alternative methods of approach.' (Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry, West Bengal, SA-79).

ROLES OF OUTSIDE CHANGE AGENTS

In a group of 16 villages in the Western Isles of Scotland the economy is based on crofting (small farming), but always requires additional income. People from the villages decided in 1976 to create employment, stimulate fuller use of under-utilised agricultural resources, strengthen community self-confidence and provide retail service. The impetus for the scheme came from a programme developed in the West of Ireland and was adopted by the Highlands and Islands Development Board. The Co-Chomunn Nis-Ness Community Cooperative (EU-14) has created programmes to retail agricultural supplies, and hire out agriculture and construction machinery. A mobile van provides retail goods, and a horticultural nursery raises cabbage for sale to crofters.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The president is the chief executive officer, but the Social Policy Director has no counterpart. As *moral auditor* of the enterprise he is charged with assuring that the Grupo's behaviour remains consistent with its principles and goals. In concert with the advisory board representing peasant organisations, labour unions, church groups and neighbourhood associations, he has the power to veto any proposed project, dismiss any manager, or even close down a firm entirely if it is achieving insufficient social impact or has allowed profit to become an end rather than a means.' (LA-15).

Anand Niketan Ashram (SA-23) was begun when, 'In 1949 a young man came back to Gujarat. He had chosen to complete his education with Gandhiji in Wardha Ashram. His tour of Gujarat brought him to the Fenai region inhabited by Adivasis, aboriginal tribes living in small scattered huts. Coming into contact with them, Harivallabh Parikh decided to settle there and become their brother, their 'Bhai' as everyone calls him now. Since the very beginning, people came to Bhai with their disputes, which often ended with fights and murders. He decided to play the go-between. Finding a tree at equal distance from the homes of both disputants, he would call them there and discuss the problem with all present until an amicable settlement could be reached.'

Each approach to schemes for expanding the impact of economic development programmes has its own gifts and drawbacks. NGO-based schemes have trouble getting all the resources tied into the project that are needed, though they are the ones usually with the greatest flexibility in implementation. Government-sponsored schemes can mobilise greater resources, but have more difficulty co-ordinating the activities of different branches of government with the readiness of the local group to act. Business-based projects often have the best capacity to provide resources and to negotiate with local government, but they are limited by the fact that the company's image of the scheme as charity, or as social responsibility to the workers and the surrounding area, or as improving the local supply of inputs, restricts its growth to the area surrounding the corporation's plant.

Building a Coalition of Approaches

In a few cases public, private and voluntary organisations have been able to work together at the regional level. The success of such coalitions depends upon the willingness of individuals from the institutions which provide resources to participate in people-based development, and to reorient their institutions' policies and procedures to fit the perspective and ways of the participants in the project. S.R.Hiremath and G.C.Tallur of India Development Service, Karnataka (SA-22) described such partnership. 'Developmental efforts are a partnership between all the concerned members rather than donor and receiver, expert and ignorant. The co-operation and involvement of all the concerned individuals and institutions are essential in order to bring about a lasting change.... In building an alternate structure of committed persons, the present socio-economic structure is not very conducive for the development of persons from the weaker segments. It is therefore necessary to organise individuals from all segments like the government, industry, banking, medicine and social sciences who can help whenever there are obstacles and difficulties from the present structure.... Links have since been established with resource centres across the country and abroad.' (From a talk given to the National Convention on Industry and Rural Development, New Delhi, March 5, 1982).

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

'The Anarde Foundation sees its task as implementing integrated rural development programmes, through co-ordination and management of the development services of government, bank, businesses, voluntary organisations and professionals, with the village users.' (ANARDE, SA-11).

Schemes implemented by NGOs are sometimes not able to obtain official support. This may be due to the particular target groups with whom they work, or with their assessment of the structural contradictions they seek to address. But here too, *if projects have existed for any length of time, they begin to give a higher priority to establishing linkages with those who can work with the project participants to continue to provide needed resources.*

Interchanging Practical Experience

A number of projects demonstrate the value of international interchange. Ms. Dajani of the Palestinian Needlework Programme (NM-1) described her experience: 'There are some projects similar to mine, but different in some special ways... the visiting I've done is something very fascinating for me, in India especially. I've gone to the States many times, but there was nothing there that I could relate to my project. But India was the perfect place to have this (conference). I learned many things from the other people who were working with women. I have to work more on education and health because one has to do something to keep them together. I am thinking of rural projects, like these women can have a small garden next to where they live.'

Developing Bi-level Funding

Many non-governmental schemes are funded through grants for staff costs, research efforts and pilot demonstrations. Some are funded by setting up their own business. Grants were obtained for things like the establishment of a revolving loan fund which can mobilise the people's own resources and create a long-term viable credit system. On the other hand, there were few projects where the local people were able to finance the staff costs themselves, except for small health caretaker or pre-school salaries in a few cases.

Doing Initial Research

Many projects emphasised the use of surveys to obtain baseline data and to engage the local population at the beginning of the project. 'After fully acquainting themselves with the historical background of the region the group started its activities in 1975 in five villages in Bhongir and Mothkur Blocks in Nalgonda district. Before the initiation of its actual operation, a systematic survey was done to help the group do comprehensive development in the village.' (TATA Engineering and Locomotive Company, TELCO, Gram Vikas Kendra Jamshedpur, SA-8).

Gaining Trust through Integrity

Projects with a wide impact often had an individual or a core group with integrity, that gained and retained the trust of both the target group and the project staff. Such trust is earned, not automatically given. 'Adan Londono is one of the Grupo Social's two top corporate officers. More than any other individual, it is this Jesuit priest who has masterminded the Grupo's spectacular expansion, structural reorganisation and refinement of principles over the past dozen years. As Social Policy Director he is responsible for assuring that the Grupo always adheres to its underlying principles. At the top managerial level of the Grupo Social are two figures.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Developing Multifaceted Approaches

Extension strategies not only have very different entry points, they also have very different ideological starting points. They tend to be effective because they deal with the fundamentals mentioned above, or because they are moving from single-focus to integrated development. This pattern has already been mentioned with regard to single projects but is even more noticeable in regional schemes. The Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti (SA-14) is an off-shoot of the Gandhian movement and came into existence in 1954. It was first implemented in the village of Borakhadi with the intent of doing one village after another until the whole taluka was covered. After that experiment, however, it was decided to launch into the development of all 40 villages at the same time.

There are four types of units that are an integral part of VIAS: planning, educational, industrial and co-operatives. Other organisations were initially sponsored by VIAS, but are now autonomous. In addition, allied industries also collaborate with VIAS. The scheme operates four ashrams, each with an active educational programme and extension activities in various economic programmes. These are imaged as growth centres and serve from three to six villages each. VIAS manages three secondary schools, three industrial centres and the Sarvoday Planning and Training Centre.

In Hungary, the rural development Project for Development-County Bacs- Kiskun (EU-40) covers 8,362 square kilometers with a population of 570,000. Although planned within the overall sectorial economic development strategy, its staff consider its real achievements to be in a non-productive infrastructure, including schooling, energy conservation, housing and health. 'The general aim of the project is to moderate the differences in life circumstances of the population living in various areas, to increase the population retention ability of the villages and to develop constantly in quality the productive and public servicing sectors.'

The National Dairy Development Board's Operation Flood (SA-33) is very effective in getting small milk producers to join the village level co-operatives because they get a fair price for their milk. This led to the unjustified criticism that some of the poorer families sell more and consume less milk themselves, with an actual lowering of the nutrition level. However, the income generated from the sale of milk enables them to purchase other cheaper foods which yield higher quantities of calories and proteins than the milk would if they consume it instead of selling it. Thus they would be nutritionally better off even if they are consuming a smaller quantity of milk.

Establishing Working Relations

The more successful projects have been the ones to establish working relationships or linkages with other institutions, agencies and programmes that have resources they lack. In the business-sponsored projects, these services are either set up directly by the company or by local or state agencies. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry project in Barasat Block-I (SA-79) is a good example. 'The Chamber members along with governmental agencies will provide managerial and entrepreneurial inputs as agents of change or catalysts. Managerial expertise is a significant input which is really needed for rural development. So activities such as need surveys for roads to improve produce marketing are conducted and then submitted to the appropriate government agency for action.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Therefore, the rural masses were not receiving their due share in the services of the Institute. What had been a secondary interest now assumed central importance. As an outcome of the exercise in organisational planning, the Institute decided to open a new specialisation in Integral Rural Development.

In 1980, the Institute reorganised the syllabus and the field work of the RD programme around the idea of training field officers as suggested by important documents published by the FAO and UNDP during the late seventies on the future of small farmers and landless labourers in Asia. The success of this approach depended on the willingness of the government structures to acknowledge such a role of the field officer. Unfortunately this has not been coming forward as expected. Xavier Institute of Social Services is once again going through a process of rethinking the future focus of field work. The gravity point will be likely to concentrate on how rural people are to be organised and escorted to struggle for their rights. What the country needs today most are agents of social change, but students aim at becoming good professionals. Can a person be a good professional and at the same time an agent of social change? Somebody who places the last first? This is a contradiction with which the Institute is struggling at present and is likely to struggle for years to come.

TENDENCIES AND PATTERNS

Operating Regionally

In many cases, in addition to foundational elements, certain patterns appear. *For the most part, schemes tend to operate at a regional level.* This seems to be especially true where a nation has a large population (India or Nigeria) or where there is great regional diversity (Canada or Ghana). With the exception of the Saemaul Undong (SP-33) in Korea, there were few examples of national schemes that have energised the villages as much as the regional schemes.

Using Distinct Identities

Some of the most effective schemes dealt with a specific cultural group or sub-culture. Many of the Indian projects, for example, worked with tribal peoples. There is a sound basis related to social justice for dealing separately with these peoples, who are among India's poorest, and who are exploited by individuals and structures in the dominant culture. It also appears as though part of the success of these projects is based on the simple fact that the tribal people do have distinct identities. These can serve as vehicles for group cohesion, programme development, and later, expansion to similar communities.

The Peace Hills Trust Company in Canada (CAN-62) is based in an indigenous culture. It was set up by a Canadian Indian band which became wealthy as a result of revenue from oil discovered on the tribal lands. Instead of dividing these revenues among the families of the band, the tribal council decided to use the revenues (Can\$7,000,000) to capitalise a Trust Company. A Trust Company charter permitted it to operate nationally without having to meet all commercial bank regulations. They decided to make funds available not only to the band members but also to other Indian bands across Canada. 'This is the first such trust company in North America. Since it serves a very particular clientele, the Indian and native population, it is not in direct competition with the banks in the marketplace. The Peace Hills Trust Company does show that an economic instrument can indeed be created to serve the population of native people when other institutions either will not or are not able.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Focusing on Village Planning

A related fact is that most schemes are based on, or are working toward, village-level planning and evaluation, even if they began with a very different image of village work. 'Rural development agencies take it for granted that the village people are incapable of formulating their development programmes and have to be given ready-made programmes as thought out by the planning experts. The Valod model departs from this approach. It does not present any pre-prepared blueprint to the people for ameliorating their conditions. It asks them to begin thinking for themselves, individually and in groups, to solve their problems on the basis of mutual self-aid.' (VIAS, SA-14).

A scheme based on increasing village level input obviously will not function well if the catalysing agency operates out of a hierarchical decision-making process. Thus schemes create a deliberate gap between their services and the village in order to build into the process an element of local initiative. AWARE (SA-21) aims to eliminate dependency. 'The prevailing situation in the villages is to look outside for help and assistance, so that the villagers' own potentials are not realised nor is their passion tapped for their own development in order to eliminate this dependency. AWARE will not involve itself in a particular area for more than a period of five to eight years. The village associations join together in service societies which are trained simultaneously to take over the responsibilities of the entire community. *So far AWARE has withdrawn from 30 villages from Amangal Project and the people themselves are planning and executing the project.*'

Mixing Inside and Outside Leadership

Another characteristic of successful schemes is that the leadership group is a mixture of professionally trained outsiders and people drawn from the target group. This is not without difficulty. In Mexico, COPIDER (LA-42) is one of ten loosely-formed networks of economists and technical assistants aiming to respond to requests from local organisations. 'In general, professionals are accustomed to allying themselves with the dominant classes against the campesinos. It is difficult for them to encounter situations in which they can struggle side-by-side with campesinos.' (Dr. Rodrigo Medellin).

Various organisations have tried to achieve this side-by-side relationship. 'Of AWARE's 500 member staff, 70 percent come from the grassroots level. These men and women are working as organisers, barefoot legal workers, barefoot health workers, community education organisers, cultural organisers and are paid Rs200 to Rs50 per month. The remaining 30 percent are graduates or post-graduates, sometimes with specialisation in medicine, social work, agriculture or other fields. Following a three-month probation they are posted as appropriate. The programme includes the recruitment of experienced retired people to work as administrators with the newer young people in the field. Three times a year the entire staff meets for in-service camps and training seminars.' (SA-21).

Planning an Evolutionary Journey

When the group has become clear that it is on a journey which requires reflection and redirection regularly, a scheme is in a position to evolve using lessons learned from experience. The Xavier Institute of Social Service (SA-7) illustrates such a journey: 'A major shift in policies occurred in 1974-75 when, as a result of a structural analysis of the society in which we were living, we realised that we were being monopolised by the business and industrial sectors of the area and the middle classes.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

AWARE formed an organisation based on action, for the welfare and awakening of oppressed groups of the general population. While educating the poor, their experience started building and further rethinking occurred. AWARE's approach is not static.... Its conviction is that the depressed classes still lack the moral courage and tone to enter into the main stream of development and fight against exploitation. Therefore, *social education and motivation are taken as important and primary steps for rural development, preceding economic assistance.*' (SA-21).

Starting With a Pilot Project

All schemes begin with pilot projects or local level demonstrations, from which they learn, generalise and expand. 'The Uboma Development project is one of the oldest rural development projects in Nigeria, started as early as 1963. It has achieved considerable success in overall socio-economic development, leading to replication in 13 wider areas of Imo, Rivers and Bendel States of Nigeria.' (BA-1).

In India, the Agrindus Project of Banavasi Seva Ashram (SA-2) began with a comprehensive pilot demonstration. 'The Ashram itself is a pilot demonstration in new agriculture and industrial techniques. The demonstration farm is on 250 acres of land donated by the Forest Department. Successful experiments in ... mineral-based industries were established and then spread to the surrounding villages in the four block area (400 villages).'

Deciding on an Expansion Mode

Another fundamental is planning for expansion. Most schemes expand laterally with additional teams of organisers and operating centres that are intended to perform the same functions as the original venture. 'Out of the awareness of social responsibilities of a technical institution which owes its very existence to the community in which it is situated, rural development activity was undertaken by the Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology (IERT, SA-18) 1976 in seven villages of Soraon Block with the academic infrastructure of the Institution. By motivating and involving villagers in planning and implementation of development activities, it (was) possible for the institution to take up Integrated Rural Development Projects at four growth centres in a space of seven years.' (SA-18).

CROSS (SA-25) as an NGO catalysing grassroots organisations, has a different expansion mode. The village 'sangham' (association) is, 'the pivotal institution around which all developmental programmes revolve. With the expansion of sanghams over a wide geographic area and over a large number of villages, the project workers found the need for inter-village linkage to achieve the objectives of the village sangham. For this purpose cluster-level sanghams were established. A cluster-level sangham is a formal association of nine or ten village sanghams. It is thought to create area committees out of the existing cluster committee structure, in order to have a larger forum for decision-making, planning and organised actions. These area committees will handle the development programmes and activities concerning the problems of the poor in about six clusters. It is also planned to cover a wider geographic area and also other minority groups such as tribal people, Christians, Muslims, and the urban poor.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

EXPANSION SCHEMES

'We have found that rural workers' organisations who have done a good job attract neighbouring villages and the process of expansion takes place very naturally. When income expands and employment is generated, other communities do the same and that basically is the kind of work we are doing in the Philippines,' said Rafael Espiritu of Sarilakas (SP-32).

THE RIPPLE EFFECT-PLANNING FOR CHANGE

Every practitioner engaged in rural development dreams of initiating a project that not only succeeds with the initial target group, but influences a wider area. An image often used is that of ripples spreading from a stone thrown into a pool.

Projects participating in the IERD testified to how this happens. The Kokrobitey Ebenezer Fish Curing Cooperative (BA-25) Ghana, found that, 'The new method of smoking fish has attracted attention from neighbouring fishing communities. Individuals and groups come to seek advice from our group members and go back to make their own trays and ovens. UNESCO and UNICEF are sponsoring similar projects in two nearby villages. It has even caught up along the eastern coast of Ghana.'

Extensions of successful projects do not, as a rule, just happen spontaneously. This *ripple effect* requires strategy and structure. The projects participating in the IERD presented a great variety of approaches, ideologies, experiences and forms of organisation. Some fundamentals appear to be consistent in all of them and a number of patterns appeared in many projects. These fundamentals and patterns are not unique to economic ventures in rural development, but they are illustrated here only from that perspective.

FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTIC

Developing an Appropriate Ideology

An economic development scheme that continues for long, eventually evolves an ideology in the process. This is not new. But what is new from the perspective of local participatory development is the concept of an appropriate ideology. Like appropriate technologies, there are appropriate ideologies suited to the particular experience, history and cultural uniqueness of a people.

These ideologies emerge out of the experience of a project team as it works in the reality of a given situation, a situation it possibly took on with a good deal of naivety or at least partial knowledge of the local situation. The Tata Steel Rural Development Society (SA-17) BIHAR, India, changed their strategies with experience. 'Because too many subsidies encourage dependence, investment in local people is necessary. The initial mode of operation of the project was heavy on subsidies and free services, the villagers tend to wait and see if Tata will be forthcoming with more handouts. Now the Society has decided to invest more in people's training and in strengthening local organisations.'

'AWARE is an experiment.... It was never built on a particular theory or on the influence of a great man or on any prevailing 'ism'. When the reality of the situation was exposed, several like-minded, educated, urban youth began to think through their response.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Forming a local association has often been an effective way of getting participation in a credit scheme beyond the local elite (AWARE's village associations, SA-21) or of focusing on a particular target group (SEWA Women's Bank, SA-32). Some form of local group accountability seems to boost the recovery of loans as well as the success of projects. A revolving loan fund, made up in part of local funds and allocated on the basis of the decision of the village association membership, has local accountability built into it because neighbours have to wait their turn until others have repaid their loans. 'We should make it very clear that business must be under control of the rural people themselves. There is a big difference between enterprises run for the poor and enterprises run by the poor.'

This kind of association can also approve loans in relation to an overall plan. In several projects the local body is responsible for the feasibility of loans, accountability and recovery, linking local people to operative commercial loan services where possible, establishing savings and loan revolving funds or other services as necessary to supplement commercial services and for building up a self-sustained dynamic of economic investment credit within the village or target group. But the process starts with finding specific funds for a specific enterprise to which people are committed.

TRAIN PEOPLE IN USING CREDIT

Train the people in the use of credit through demonstrations as well as through other kinds of education over a period of time. This applies to those involved in the operation of the programme and to the community at large. In Malaysia, People's Credit Cooperative Society (SP-6) went through one year of education on Co-operatives and related matters. Members were taught to save regularly. 'The people attended a series of pre-membership courses and administrative management and motivity courses where they were taught to manage the co-operative by themselves. Able leaders were given ten years training to become trainers. The co-operative now has 30 branches and has accumulated M\$2,17,000.'

This training is not a short term task. One delegate remarked, 'Training in use of credit takes 10 to 15 years.' A key in the success of the Savings and Credit Cooperative Society, Ltd. (BA-28) is the role of community education. Information days for members served two purposes. First, to keep the members constantly informed about the Union and co-operative movement in Kenya. Second, to teach and explain changes or innovations in the Union's policies or structures before they happened. This has allowed the members to feel that they were also participating in redirection of the Union. This was key in the successful introduction of the savings and credit programme. They mentioned a second component of their success as the *emphasis on training for all staff and committee members*.

An additional feature of training people to use credit is to give them an understanding of the actual procedures involved in obtaining loans. The Ahmedabad Study Action Group (SA-1) reports that, 'Loans are much more easily available to the poor than previously. In addition, because of people's recent awareness of the real procedures, major abuses have been curbed.'

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

The following major innovations have to be brought about in the existing methodology of banking in order to make it suitable for viable lending to small farmers:

- A village-based approach rather than a branch-based approach;
- Technology transmission coupled with credit;
- Reliance on project appraisal rather than the usual collateral;
- Continuity of contact;
- Scrupulous regard for seasonal timing.

INVOLVE PEOPLE IN LOAN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

Two approaches are generally adopted to enhance participation in loan schemes. One is a general broad front approach where individual initiative is fully supported wherever it is found. Another approach is to target specific sections of the community according to some established criteria (land ownership, economic status, ethnic origin, occupation) and to intervene to ensure that they are involved in the scheme. While the former approach enhances the development of local initiative, the latter ensures the inclusion of groups consistently left out of developmental activities. Some segments of the population are too poor to take advantage of *open* schemes because they cannot meet even the minimum requirements of a scheme. They are not considered viable borrowers by any traditional criteria. The stronger sections of society can use their power and position to get the first priority. This happens with both traditional and modern schemes. One of the interest group summary statements included *designing specific programmes for targeted groups enables equitable distribution of benefits to all sectors of the community.* 'Even in the area of credit, it must not be captured by the dominant section of the village. It must really reach out to the lowest members of the village.'

In some countries rural repayments are lower than 50 percent of the monies loaned. Where the record is good, as for example, in some parts of Bangladesh, Pakistan and India where the repayment percentage is over 90 percent, there are two main benefits: Individuals and groups can readily obtain more credit. Banks are willing to put competent, often creative, personnel in the field. Where the record is not good, credit dries up.

Projects at the IERD represented a good deal of experience with loan repayment. Several delegates stressed the importance of approaches which involve every section of the community and especially target groups in both planning and implementation of loan schemes. This can be done through a village association, credit co-operative, local trust, local committee or a co-operative bank. Projects reported that group responsibility and village involvement significantly increase the rate of loan repayment and diminish the misuse of loans. For instance, the Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti (SA-14) found that the formation of co-operatives to involve villagers improved repayment of loans and made expansion of project activities easier.

When people borrow in groups rather than as individuals, regular loan repayment is more likely. They can evolve into permanent structures. 'After observing distressingly poor results of individual effort in buffalo purchase, ASAG got involved in helping borrowers to purchase animals. ASAG created a revolving fund. Now a taluka level organisation is being created to perform this function on a permanent basis.' (Ahmedabad Study Action Group - Poverty Project: Dholka, SA-1).

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION

Some projects provide a full range of support to people who take loans. SEWA Bank grew out of the work of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SA-32) in and around Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India. 'The bank staff provide technical assistance to the borrowers where needed, to enable them to use their credit money effectively by identifying direct sources of purchase of raw materials, better tools and equipment, links with the market for their goods and services, and also to acquire skills.'

One approach to integration of the factors involved in a helpful loan scheme is to do it on a case by case basis. The Ahmedabad Study Action Group (ASAG) (SA-1) invented a way to use loans to purchase buffaloes which takes advantage of specific informal patterns but avoids money lenders. They have evolved a selective scheme to transform an indigenous system, which further impoverishes the poor, into something that builds up a sound economic base.

'For animal husbandry to be economically viable, a buffalo must be impregnated every 14 to 15 months in order to remain in milk. Whenever a cow has two female calves in succession, the farmer will give the older calf to a poor man to rear in partnership. He tells the poor man that on maturity a village committee will determine the value of the animal and whoever wishes to keep the calf can pay off the partner's share. Normally the rich man has a one-third share, the poor man has two-thirds. But the value of the animal tends to settle at a price where the poor man cannot raise enough money to pay the rich man his third.'

When ASAG stumbled into this system, it seemed a tremendous opportunity for an outside intervention. The formal system of buffalo financing (at full cost) is inherently not economical, given the high proportion of loan to equity, the high interest rate and the economic valuation of buffaloes only as milk producers. But using the indigenous system of providing a loan of one-third of the value of the asset makes the financing pattern inherently economical. The poor family gets an animal they have known close at hand for over a year.

A second approach is to make inputs in a planned way in many villages, together with a range of practical services (cross-breeding, fodder and marketing). Such a programme is strengthened when it is done on a continuous basis, by mobile credit officers who maintain continuity of contact with borrowers from the beginning to the successful completion of a loan project.

The Agricultural Development Bank in Pakistan has developed a Supervised Credit Scheme that attempts to do this. 'In this system, the operations of the bank have become village-based rather than branch-based. Young agriculture graduates have been recruited and given intensive training in credit. They are then posted to branches in rural areas. Each of them is given a motorcycle and allocated 25 villages in the area covered by the branch. These mobile credit officers visit these villages regularly to get to know farmers. They identify viable borrowers, check their community reputation, and discuss the feasibility of their proposal with them on their fields. They sanction the loan (or have it sanctioned if it is for a larger amount), ensure that the loan is utilised for the purpose for which it is taken, maintain regular contact with the farmer thereafter and recover the loan (or its installment) from the farmer in the village at harvest time. In this system the farmer is required to visit the branch of the bank only once—on the date when documentation for the loan is signed and finalised. At all other times it is the mobile credit officer of the bank who maintains contact with the farmer in his village. At present we have 720 such mobile credit officers in the field, and the supervised credit scheme has reached 20,000 villages.'

HEALTH CARE

MODERN AND/OR TRADITIONAL MEDICINES

'Primary health cannot be built on a preconceived standard model, but needs to develop organically in each environment.... It is now also clear that people's perceived needs in health care are moulded by the culture and its understanding of health wholeness and that the professionals need to become acquainted with the concepts and healing methods that can be derived from them. *We need to learn how to better serve the needs of the community. In most places this will mean a judicious mixing of scientific medicine with traditional healing.*' (de Sweemer, C., PEOPLE, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1983, p. 5).

Many projects have realised the need to integrate modern and traditional care. At the Kasturba Medical College in Karnataka State, India, the Department of Ayurvedic Medicine came into existence in 1982. Its main function is to find out and prove the effectiveness of ayurvedic medicines for diseases like bronchial asthma, which western practices have had only a limited success in treating. In addition, the college began the first Department of Yoga in India to provide yoga treatment for diseases such as hypertension, asthma and digestive disorders. Yoga is also used as a preventive approach for, 'those who are healthy and wish to remain that way.' The conditions and improvements are evaluated and studied in collaboration with other clinical and pre-clinical departments.

In Hong Kong, the Khun Tong Community Health Project supports a programme designed and run by the local people. One aspect of this programme is concerned with upper respiratory diseases and smoking. Acupuncture and a more western approach to behaviour patterns are used side by side quite successfully. However, a prime concern of the project personnel is the communication of the values of each to the people. Like so many other issues, this involves some very basic attitudinal relationships which have to be worked through, sometimes in quite unexpected ways. The story is told by one of the personnel, a delegate to the Delhi event, about 'a mother who brought her child to see the doctor. He examined the child, determined it was a case of head lice, and prescribed something for washing the hair. She became angry and shouted, 'We may be poor, but we are not dirty people' and then left. After 15 minutes she returned and with some embarrassment requested to have the medicine. When asked why, she said simply because she had met an old lady from the community who had looked at the child's head and had discovered lice. Our staff learned that though we may have the education, the technical know-how, we were not communicating.'

From the standpoint of the practitioner, the knowledge of alternative resources can be of critical value. Making use of all available health care services in conjunction with the needs of the villages and the understanding of the people can spark improvements in health care. The working group cautioned that full potential will only be reached, however, when all segments of society are involved in health care are aware of the real local needs and work to support local village efforts.

INITIATING HEALTH PROGRAMMES IN A VILLAGE

'Pioneers in primary health recognise that villagers do not need to be motivated so much as to be given a chance.' (de Sweemer, C., op. cit.)

Since the vitality and health of the people is so intricately related to every aspect of development it is possible to build into any programme a health care component. An obstetrician and gynecologist from Sang Kancil Project, Malaysia, Dr. K. Yusuf, describes his own experience:

HEALTH CARE

'I started to go where the squatter people were living. After I talked to the people it was quite obvious that even though they had health problems, they didn't think it important, because they are living in a situation where other things determine what is important. They said they should have jobs and food and education for their children. So the first thing then was a pre-school because that is what they wanted. And soon we were dealing with immunisation and malnutrition and hygiene.'

Whether or not the initial action is related to health, people need the opportunity of working on an identified need and of having a sign that change is taking place. This allows the process to get underway and people to begin working together with the experience of meeting actual needs. 'We first think of some activity: maybe an access road.... maybe a system of irrigation for a rice field, maybe the sinking of a series of wells or latrines, something that the people feel they badly need—and set about to achieve it.' (The Sarvodaya Shramadan Movement: Sri Lanka; Ariyaratne, A.T., Collected Works, Vol. I).

It is not necessary to do the most difficult things first. In fact, it is the obvious and the simple and sometimes even the entertaining things to do that are the best places to begin. INGRID (SA-5) makes this point in their descriptive material. 'It is the entry programme which decides where we stand in our working, to what extent we will be able to build relationships with the people... (therefore) the project must be as simple as possible and must fill the need that is clearly recognised by the people.'

People need to get together to share their concerns and to explore their possibilities. However formal or informal such Modern and/or Traditional Medicine meetings are is determined by the local context. Whoever plays the catalytic role—whether someone from outside or inside the community (and in fact both may be required)—there is a fine line to be considered between the local people having the sense that they are accommodating themselves to someone else's plan or that they are involved in creating their own. For the change agent this is more an issue of stance and style than of time.

In this context a community worker for the Khun Tong Community Health Project of Hong Kong said, 'Our teams go to meet the people in the squatter community and get the people together: the people who are interested in doing something, whether in health or other related areas. They may meet once a month or week after week. There is a lot of interchange and sharing and they are very smart. They design the programme and run it. We may have a health service delivery role, but actually our primary role is development of the people and sharing with them.'

'The lead role in rural reconstruction has to be restored to the villages and, in child development to the mother. The government administrator, the fund provider, the professional consultant, the development facilitator and the community worker must all play a supportive role, not a dominant one. We have yet to get used to this imperative of development. This is not surprising because the urge for rural development is a historical response to feudal and colonial exploitation, followed by imitative industrialisation and unbridled growth of the cities and towns at the expense of the village and its wealth (all of which relegated the rural people to the margin of life). Given this background, how realistic is it to expect poor, unlettered people to play the lead role in their own development? The answer is offered by the promise of collective self-reliance. By pooling their insights, abilities and resources, the group is able to neutralise the limitations and overcome the helplessness of its individual members.'

HEALTH CARE

For us, the non-rural and the non-poor, the time has come to believe in the power of the group as the dynamic of development.' (David P. Haxton, Regional Director, UNICEF, South Central Asia, unpublished speech, New Delhi, India, Feb. 1984).

Some identifiable group is needed in the village to take responsibility for local health care. A practitioner responsible for more than one village may want to consider an adaptation of the approach used for the last ten years by the Lardin Gabas Rural Health Programme (BA-4). 'The programme uses a series of visits to mobilise villages. First, does the chief feel he wants this for his people? No community programme will succeed unless the traditional chief agrees. If he does, then on the next visit we try to talk with the people. If the people are interested, we continue the visits. By the fourth or fifth visit we set up a Health Committee with the village chief as chairman, including religious leaders, ward heads, and school teachers. This committee is responsible for the day-to-day activities of primary health care and a monthly review for the work.' (BA-4).

Su Clinica Familiar (NA-24) Texas, USA, reports, 'The community was especially active in the initiation phase, providing input for clinic policies via community meetings and by community-elected policy board members. Probably the one most outstanding characteristic of Su Clinica is the early and continued dedication of local people to the project.'

It should be noted that invariably primary health care programmes attributed their success, in part and sometimes in full, to the work of one deeply committed person. Most frequently this was a doctor or a medically trained person, occasionally a husband and wife team such as the Drs. Arole who moved to the village of Jamkhed, India, (SA-4). In other cases, a village elder or a concerned public official such as the late mayor of Sawauchi, Japan, (SP-28) Masao Fukasawa, whose motto was, 'I shall risk my life to save the lives of the people.' The working groups concluded that eliciting the commitment of a single leader can catalyse and sustain rural people in doing health care themselves. Such a person may have no official status and may not actively participate in a programme. Yet gaining their active support may be an important move in securing primary care and releasing people's confidence in the programme.

ESSENTIAL PREVENTIVE MEASURES IN THE VILLAGE

Throughout the Delhi Event, in the interest groups, project reports and in personal comments, practitioners underlined the fact that when it comes to health, preventive measures are essential. The issues raised particularly in the discussion groups were:

- What are the essential preventive measures that need to be taken?
- How does the awareness of preventive health expand?
- How does one get the resources, the training, and the community education that gives permission and encourages people to shift the pattern of their lives that will make for health?
- How does one involve the village in its own health care?

Sanitation: The First Protection

'The components of a sanitation system can shut the door on most infectious disease.' (IERT) (SA-18)

HEALTH CARE

In Kenya, the Kibwezi Community-based Primary Health Care Project (BA-16) is a major undertaking in village-level sanitation. It indicates that effective preventive health involves practical, simple actions usually inexpensive, and best done locally. Furthermore, it involves and benefits the life of the whole community. Although, at the time of reporting, it did not represent a completed system of preventive health, once the water is available and adequate pit latrines are secured, other components can follow. These can include; drainage of standing water, compost pits or safe disposal of garbage and trash, pest and rodent control, changes in housing design to allow for ventilation and regular cleaning, safe housing for animals apart from family dwellings, regular checks on water purity, training in personal hygiene and food storage and preparation.

The technology appropriate for most of these sanitation components is readily available, but to implement some of them requires inventiveness. The Ha'asini-Hamula Cooperative Society (SP-13) in Tonga used an ingenious approach. Some of the project women, 'hold monthly house-to-house inspections of kitchens, kitchen utensils, water tanks, toilets and fences.' One would be hard pressed to create an alternative for maintaining a common high standard of hygiene in a local community.

The Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology (IERT) (SA-18) in India, has found that under most circumstances, 'a community health project does not require large capital and operating funds.' Of course local terrain and resources will significantly affect cost, but there is no situation where action related to sanitation needs to wait for money.

Immunisation: Maximum Use of Regional and National Networks

'...even for the 'clean intervention' of immunisation, social and organisational breakthrough, and community education are as important as technological progress if immunisation is to play its potentially decisive role in a child health revolution.' (Grant, J.P., UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children*, 1984).

Even when all components of a sanitation system are in place people must be protected from dangerous diseases by an immunisation programme. This begins to indicate the complexity of establishing a total preventive health system.

One of the major programmes of the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) (SA-48) is immunisation of village children against polio, which has an incidence as high as 75 percent in some locations. 'So we have started giving them free polio vaccinations and drops. The Lion's Club provides us with free vaccine and sometimes with a van to go to the rural areas. Although this is a Women's Association programme we have some men working with us. Some keep the register and the cards and do other tasks, but by far most of the workers are women. We take some documentary films to show to the parents to motivate them and then we go regularly for three months. Through the media of radio and TV, the people came to learn of this programme, that this is something that really must be done for their children. Now that the awakening is done, the people are coming themselves to our centres. Each morning when we go there, there is a long line waiting for us to give the polio drops and vaccinations. We have volunteer workers in the association and they go to the centres daily. They keep records and about 200-300 children get vaccinated daily.'

HEALTH CARE

From the efforts of APWA there are several clues that could be helpful for the local practitioner:

- There are resources outside the local community that need to be researched, contacted and used; that is their purpose.
- It is possible to build a total immunisation programme in response to a perceived critical need.
- In any situation, informative media, documentary films, radio, and TV can be of immeasurable help in motivating people to act.
- Resources must be anticipated and on hand, ready to use when the desired response is elicited.
- The programme needs to be systematically, administered and monitored.
- Voluntary personnel and subsidised resources can cut costs.
- Record keeping is essential if the programme is to be thorough.
- When people become concerned and involved, expect traditional social barriers to be put aside.

It is necessary also for the practitioner to know what the actual situation is in the community. A village survey may be a task for the village health workers, more likely a health committee or a mothers' group. It is a practical task, an educational tool in itself, and a point of participation for some local people. Reporting the results of the survey can be a great occasion for discussion and consciousness raising. Also, when the practitioner, the Village Health Worker or a village spokesperson seeks to maximise the services of external resources, having an accurate working knowledge of the actual situation is an asset, particularly for immunisation programmes.

In an effort to systematically immunise a village or a cluster of villages, the practitioner and villagers need to know what resources are available. This takes research and footwork. Resources include; regional and national schemes, the programmes and personnel of the nearest health clinics, hospitals and private physicians and contact points for global organisations such as the World Health Organisation or UNICEF.

'Immunisation campaigns usually need to be integrated into other primary health care and community development networks which can provide 'continuity of contact' between people and immunisation services. Unlike smallpox, which could be eradicated because humans were its only carriers, diseases like tetanus, whose spores are carried in the earth itself, cannot be eradicated. The challenge of immunisation programmes is therefore not the challenge only of a mass campaign but the double challenge of building a permanent system capable of delivering vaccines to every infant every year and of educating every new generation of parents about the need to bring their infants for the full course of injections. The chances of all children being present at the right times and the right places three times a year every year are considerably enhanced in communities which understand the reasons for this schedule and are involved in planning the how and the where and the when.' (Grant, J.P., UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children*, 1984).

Nutrition, Community Training and Food Production

A physician practicing in the United Kingdom had one formula for getting a grasp on some village nutritional needs: 'Within days of arriving in a village, the total production of grain required to meet the nutritional needs for that village can be calculated. The formula for this calculation is: the number of people in the village, multiplied by 365 days in the year, multiplied by 3,000 calories, divided by 3,200 calories per kilo.'

HEALTH CARE

This will give the number of kilos of grain (no matter which type) needed to feed the village for the year. The allocation of 3,000 calories per person a day is a bit high, but this is to allow for some wastage of grain in storage. Legumes have a slightly higher concentration of calories per kilo, but the difference is not so great that they cannot be included in the calculation as well.

'Once you have this figure, go around to the farmers and find out how much grain they produce in an average year. Is there enough to feed the village? Often you may be surprised to find that enough is produced, yet people are going hungry. Where this is the case, you need to start asking questions about the distribution system. If enough is not produced, you need to investigate what is needed to increase production. A clear picture of what amount is needed to feed the whole village, and a clear proposal as to how it can be produced and distributed may be just what people need to see.' (Gilbert, Dr. K., U.K. participating physician).

Malnutrition is not a disease but rather the condition caused by not getting enough food, or enough of the right kinds of food at the right time. Though all preventive health measures carry with them a deep urgency, inadequate nutrition has a destructive deceptiveness about it. Many people are lulled into apathy by macro-statistics, such as the fact that India is now producing enough food to feed all of her people, as if these alone solved the problem. The production report from India is encouraging but the question remains of distribution and access to the needed food by the 50 percent of the population who live below the poverty level, many of whom are only peripheral to the money economy.

Another easy deception happens when a village child dies and the death is attributed to a particular detected disease like whooping cough or pneumonia. Those closest to the child will probably miss the underlying cause. In fact the stage has been set by months, possibly years, of border line malnutrition. Nutrition is a local issue which has to do with quantity and quality, and with the proper balance of food consumed. Furthermore, it cannot be assumed to be simply a problem of the poorest. This is a problem for the developed nations too. Practitioners meeting in Delhi in one of the working groups discussed at length the fact that as income increases, people buy more refined foods and that is when they frequently get into nutritional trouble. Malnutrition is exceedingly difficult to diagnose except in advanced stages. For it is necessary not only to deal with the quantity, quality and balance of food, but also the child's growth factors.

The Extension Training Centre, People's College (SA-19) of Uttar Pradesh, India, reports on a campaign among tribal people of the Haldwani District for every family to have at least four fruit-bearing trees in their courtyard. These would be primarily a nutritional resource. Quick-bearing trees such as Papaya and Banana were suggested as well as Guava, Jackfruit and Mango. The campaigns include five-day Training Camps at a central demonstration village as well as one-day and two-day camps in other villages. Ten five-day camps were held for women and ten for men. And all camps, regardless of duration, included demonstration, training in improved farming techniques, nutrition, sanitation and home industries.

The main programme of nutrition and primary health at Chiapas State, Mexico (LA-36) is to bring a package of seven simultaneous programmes on nutrition and health to each family in isolated areas. The project has improved farming techniques, nutrition, sanitation and home industries.

HEALTH CARE

The Kenya Food and Nutrition Training Programme (BA-13) bases its activity on the belief that local communities are capable of meeting most of their food and nutritional needs themselves. Their programme places focus upon training local field workers, comparable to local health workers, who then work in a cluster of 32 villages directly benefiting around 600 families. The activities include; vegetable gardening, rabbit raising, poultry and bee keeping. Through their efforts, diets have been supplemented and their health was greatly improved. This has also provided a basis for additional income.

From these and countless other reports from across the globe it seems obvious that where nutrition is an issue, food production and the use of available foods are two critical factors. Guidelines which can be helpfully adapted, include:

- The people can be encouraged wherever possible to grow enough of the right foods to keep themselves healthy.
- Diet is to be supplemented, not necessarily replaced.
- Initially encourage the planting of that which will rapidly make a difference.
- The people can create their own accountability.
- Allow for experimentation where it will not threaten dependable individual production.
- Demonstration is one of the most powerful teaching tools.
- A cash income supplement to a nutrition programme is an added incentive.
- Encourage the accountability structures to maintain the prime value of nutrition, not cash income.

Formal and non-formal instruction on the appropriate storage, preparation and combinations of foods can be most easily introduced by a village health worker. In any case it needs to be simple, pictorial, not dependent upon literacy and yet in the language of the people. RUHSA (SA-27) has developed, audio-visuals:

- A three part slide series in English and Tamil on 'Food and Health,' 'Health Habits,' and 'The Importance of Water.'
- Flash-cards on tuberculosis and diarrhoea.
- Flip-chart on 'Health Messages for Children.'
- Puppet show scripts in Tamil on 'Family Planning,' and 'Food and Health.'
- Songs and a taped story in Tamil on 'Health for School Children.'

The curricula developed for the **GUIDEBOOK FOR THE RENEWAL OF VILLAGE VITALITY** uses a diagram of the human hand for teaching the five food groups necessary for daily balanced nutrition: fruit, vegetables, cereals and seeds, legumes, food from animals (protein). The diagram relates one food group to each finger in order to make recall of the groups easier.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN: A FOCUS ON VULNERABLE GROUPS

A concern expressed in relation to nutrition and preventive health had to do with effective schemes for care of infants, children and mothers. The UNICEF exhibit helped to focus that concern upon the four critical issues of growth monitoring, breast-feeding, oral rehydration therapy (ORT) and immunisation. 'In all of this, the central challenge will remain the creation of support ... among the health professionals, understanding within the community and confidence among mothers (parents).' (Grant, J.P., *The State of the World's Children*, 1984, p. 21).

HEALTH CARE

How these become expressed programmatically at the local level is the critical issue already partially represented in the section on immunisation. Though growth monitoring, oral rehydration therapy, and the advocacy of breast-feeding are already included in some training programmes, their common sense simplicity seems to elude others. *There are village health workers, para-medics and physicians who have yet to adopt the simple procedures of checking the arm measurement of children or of recording on a regular basis the weight of infants as a means of detecting the otherwise often-hidden fact of malnutrition. There are others who have yet to adopt the use of a salt-sugar solution and the continued feeding of children afflicted with diarrhoea as the most appropriate procedure to combat the sudden loss of body fluids and nutrition that can rapidly lead to death.*

RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD

'Whether or not a husband and wife will decide to plan the number and spacing of their children is closely related to their own sense of control over their own lives and circumstances. Malnutrition, illiteracy, ill-health and oppression can leave people with so little sense of control over their own lives and circumstances that they are alienated from the very idea of 'planning'. To expect adults who cannot control or plan any other aspect of their lives to suddenly start planning their families is to misunderstand what powerlessness means. If, on the other hand, progress in health and education, in political participation and economic activity, has helped to create a greater sense of mastery over one's own destiny—a sense that decisions can be taken, circumstances changed, and lives improved—then the idea of family spacing is likely to be welcomed as another opportunity to take control over one's own life.' (Grant, J.P. *The State of the World's Children*, 1984).

In an interview, an Indian doctor points sharply to another aspect of the care of mothers: 'Nearly 60 percent of all mothers are malnourished to begin with. Often an Indian mother is chronically suffering from one disease, that is called chronic maternal depletion syndrome. That means that she is having a baby growing inside her uterus again and again. And however precious that baby may be, the baby is a parasite. It doesn't care whether the mother has enough blood, whether the mother has enough protein or not, it will suck out from the mother whatever it needs.' There is a necessity for child spacing, for some form of family planning—whatever the method or the approach—for some form of responsible parenthood.

There is a growing consciousness of the action required at the local level: 'There is community and peer group pressure but, it is in no way compulsory. The community accepted the importance of family planning and they saw that it was useful to them, so now there is some pressure from the community to do it. And there are more and more families that are having one or two children and that's it.' (SA-23).

'Whatever nationality, whether rich or poor, each has an equal role in population control' (Central International Event Plenary Chapter Input Form). Whether directly with focused educational programmes, operations or contraceptives or, as the indirect result of effective local socio-economic development, the overall elevation of the value given to women and children remains to be reflected. It is interesting to note the remarks of a Delhi participant upon his return from a field visit. 'We visited many sites where voluntary family planning is nearly 100 percent observed. I believe we can strongly support the statement that literacy and rising personal prospects for women in a community correlate with a drop in the birth rate.'

HEALTH CARE

But at least we can say that in programmes where the whole person is considered, rather than just their reproductive organs, we have seen birth rates drop without any sort of official coercion. (Field Visit Report, Extension Training Centre, People's College, SA-19).

VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS (VHW)

'What is needed is a health agent who will conscientiously reach the local people and prevent serious diseases by bringing about positive changes in people's habits and attitudes towards illnesses. The qualities needed are not the mechanical ability to store information and give it out 'like a robot', but rather the sensitive human ability to recognise other people's needs, to patiently promote health knowledge and to care gently and compassionately for the sick.' (Comprehensive Rural Health Project, CRHP, SA-4).

The foundation for most integrated health systems is the village health worker (VHW) who lives and works directly with the villagers. The rural poor prefer the VHW because they can deliver appropriate health services and instruction to those who need them most, when they need them. They can reach the people who do not have access to, are too distant from, or are reluctant to use established medical facilities out of ignorance, fear or superstition. Many projects examined by the working groups supported their effectiveness.

To create this foundation for health care in rural villages, several issues have to be considered. The selection, types and methods of training, tasks, and on-going support structures seem to be the most critical. The experience of the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (CRHP) (SA-4) in Maharashtra, India, has been that many rural health problems can be dealt with relatively easily at the onset. However they can become rapidly complex if preventive measures are not taken and if curative steps are not identified early and pursued.

SELECTION OF VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS

Most projects reported that the village community chose their health workers. Depending upon the village, selection was done through established leadership, such as a village chief, through an existing village organisation or through conversations with the people. When all sections of the community were involved in the decisions, the VHW tended to be someone genuinely concerned with the health of all the village people. Villages selected people who were willing to be trained for their new role, who had the confidence and trust of their neighbours, and who were mature and stable members of the community.

Accountability to the people is a major factor in selecting potential VHW from the village. Health workers assigned by the government are accountable to the government. Those selected by a village are accountable to the village. *Health promoters were not chosen on the basis of education. Indeed, many VHW were illiterate or semi-literate, but are able to understand and communicate with the villagers in ways that an outsider can not.* Illiterate and semi-literate villagers at Jamkhed have dispensed medications (not by their official names) by memorising the shape and color of the medicines. They are often able to effectively combine traditional health care methods with western health technologies.

One other factor in the selection of VHW was also noted. Though both men and women VHW were used, *where women were selected by the community and trained for this role, the results were more effective.* This was particularly true for women with experience in bearing children and rearing them.

HEALTH CARE

However, the Khun Tong Community Health Project in Hong Kong used all types of VHW, 'We have to work with the people not just certain people, but all ages, old, young, female, men, children.... We feel it important to get (for example) adolescents to influence adolescents, especially in drug abuse.' In their experience, women worked best with women and men were effective in health situations related to work. They added, 'We work through old people a lot. They still have traditional authority.'

TRAINING VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS

'However, primary health care as a continuing educational process presupposes technical skills which do not exist in the villages and it is difficult to see where they might come from. That is why the work of village assistants has to be directed away from curing towards preventive (health care).' (Knight, D., PEOPLE, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1983, p. 23).

The method and content of training is usually determined by the local situation, the needs of the village and the roles the VHW will be expected to play. Training usually combines formal classes and on-the-job training. Intensive training classes vary from one week to one month or more. Periodic refresher courses up-date and nurture the VHW. Practical training is also essential. Working side-by-side with nurses or health trainers in mobile clinics, the VHW can acquire many new skills.

CRHP (SA-4) in Jamkhed, has a well-established VHW training system. 'Initially, those chosen are brought to the main health centre for a one-week training programme. Thereafter, they come to the main centre twice a week. Most of the teaching is based upon actual cases encountered at the centre or in the village during the week. Their training, in general, is geared to deal with the project health priorities. Though the emphasis is on the promotion of health care and prevention of diseases, they also receive some training in the curative treatment of simple illnesses and the use of a few basic drugs. Along with this training, they have brief studies in the social sciences sufficient for their needs. At various stages in their training they stay with experienced VHW in the villages and observe them in practice. CRHP believes that the training of the VHW is a two-way communication. As the instructors gain knowledge on local beliefs and taboos, they and the VHW discuss ways and means of overcoming those that are of a negative nature. As the VHW gains knowledge, she is encouraged to make and develop her own health education material.' The curriculum for VHW is tailored to the needs of the local situation. It includes, courses on cures for minor ailments, personal hygiene, preventive measures against diseases and disabilities, nutrition, maternal and child care, sanitation and accident prevention.

At times, the VHW receive special training to work with particular programmes or campaigns. The oral rehydration programme in Guatemala is one example of an intensive education and practical training campaign undertaken to reduce infant mortality rates due to the effects of severe diarrhoea. 'Home visits by the health promoters taught parents that it was dehydration which killed their children and that early rehydration-at-home was the best cure. Each family was also given six small (250. ml) packets of the locally made salts along with a sheet of clear, printed instructions. Because the health promoters were part of the community, they were almost always on hand to give advice and help at the moment when a mother actually had to start giving oral rehydration therapy to her child.... Most important of all, the number of child deaths from diarrhoea fell by half in the year after the introduction of the salts.' (*State of the World's Children*, 1984, UNICEF).

HEALTH CARE

UNICEF advocates a simple method of making the solution with salt, sugar and water. The proportions can be easily taught using familiar kitchen equipment.

More advanced training is being done with multi-purpose health workers at the Christian Fellowship Comprehensive Rural Health, Development and Education Project (SA-37) in Ambilikkar, South India. Key factors include:

- Selection of young people from the villages who are respected and trusted by village people and who were committed to return to their village and serve their people's needs
- Two year intensive training programme covering basic academic fundamentals under the supervision of doctors committed to upgrading community health at the village level
- Training programmes including the fundamentals of pathology, anatomy, physiology and the prevention and treatment in such community health areas as tuberculosis, leprosy, nutrition, sanitation, dysentery and malaria. In addition, health workers were trained in screening out patients who needed to be referred to the rural hospital.
- Quality is maintained and upgraded by continual close supervision by medical staff in the field as well as periodic refresher and advanced courses given at the hospital centre.

China (Beijing) uses more highly trained health workers. One of the benefits of the shift in the emphasis in medical and health work has been the extensive use of 'barefoot doctors.' Today these auxiliaries number over 1.7. million. In a basic training period of three to six months in a hospital they are supervised by experienced doctors. The programme focuses on the disease prevention, health education and treatment of minor illnesses (PEOPLE, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1983, p. 10).

Trained village health workers from outside a particular village can also be valuable in the over-all health care delivery system, though time is needed to gain the trust and confidence of the village people. In addition to providing primary health care, these health workers can be instrumental in training villagers and be a vital link to health outposts and clinics.

There are many resources available for the training effort. The training can be done by doctors, nurses, social workers, adult educators or nutrition workers with the ability to share technological expertise and a basic concern for rural villages. The most important factor is the trainer's respect for the VHW and confidence in their ability to learn and to be effective local caretakers. Where programmes are available at a training centre or from mobile health teams, practitioners can make full use of them to initiate and expand VHW training. Trained and experienced VHW are also an source of training others.

A delegate from Nepal reported: 'For two weeks we do training so that they (VHW) can take care of their own people because there are many villages too far from district health services. We instruct how to identify cases they are to refer to hospital or health posts and what type of case they should not handle.'

VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS: INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE SYSTEM

'This work which I am doing is helpful to my village, it is helpful to all my friends, it is helpful to my family, and also I get the satisfaction that through my hands I am able to do something which is really useful. And it gives me a little sense of happiness that it works, and it is successful, it is not a failure. It is like giving blood to another person.'

HEALTH CARE

Much more significant is my work with children. I have seen so many children dying in my village. Now not even one child is dying. And this is something which gives me such enrichment.' (Suman Duche interview, CRHP, SA-4).

Village health workers have proven themselves to be capable of performing many tasks and fulfilling many roles. 'The VHW is the vital link between the (total) health team and the community, which means, she provides vitality to the health team and to the community power within the programme through which it lives and grows' (India Development Service, IDS, Karnataka, India, *Newsletter*, October, 1982, SA-22):

Under Community Support are:

- Immunisation campaigns
- Nutritional programmes
- Family planning
- Settling disputes and misunderstandings

Under Health Team Support are:

- Conducting deliveries in a hygienic way
- Medicines easily distributed
- Care and concern in leprosy cases
- Malnutrition; feeding programme
- Family planning
- Immunisation
- Record keeping of baby weighing programme.

In the CRHP (SA-4) project, VHW are expected to give primary health care to each and every person in the village, irrespective of caste or financial ability. The VHW spends much of her time on preventive aspects such as health education, immunisation and environmental control; water supply, sewage disposal, insect control. Treatment of minor ailments at an early stage is one of the responsibilities of the VHW, and on an average she treats 15 to 20 patients a day. At the time of the daily nutritional programmes, she makes a general check on the health of the children. Later she visits those sick at home. The VHW makes regular family rounds and systematically covers the whole village once a week.

Particular attention must be given to the continual nurture, guidance and support of the VHW. There should be regular meetings of the VHW from a single village or from a cluster of villages. These meetings provide a forum for workers to talk about their frustrations, questions, concerns, learnings and experiences. Constant contact and training sessions with members of a mobile health team enable them to develop additional skills and provide a valuable link between the health professionals and the villages they serve. Where there is an entire delivery system, weekly classes are often conducted for all the VHW in a project. Through such exchange their trust and confidence are built up so that the system can best meet the villager's health needs.

Support is also needed to maintain adequate amounts of medical supplies such as first-aid kits and drugs to treat simple illness. In some cases monetary support is also given, but many VHW serve on a voluntary basis.

HEALTH CARE

LINKING VILLAGES AND RESOURCES: MEDICAL PROFESSIONALS AND PARA-MEDICS

'The staff are trained as a team so that patients receive the same advice and health education whether from the VHW, a nurse or a doctor. Here, the hospital is primarily a backup or support system to the CRHP primary concern for local, village-based health care.' (CRHP, SA-4).

The physicians role, training and responsibilities was also discussed by the delegates. As health delivery systems endeavour to reach more people, the trend toward expanding health awareness by training VHW has enabled doctors to relate to the centres, rather than directly to the villages. This allows health care to be less costly for the rural poor. In many cases, however, a strong emphasis is being placed on 're-educating' the medical professional to be more attuned to preventive health care in addition to the necessary treatments.

It was noted that there is a marked reluctance among doctors to live and work in the rural areas. 'It can be seen from the distribution of this already inadequate body that the majority of doctors are serving the minority of the population, since a simple breakdown between capital cities and the rest of the country shows that an average of about 40 percent are practising in the capital, which frequently contains no more than five percent of the total population. Most of the remaining 60 percent of the doctors are distributed among the other urban centres. All this indicates that most Africans do not yet have the benefit of medical care provided by doctors. In fact, hospital organisation plays a more important part than the number of hospitals or beds. Health protection, sanitary control and health education have had an equally important influence. It also seems that a very great training effort has already been made, focusing not on doctors and other senior health technicians, but on para-medical personnel (midwives and nurses) and other medico-social personnel.' (Conde, Julien, OECD Development Centre, Paris, 'Some Demographic Aspects of Human Resources in Africa').

The working group discussed the recent efforts of some governments that have tried to encourage more doctors to work in rural areas. The Indian government requested each medical college to adopt a group of 25 villages in order to revitalise their health care through the staff, students and facilities. Venezuela requires all fifth-year medical students to serve in a rural village for a period of time. But the major trend is toward greater use of para- professionals, nurses and VHWs who work directly and consistently in villages.

After their visit to the India Development Service (IDS) (SA-22) in Karnataka State, India, the IERD team reported on factors which enable a village to affect health, nutrition and sanitation problems including: '... creating awareness among the people of the importance of these activities, teaching and demonstrating good practices, participation of the total community in the process, emphasising preventive care rather than just curative care and the involvement of medical and para-medical personnel.'

The working group on health received a report on the Korsan Community Health Project in Korea (ROK), which is a major community health project based at the Presbyterian Medical Centre in Chonju. The emphasis is on training community health workers as a way to reach the people of remote villages before they need the services of a hospital. The Centre is utilised as a referral facility, and is also the headquarters for chronic disease control programmes. It conducts training courses for physicians, community health nurses, nurse midwives, village health workers and auxiliaries who work in the rural areas.

HEALTH CARE

The broad impact of the project was through co-ordinating the on-going regional training, overseeing health screening programmes, co-operating with the government community health practitioners (nurses who receive special training in community health and midwifery) and promoting health education programmes at every level.

Such an approach encourages the use of existing resources offered by hospitals, medical colleges and voluntary groups of medically trained personnel, and government health services. Established medical structures have been the primary sources for treatment and rehabilitation. These facilities are most often located in larger population centres. The growing realisation that the health needs of a vast majority of the world's population are not being met is beginning to promote some needed changes in their operation.

One resource is the Rural Unit For Health and Social Affairs (SA-27) which has been described as, 'the best of the medical college projects in India.' This college is noted for the willingness of their graduates to continue to work in rural areas rather than to take up more lucrative urban medical practices. Their rural work project stresses the education of villagers to help themselves do health and economic development. RUHSA acts as an agent of social change by helping communities to become more aware of their own rights, problems, and capacity to work together. As a voluntary agency, it sees its role primarily as facilitating the development process.

RUHSA operates from a central health centre which includes a training hostel, classrooms and other facilities for its training programmes. It has organised its health and development services into this 'Central Service Unit and sixteen Linking Villages and Resources Peripheral Service Units (PSU).' To each PSU, one rural community organiser is assigned. At the village level grassroots community volunteers are working in various fields. Senior staff of the different departments visit a PSU for meetings, supervision, support and training. Through its 50-bed Health Centre and clinics attached to each Peripheral Service Unit, working in close co-operation with the Government Primary Health Centre and its staff, it now serves the block of 100 villages.

'A vital role for a voluntary agency such as RUHSA must be in sharing the experience gained from its various departments and activities with our country and society. Effort must be made to build up a programme development advisory service in and through RUHSA that can help small voluntary agencies, church-related projects and development programmes. With the experience and expertise available at RUHSA, we could contribute to the growth of similar activities in various parts of our country.' (Central International Event Delegate Report).

Proyecto Medico-Educativo de Pacaran (LA-24) (The Health Education Project of Pacaran) in Peru provides comprehensive health care to the community of Pacaran and the surrounding villages in the central part of Yauyos Province. It provides a range of medical services, but also emphasises courses on basic sanitation and preventive medicine. From a medical centre in Pacaran, extension services are provided to other villages as well as medical services, information on nutrition, preventive health care and infant care. Its work has been funded by the Ministry of Health, resources generated by the health centre and contributions secured by the district Health Committee. 'Since the centre was founded, people have tended more and more to come at the early stages of illness rather than wait for the definite manifestations of it. Because of this, people have gained trust in medical doctors and their methodology. Furthermore, it has lent stability and continuity to health care.'

HEALTH CARE

An example of how medical colleges and hospitals serve as research and training centres is the Kasturba Medical College at Manipal, Karnataka, India. The Hospital has trained community organisers in first-aid, the preventive aspects of health care and the use of simple medicines to treat common ailments. The community organisers have been provided with first-aid kits for use in emergencies, and with some common medicines and dressings to be provided free of cost to the really poor patients. Regular health check-up camps are organised from time to time by teams of medical and para-medical personnel who provide their services free of charge.

RURAL HEALTH CENTRES

'In our view, the most suitable health services for rural areas would be small health centres located throughout a country. This type of centre does not take long to build and does not call for unduly expensive equipment and maintenance. Such centres can be run by para-medical personnel.' (PEOPLE, Vol.. 10, Number 3, 1983, p. 20).

Because the actual numbers of people who can be reached from a centralised location is limited by the distances involved and availability of transportation, special arrangements must be made to serve local people. The Comprehensive Rural Health, Development and Education Centre has implemented a community health programme through 24 mini-health centres. Each is staffed by two multi-purpose health workers responsible for a population of about 5,000, comprising about 12 villages, per centre. Each family in the area is visited by the health workers at least once a week. The centres are supervised by a doctor at least once a month. Accurate health records are important to track the impact of this type of service. The project cites a reduced infant mortality rate, a drop in birth rates, improved nutrition and better treatment of leprosy patients.

The All-Pakistan Women's Association (SA-48) has been working to enable development efforts with women by setting up small centres in every district. There are currently 50 such centres. In addition to meeting the particular needs of women, the association is providing children with polio immunisation.

In Nigeria, the Borno Community Health Clinic (BA-21) was initiated and sponsored by the Women's Association of Borno-Bassa to provide health care in areas with no alternate facilities for medical help; particularly for women and children. The project is financed by local organisations, local and state governments and individual donations. They provide medical care to many communities and holds periodic training programmes in preventive health care. The success of the programme has been due to the combined support of the government with active community participation. The Women's Association has demonstrated how such an approach could be reduplicated in places with no alternative medical facilities.

A programme to combat disease and related health issues of rural black families has been started in Raleigh, North Carolina in the United States. The Health and Human Resources Project (NA-28) uses the network of the 1,700 churches of the General Baptist Convention to distribute informative materials on preventive measures and common chronic disease, symptoms of hypertension, diabetes, maternal and child related problems. One of the project's primary objectives is to create an awareness of the relationship of life style and nutrition to maintain good health. The project also links people with available resources and operates a screening and referral service with volunteer workers.

HEALTH CARE

The Maharogi Sewa Samiti Project (SA-15) at Anandwan, in Maharashtra State, India has been involved for the past 33 years in helping the deprived and under-privileged strata of society to help themselves. The Samiti (committee) began in 1950 with the treatment and rehabilitation of leprosy patients. Today its activities extend to blind and other physically and mentally handicapped people as well as the tribes in the remote regions of Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts of the state.

The Samiti aims to abolish the isolation and despair that leprosy patients and other disabled people have had to contend with in the past and to provide opportunities for them to become respected and self-respecting individuals. They encourage every person to become an active and involved member of the community and discourage the gift-wrapped charities. 'Much of the work of the first village and project centre, Anandwan, is an attempt to erode the entrenched ideas that people with diseases and disabilities need to be shut away in shacks of two rooms that are, in reality, rotting wooden tombs.'

The Hemalkasa Tribal Centre is cut off from Anandwan and the world for half the year by rivers flooded by monsoon rains. In this environment, residents have managed to build a 50-bed hospital and among other things, treat 2,500 Madias tribal people per month in their clinic. The residential school uses carefully designed non-formal education methods to teach literacy, farming methods and primary health care procedures. Both the school and satellite 'growth centre' are staffed by leprosy patients and Madias. The students serve as village level workers and doctors operating out of growth centres in the interior around Hemalkasa to provide primary health care to the villages.

MOBILE HEALTH UNITS

'During the rainy season when the villages are cut-off from the hospital centre, the village workers are supported by a 'Canoe Clinic' bringing doctors and para-medics to each location with essential medical kits. This unique system is one of the ways that the project has been able to expand their services without relying on much outside support.' (SA-15).

Teams of professional and para-professional health workers staff mobile clinics to deliver both curative and preventive health care. Mobile clinics are a valuable link between the villages and a system's health centre. They provide not only care but also a way to share necessary information, up-grade and expand training, provide supplies and support for the VHW tasks and make referrals of serious cases to a base hospital.

The mobile health team is an integral part of the delivery system used by the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (SA-4). The team consists of a nurse, a para-medical worker and sometimes a social worker or doctor. The team resides at the Health Centre in Jamkhed or one of the sub-centres and visits each village in its assigned area either weekly or bi-weekly. The team supports the VHW, provides an effective consultative and curative service and refers those patients who cannot be treated in the village to the centre or to a sub-centre.

The nurse is the organiser and co-ordinator of the health team. Together with the local VHW, they are responsible for the health of mothers in the villages. The nurse and the VHW conduct the pre-natal clinic to examine each pregnant woman at least three times during pregnancy. The nurse also immunises all pregnant women with tetanus antitoxin and advises the VHW whether a delivery can be safely undertaken at home or whether an expectant mother should go to the hospital because of possible complications.

HEALTH CARE

Later, the nurse accompanies the VHW on home visits to examine post-natal patients and to determine if the VHW has conducted a safe delivery.

The nurse also conducts a curative clinic. All the patients with illnesses too complicated for the VHW to handle are brought to her for examination, diagnosis and treatment. The nurse also examines blind persons. From time to time she immunises the children on a schedule prepared by the VHW.

The VHW reports on patients who have become slack in their treatment. The para-medical workers follow the progress of leprosy and tuberculosis patients making sure that they receive regular treatment. In some instances, patients suspected of tuberculosis may be referred to the centre for an X-ray. Leprosy patients are screened for deformities and appropriate treatment prescribed.

HEALTH CAMP

'Camps have several advantages: the emergency treatment of the most pressing health problems; a means of identifying other health problems for follow-up action, a way to involve urban institutions, colleges and hospitals in rural concerns; and the most immediate way to raise the health level of a community,' (Dr. J.V. Shah, Sanjivani Trust, Bombay, SA-58). It is not necessary to wait until a health infrastructure is in place to begin to address health problems in a village. Camps make medical care available to rural people. They also provide a way to begin a village's journey into greater awareness of the need for comprehensive health care. There is scope for both single focus camps, such as; a measles immunisation programme, or multi-purpose camps in which doctors and drugs are organised to treat the whole village population for a variety of problems.

Medical camps can provide immediate care and an awareness of health procedures in a community. After extensive experience, however, it has been found that camps do not replace total-based care. One-day camps, useful as they are in rendering a specific service, do not usually impress upon the villages anything about preventive medicine. Their overall impact on the community seems superficial in so far as the motivation of the villagers for their total health needs are concerned. An on-going programme is necessary to reach into the community to impart health education to every family and every member of the community.

SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR HEALTH CARE

WHO PAYS?

The degree of responsibility local people assume for a project varies immensely. Poverty, ignorance and disease reinforce one another. When people are enervated by malnutrition or disease, people experience themselves as being controlled by forces over which they have little influence. This happens with the individual in Germany as in Upper Volta. A sense of helplessness, of always being the recipient or target of some one else's charity or of 'expecting someone else to do something about my condition,' reinforces the syndrome of dependency.

A practical consideration of any health programme is 'Who pays for it?' If the projects participating in New Delhi are representative, it would seem that significant efforts are being made to enable local people to assume financial responsibility for their health services. This has to do with people paying for what they value rather than being dependent.

HEALTH CARE

However, 'Villages cannot be expected to take on the entire financial responsibility for health care. They just do not have the necessary resources.... The system of village support through gifts and other traditional means remains one of the thorniest problems.' (Editorial, PEOPLE, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1983, p. 2).

Realistically, the issue is one of degrees. What is the level at which local people can participate financially? What scheme will provide the needed care and at the same time enable people to have a sense of dignity and self respect? At best, any financial scheme will be one of appropriately shared responsibility. Several different approaches seem to be working though none is without limitations.

The Borno Community Health Clinic (BA-21), 'was initiated by the Women's Association in Borno-Bassa. It is supported by local and state funds as well as individual donations. The local affirmation of the project comes in the form of voluntary support from family subscriptions of one Nira per month. Each patient has a one-time charge of 50. Kobo (1/2 Nira) for a record card. With 3,000 patients, primarily women and children and with nutrition and sanitation training, the objectives of providing medical care to a community in a backward area where no alternative services previously existed were successfully met. The four voluntary members of the staff all come from the area and the management of the clinic is done voluntarily by members of the community. The work was accomplished but not without a shortage of midwife care and a struggle with inadequate funding, equipment and facilities.'

The local financial policies of Su Clinica Familiar (NA-24) is of particular interest. Originating through the voluntary efforts of poor, medically underserved residents in south Texas, it has developed over the last 14 years into an outstanding comprehensive community health care system.

'Ninety-six percent of its present staff of 207 are recruited and employed within the service area. It has an attrition rate of three percent, most of whom leave to further their education. Through its three facilities it provides a full range of medical services including an extensive system of preventive health care education that has dramatically improved the health status of the indigent population. Registration at Su Clinica is open to all residents of the service area as the case load allows. Charges for health services are discounted according to family size and income utilising a six-category fee schedule based on federal poverty guidelines. Charges range from a minimum fee of five dollars for patients in the lowest income category to full charges for patients in the highest income category. Information obtained during a confidential registration interview is used to verify residency and to place the patient in the appropriate discount category. Some 85 percent of Su Clinica's patients fall into the lowest income status, paying either the minimum fee or a bill discounted 80 percent. By mandate of the board, which is more than half local residents, no one is refused if unable to pay.' (NA-24)

An informative and successful component of the programme of the Rural Health Service of the Presbyterian Medical Centre, Chonjin, Korea (ROK) has been the creation of a credit union with seed funds from Germany (BRD) as a self-sustaining mechanism for the community health programme.

'When the community health programme was started in Yong Jin Myun an agreement between a community representative, the county chief of the local government and the Director of the Presbyterian Medical Centre was made to initiate a community self-help health programme.

HEALTH CARE

As a result, the health sub-centre building was prepared, health workers recruited and trained, health education for the communities provided and the credit union organised and developed.... In order to support continuing community health services after PMC has been phased out, the people of the community pledged to use a part of the interest earned on deposits. Because curative services by a general physician and a dentist at Yong Jin Health Sub-centre can be sustained by government support and clinic patient income, the credit union is responsible for public health services. The interest earned on the health fund can be used wholly for incentives for the VHW and salary for the nurse-midwife who is supervising Village Health Workers. Additional income from maternal care services (for example, delivery fee for attendance to a pregnant woman by the nurse-midwife) is helping to cover the expenses of her activities.'

'The credit union is also related to a medical insurance programme. Rural people find it very difficult to pay premiums every month to medical insurance co-operatives. So an automatic payment system for premiums for members from the credit union to the medical insurance co-operative was established. At the end of 1981, 303 members, with relatively high capital deposits from among the credit union members, had been insured by this system. The credit union paid W1,936,550 as medical insurance premiums to the insurance co-operative during 1981. The intent was to arrange for medical insurance coverage for all community people...' (Presbyterian Medical Centre, Chonjin, Korea (ROK).

A common factor to note about all three of these widely variant approaches from Nigeria, USA and Korea (ROK) is that the style of inter-dependence allows for both primary health services to be delivered, and human dignity to develop.

'I understand there are three kinds of enemies of mankind. The first is poverty, the second ignorance, the third is disease. These three things are integrally related. Poverty and ignorance make sick people and sick people cannot work so they are poor. This kind of vicious circle continues as social workers point out. I have a conviction about that.' (Dr. Kim Ki Soon, Delegate, Korea (ROK).

In reviewing the health projects participating in the IERD, it is clear that no single approach, no single resource holds the solution to meeting the health needs of the rural poor. What clearly emerged, however, was that health cannot be considered as an isolated concern.

'To become a reality, primary health care demands a number of fundamental changes in society; a redistribution of resources to the underprivileged, assuring fair access to water, food, sanitation, housing, preventive and curative care for the most common illnesses; the control of material resources and the knowledge and skill that contribute significantly to survival; a focus on the health problems of high risk groups, the children, women and poor; a respect for the experience of traditional midwives and healers. Such profound changes do not come easily to any society, they do not come from a normal process of cumulative learning. They represent instead a revolution in thinking and living.' (PEOPLE, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1983, p. 4).

In summary, the working group saw health as part of treating the total concerns of a village. They considered development as an inter-related process involving all aspects of life and aimed at improving the quality of life for all people. Health was seen as a means, a measurement, an integral part of total community development.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

INTRODUCTION

This is not an attempt at definition of the subject. This booklet intends to explore a broader area than that normally conveyed by the word 'education' and to provide an *inside view* of the experiences and activities in which educators in the rural areas are engaged. Included are projects which are not primarily educational, but do have influence on attitudes and values.

Many delegates at the New Delhi event were from projects representing approaches that were outside the formal systems of education and dealt with various target groups such as unemployed youth, drop-outs and school leavers; landless labourers and the unskilled; illiterate adults and members of cultural minorities and marginal groups. The report therefore does not deal with the schools, colleges and other institutions that countries normally have as part of the basic infrastructure established by their governments, but rather with the complementary role played by practitioners in the field. In addition, it deals with practitioners' concerns with aspects of village life to which the institutional approach usually does not relate. Finally this article does not set out to cover the broad waterfront of issues and obstacles in learning processes. We are aware that educators in the rural areas face a vast array of problems and issues which make enabling the rural masses to learn, a formidable task. In keeping with the general theme of the IERD of 'Sharing approaches that work,' this article limits itself to those selected approaches that some practitioners have used and have found effective.

The first section looks at the content of many educational projects. It focusses on skills development in literacy, on cultural adaptation as it relates to the capacity for critical appraisal of one's heritage and tradition, on developing 'social literacy,' and on initiatives for social responsibility.

The second section considers some of the methods that practitioners have devised in their work for formal and informal education. The third section is written from the perspective of education as an activity of the people, devised, conducted and managed by them. A delegate commented, 'The child who goes to the city to get educated never really comes back.' Some projects reveal a great sensitivity to the social and cultural milieu of the villages, and the struggle to devise ways for education that enhance rather than erode village life.

The fourth section examines the training of the rural development worker. Despite the fact that they represent a diverse spectrum of people, such as villagers who play the role of community health workers, urban educated extension officers, animators, village workers and other kinds of change agents, the training of such personnel is an integral part of education.

CONTENT OF EDUCATION

The abilities of rural people to manage their communities effectively in a twentieth century world, to reflect on their heritage and tradition in order to understand what the future requires, and to master the basic skills needed for this, are an index of the quality of development. While education for rural development spans a broad range of subjects, this chapter explores practitioners' experience in three areas.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

LITERACY CAMPAIGNS

Motivation for Literacy

A number of projects included a literacy component, with varying success. Selim Ahmed, a delegate from Bangladesh, described a women's co-operative which began with seven members. 'They appointed a Muslim priest from the mosque as a formal teacher. They saved their money and gave it as a token to the teacher. The co-operative grew to 30 members within two or three years. All the 30 can now sign their names and manage their own finance. Before, that was done by a social worker.' (Central International Event Delegate interview)

The obvious difficulty in a literacy programme is that many villagers do not see the need to be able to read. Motivation for learning has to allow people to see the usefulness of the skill and the possibility of mastering it. Village women, who play a leading role in preventive and primary health care across 175 villages associated with the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (SA-4) in India, wanted to be able to read bus signs so that they could use the bus system to travel. Members of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SA-32) in India, whose work includes promoting economic activities in about 30 villages, stayed up all night to learn to write their names so that they could sign the application for registering with the SEWA Bank. After five or six months of classes, day labourers in another literacy programme in Bangladesh found that they could read the handboard which revealed the extent to which they were being under-paid for their road construction work.

Two projects working in widely differing situations—The Reading and Writing Tutoring Project (NA-7) from an isolated forest and farming area in northern Alberta, Canada, and the Janasiksha Prochar Kendra (JPK) (SA-75) from West Bengal, India—typify responses to many of the practical questions involved in setting up a literacy programme.

Benefits: Direct and Indirect

Both these projects have had a major impact on the communities in which they are working. Improved literacy skills resulting from the Reading and Writing Project have increased both social interaction and personal expectations. The programme has helped to level cultural barriers. The feeling of remoteness has been overcome as both students and tutors have broadened their access to information and their world view. Outside attention and interest has increased local awareness of the project. There has been an increase in people's appreciation of the value of education for adults and children.

Janasiksha Prochar Kendra (SA-75) described some results of their work. 'Villagers have become aware of the necessity and benefits of education. They can read and write, express their opinions and can do mathematical calculations. They are sending more of their children to school for an increased number of years, and are more confident in visiting government and other officials. People are concerned about preventive health care, nutrition and sanitation, and are willing to visit the doctor for curative measures. To generate income, villagers are taking interest and initiative in advanced agricultural methods. Many are starting supplementary economic ventures. Other noticeable changes are the increasing activities of entertainment, cultural heritage, family welfare and banking. The monotony of rural life is enlivening. Respect for heritage is being restored, families are thinking more about their future, as opposed to a survival mentality. They are realising that the development of the village is their own responsibility, not the responsibility of an outside agent.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

A critical attitude to life has emerged; they want to know more about themselves and their environment.' (SA-75)

The experience of these and other projects with promoting literacy seems to suggest that for approaches to be effective, literacy campaigns have to address people's felt needs rather than impose a preconceived standard of what villagers need. They seem to be effective when they approach literacy as part of the total developmental process of the village rather than as an isolated linguistic skill.

CULTURAL ADAPTATION

'When a people perceive a concrete fact of reality without *entering into* it critically in order to be able to *look at* it from within, faced with the appearance of a mystery, and being unsure of themselves, they assume a magical posture, both in the natural and the socio-historical world. Human beings are able to detach themselves from the world in order to find their place in it and with it. However, *in certain areas peasants come so close to the natural world that they feel more part of this world than transformers of the world. There exists between them and their natural world (and obviously their cultural world) is a strong umbilical cord which binds them.*' (Friere, P., 'Education for Critical Consciousness,' p. 103-105)

Critical Thinking

Sometimes in the process of development, people become conscious of the cultural worldview which rules their actions. In trying to provide an adequate local-based health care system, the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (SA-4) in Jamkhed, Maharashtra, India, the village health workers had to address certain recurrent superstitions related to witchcraft, menstruation, pregnancy, snake-bite and solar and lunar eclipses. They reported that, 'Demonstrations of the scientific explanations demystified many happenings. A local witch doctor was persuaded to give up fooling people and now accompanies the staff exposing so-called *miracles of God-men*, and protects people from exploitation. By demonstrating that all caste groups have the same red blood and organs such as hearts, some of the irrationality inherent in the caste system was discarded.'

On the other hand in several projects cultural awareness has led to a reevaluation of traditional practices that had been discarded in favour of modern techniques, as with the readoption of herbal medicines for ordinary health problems. This has also been the experience of India's New Group for Raichur's Integrated Development (INGRID) (SA-5) whose programmes include community health involving both modern and traditional practices. Not all traditional practices are desirable, but the shift in perception does not come easily. The delegates indicated that it is not the liquidation of traditional forms, but their adaptation to the twentieth century, that is desired.

Self-Identity

In many societies *modernisation* has swamped indigenous cultures, depriving people of their sense of identity, their pride, and links with their past. 'Many times people themselves don't understand their culture. They can't articulate it. When we go into a village as outsiders, they put up another screen, another mask,' said Lester Settle of the Voluntary Association for Community Development (NA-9) in Nova Scotia, Canada.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

The People's College (SA-19) whose work includes imparting practical mass education to the less developed tribal and hill peoples in seven blocks in India, reported that, *'The Rising Sons of Nainital' an account of the heroic deeds of the tribal people living in the Himalayan foothills of Uttar Pradesh, created a sense of confidence and unity among the tribal people.* They experienced great struggle and difficulties following the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. The book was written in 1968 by the principal of Peoples' College who has worked with the people to organise self-defense committees.

Social Reform

The Open Court (Lok Adalat) of Anand Niketan (SA-23) in tribal Gujarat, India, is a unique institution that integrates the traditional tribal ways of arbitrating quarrels through village leaders. It grew out of conflicts which have created discord, often leading to court cases and, on several occasions, murder. The Open Court is community-oriented rather than oriented to the individual, working toward justice through a consensus process. It started informally under a tree with the Chairman of Anand Niketan, Harivallabh Parikh, playing the role of arbitrator. Later it came to be held under a spreading tree in the Ashram grounds and with official records.

The Open Court not only settles thousands of disputes but provides an open air 'classroom' where matters of custom can be examined in the light of the present situation. The following incident illustrates the process. A mother of six girls who was widowed was put to great distress by the tribal tradition that demands that a widow marry one of her brothers-in-law on the death of her husband or else leave the family. While the tradition fulfills a practical function of preventing the landed property from becoming fragmented by keeping it within the family, it perpetrates injustice to the women of the community. In this case it was further compounded by the fact that the widow's husband did not have any brothers whom she could have married.

Harivallabh Parikh related the following to delegates who visited the project. 'The problem came to the Open Court. One of his sisters, married back in another village, came to know that her brother had died. One day she came with all these other people, and took possession of her brother's house, and wanted to take the land as well. A fight started. The village of Kapraide was supporting not the wife of the man who died, but the woman who came to take possession of her brother's land and property. So three or four times, I discussed this problem in the People's Court. Each time the people insisted that this was her condition now. 'She cannot marry now because she has no brother. She can go anywhere but she must give up this property to the sister of the man who died.' I said that it was a great injustice. But it was the custom. *In the Open Court, we are not only preserving their old customs and systems; if the custom and system is not good, then we fight for what is right. It took me two years to change the mind-set of the people.*'

The public hearing provides a learning experience for all present. The appointment of a 'jury' for each case gives people the opportunity to learn and grow in decision-making capabilities. Even though only a few hundred people may be present for a particular hearing, the tribal network is extensive, and people come to know what has happened. Each case provides an opportunity for the people of that culture to make new decisions about their tradition. The case of the widow took two years to resolve; the decision was delayed so that a learning process could go on. While the particular forms of the Open Court are unique to a particular cultural situation, it shows how a practitioner can evolve a process that enables people to re-create their own culture.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

SOCIAL LITERACY

Together with the concern for literacy as the ability to read and write, another concern voiced at the New Delhi event was for *'Social Literacy'— awakening to social realities and learning how to manage them in order to make the shift from being a victim of social forces to becoming a creative participant in shaping society to the advantage of all concerned.*

Education for Social Justice

On the basis of their experience with tribal and scheduled class people in 14 projects in India, Action for Welfare and Awakening in the Rural Environment (AWARE) (SA-21) is convinced, 'The depressed classes still lack the moral courage and tone to enter into the main stream of development and fight against exploitation. Therefore, social education and motivation are taken as important and primary steps for rural development, preceding economic assistance.'

Gandhigram (SA-24) an integrated developmental project directly affecting about 100 in villages in India describes its aim. 'The intent is to work for the reconstruction of the social order in our country by the building up of a casteless and classless society of complete justice to the common man through wholly non-violent effort and with special emphasis upon the social and moral values of bodily and productive work.'

Social patterns are changing with development. Some of these changes occur as people learn to structure their society for a viable economy.

Speaking of the work of the National Dairy Development Board (SA-33) in India (which has around 23,500 village level milk co-operatives as its base), Dr. M. Vyasa said, 'I would like to emphasise that this is not only a programme for the marketing of milk, it is a programme of socio-economic development. We are using dairy as an instrument of social change. **Everybody's milk is to be put into one container, so the casteism is dissolved. People from different castes are standing in the same line, so the caste barriers are being broken.** The same milk is sold first in the village if anybody wants to buy. Milk from the different castes is mixed and being sold in the village first. Then nobody can say that I want to buy the Brahman milk, or I want to buy the milk from the upper class.'

Learning Through Increased Self-Awareness

Rafael Espiritu, a delegate from Sarilakas (SP-32) in the Philippines, reported, 'Conscientisation is widely used by many development organisations as a key approach in mobilising rural people to become aware of their problems and in mobilising them for social action. We provide them technical assistance, worker's education and training. This is very important. Many of these rural workers have lost a sense of initiative and a sense of dignity. People must know their village, must understand the potential of the village. People must get together and work as a team.'

Rural animators use several vehicles for this kind of education: small study groups spontaneously organised to deal with a particular crisis, meetings based on existing women's or youth organisations, literacy classes, and special camps for unemployed youth. Whatever the form, the intent is to enable the participants to know the environment within which they operate and to decide their individual and collective responses to it.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

Learning through Collective Action

Life education has no boundaries. In the experience of the delegates and practitioners at the Central International Event it takes place in every conceivable social grouping. People gather together for many reasons, some to deal with a specific community issue, some to participate in ongoing social organisations such as farmers' groups or youth clubs, and others to work together and share some of the work or the burdens of production or to receive training.

Groups which form to address a specific issue of social injustice can provide the foundations for life education. In many cases they are temporary arrangements with wide participation for a few months. This is often followed by a decrease in size either because the action was successful or because the situation overwhelmed the members. The permanence of the group is perhaps not the important factor. Learning can take place in either case.

Legal Resource Development

In the Philippines a group called PROCESS (Participatory Research and Organisation of Communities through Education and Self-help) is sponsoring the Legal Resources Development Project (SP-31). Legal facilitators work with the poor in villages to identify legal issues which affect them. Together they create case studies which result in heightened local awareness and legal reform and mobilisation on a broader scale. The villagers must decide what to do next.

Participative Action Research

In Bangladesh, the Proshika Monobik Unnayan Kendra Project (SA-35) has organised the rural poor in some 2,000 villages. The project has developed a process for enabling landless and marginal farmers to organise themselves to solve local problems. They said, 'Workers engage the people in participatory action research as a tool to assist the rural poor in gaining knowledge about their local problems and devising solutions.' By increasing their skills and control over means of production like small scale rural industries, they can protect themselves from exploitation.

Education Forums

The Rural Education and Development Association (REDA) (CAN-63) in the Canadian province of Alberta provided training, information and leadership development opportunities to the agricultural sector, and filled the void between co-operatives and the universities. REDA conducted many 'Land Use Forums', 'Farm Surface Rights Workshops' and forums on other specific issues to enable farmers to increase their incomes.

They described the significance of their work. 'It has enabled thousands of people to recognise the value of taking risks in the rural communities in which they live. It has provided them with an important experience of working co-operatively which is valuable to the rural individualist. Its primary impact is as a vehicle through which an individual farmer or groups of farmers may be heard within existing rural organisations.'

While extensive thinking and research has occurred in the area of education, it is clear that a huge gap exists between the practical implementation of programmes and the needs of rural society today. Breakthroughs for the masses will occur as a result of the invention of new ways by practitioners.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

METHODS OF LEARNING

Teaching is not the dispensing of information but rather enabling people to master a learning process.

COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTRES

In style, many of the education projects bear little resemblance to traditional education. They are locally run, often self-supporting, and not usually recognised as part of the formal education system. They use more of an 'open process' of self-teaching and learning by action and reflection.

Stienkens Hof Farm for Active Living and Learning

The Stienkens Hof Farm (EU-3) in North Germany (BRD) is a small group living in a farm house in a village of about 650 residents. Their interest lies in new ways of living in the countryside. They have discovered that living and working together as a group, with many cultural activities, enables individuals to expand their social and environmental consciousness. Since 1979 they have provided rooms for groups to meet and have seminars. Participants attending these seminars take part in the planning and set up. 'Through living, working, planning and participating together individuals are enabled to expand their consciousness, and new possibilities of future engagement are revealed. Our aim is to find and try out practical answers to human, ecological and social questions of our times.' The results and experiences of seminars have influenced the lifestyle and planning of the people on the farm.

Anand Niketan Life Education Centre

Anand Niketan Centre (SA-23) is an ashram founded in India and guided by a follower of Gandhi. The school, founded in 1962 is an alternative to the formal education system. 'The school is called *Jeevan Shala* or *Life Education School* for it is destined to shape the life of the new generation there. The education imparted to boys in the school does not conform to the official education pattern, but nevertheless it prepares them to face life with courage.' (SA-23)

Students live and study in the ashram, sharing in all activities and learning from them. In community meetings, they can reflect on their customs. In the fields they learn modern agricultural practices. They also have their own tasks: to clean the premises and latrines, to feed the biogas plant, to sweep the dairy shed, to cook and wash their clothes and dishes. Such self-help teaches them to be responsible and independent.

Classes I to V receive basic general education in Hindi, Gujarati, English, maths and sciences, along with a half day of practical work. Classes VI and VII learn a variety of skills: social service, maintenance and repair of engines and pumps, management of co-operatives, farming techniques, vehicle driving, office work and accounting, carpentry and tailoring. The Workshop provides a kind of secondary education in which students continue for two more years to develop a specialty, such as the techniques for irrigation and scientific farming, manufacture of cement pipes, repair of agricultural tools and machines. Students also execute community projects like road construction or participating in various activities to demand socio-economic justice. They are exposed to a wide range of people.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

The students of this school are drawn from the tribal people surrounding the ashram. Most of them are poor. The school opposes training the students for employment in the urban or government service job markets. A UNESCO study revealed that by 1975 only one student had left the villages for a job in the city. One result of this programme is that, 'Surrounding villages have well-trained leaders on whom they can rely for efficient help in development work and in the fight against injustice and exploitation. These graduates continue to farm as well as work on other village jobs to supplement their income. Although the government recognises the school as equivalent to a primary school, the Ashram provides the financial support for the students in order to avoid outside influence in its decision-making process.' (SA-23)

Brooks County School-Based Development Enterprise

A number of projects emphasise getting the students out of the classroom and involved in practical work. For example the Brooks County School-Based Development Enterprises (NA-29) in Georgia, USA, emphasises providing vocational education that realistically meets rural needs rather than urban needs. They have set up a child day care facility and a swine production programme which are not only profit-making but also upgrade the county standards. The profits from these have been used to set up additional enterprises which include metal and carpenter crafts and automobile repair. The swine production facility has introduced confinement breeding techniques and the use of computers for production, feed efficiency and marketing. The day care centre provides child care facilities and has led to the creation of two additional centres. The students' involvement has helped to upgrade other child care facilities in the county. The school has discovered that this approach has helped students to obtain practical skills. Requiring the work to show a profit has ensured that the training is related to the real world.

LEARNING BY DOING

When villagers have the opportunity to try out what they learn, their learning deepens. Several projects have designed their training programmes in such a way that villagers can 'learn by doing' by applying their lessons to an environment with issues which are familiar to them and with people who are a part of their own socio-economic and cultural milieu.

Extension Approach

People's College (SA-19) begins their mass education of tribal people in India through training in an income-producing skill. 'Courses are held four times a year, and people continue in training until they have mastered the skill. There is a parallel curriculum in attitudes, world view and motivation. Upon return to the village, they join the village's fortnightly discussion group, *charcha mandal*, made up of graduates from previous courses.'

The discussion groups are active in 269 villages. They discuss concerns, write letters to the Centre or study. Peoples' College reported, 'The combination of local leadership groups, individual industry skill training and improvement in farming practices has dramatically increased the village income. Housing, nutrition, educational opportunities and the ability to interact with the outside world have improved.' (SA-19)

In France, the Rural Family Centre-Ferroles (EU-6) was set up by families to meet the challenge of practical education and training of rural youth. A team of three monitors and a director guide the education of about 60 girls.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

'They learn the academic and practical disciplines related to the farm, family or business community during their three-week sessions of practical experience. They share new theories, test them in a real situation, return to the centre and reflect on it with other students. This system offers students a broad perspective without separating them from their families and the rural milieu.'

Group Co-operation

Fourteen families in Mexico hold monthly meetings At Congregacion de Pomas (LA-38) to exchange technological expertise and learnings. They work together in gaining credit and capital investment for the project. Two other groups of Mexican families, Tierra Nueva and Tierra y Libertad are working together as Grupos San Bartolo (LA-33) for increased agricultural production and co-operation. They aim to address the lack of effective official help and the insufficient thinking together, on the part of the village.

Community Education Centres in India run by Action for Welfare and Awakening in the Rural Environment (AWARE) (SA-21), '*hold conversations about land and water, caste atrocities against women, child nutrition, government programmes and other facets of village life. Discussions continue in the field, at the harvest platform, and in the kitchen gardens.*' AWARE reports that this has significantly contributed to, 'an awareness of the developmental activities of the government and the banks and the capacity to approach the appropriate structures on their own; efforts to get back their lost lands through repaying any original loans and court cases, a decline in habits of alcoholism, unity among tribal people and Harijans; a determination to achieve common goals, and more children being sent to school.'

The Association of People for Practical Life Education (APPLE) (BA-27) is organised around a church in a part of Ghana where food shortage is an issue. APPLE served as an extension agent to enable people to farm on wasteland, helping their members to improve their income and nutrition, as well as generating funds for further developmental activities.

Piggyback Approach

Another approach is to use some training programme, for which everyone sees the need, as the vehicle to piggyback or carry other curriculum components.

India's New Group for Raichur's Integrated Development (INGRID) (SA-5) in Karnataka state, 'has initiated formal and informal discussions, often in the context of the night school. *INGRID provides an opportunity to talk through crises, conflict and neighbourhood quarrels.* Because of the experience in successfully handling of their own issues, the residents have learned what rights to expect and how to go about claiming them. In the process, effective ways to work together are learned and new leadership has emerged.'

LEARNING THROUGH BROADENED HORIZONS

Lateral Exchange

Exposures to successful examples of practical techniques, the experiences and points of view of people from different villages who have tackled similar problems can all provide learning opportunities. The person from the next village can play a role that no one else can. This happens in many ways. The simplest is a visit to the next village or a field trip. Festivals and sports competitions are familiar but still effective modes.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

Other modes of interchange represented at New Delhi included communities with access to technology where radio, video and local cable television are being used effectively. Visits to demonstrations are another opportunity for interchange. The participating projects used two kinds of demonstrations. In farming, a demonstration plot is either run on community land, or it is set up and run by an individual on his own land. Seeing how people in the village have applied new techniques facilitates lateral exchange.

Maximising local contact has enabled farmers to broaden their ideas of what is possible and to learn from each other. For example, the Service, Development and Peace Project in Mexico (LA-43) helps community organisations to solve the problems they face in food production and education. They have found a *key factor in their work to be interchange with other villages*. Farmers visit projects in the region to see agricultural innovations and discuss their experience. The process works both ways as they encourage visitors to see their work as well. They share their techniques and learnings with other groups, communities and government workers. Community members take visitors around, explaining the history and accomplishments of the project, their community centre, pre-school, government low-cost food store and family vegetable gardens.

Urban Impact

Visits to nearby urban centres can be a learning experience. SEWA (SA-32) in Gujarat State, India, has found that, 'bringing rural women to the city for training, for an outing, to attend a conference, or to see and discuss a relevant film exposes the women to new situations and ideas. Paying them a stipend for the day and taking them beyond the village for some *official* reason enhances their prestige in the eyes of the rest of the village.'

People's College (SA-19) has used trips to the urban centres with great effect. In 1982, 60 tribal people toured Punjab, Haryana and New Delhi, visiting factories, developed farms and industrial projects. This trip motivated many young men to enroll in training classes and to improve their income. In 1983, 25 tribal people went on a similar excursion to the Hyderabad area.

Individual Demonstration Plots

Many of the projects described in this chapter depend upon the exemplary demonstration of new techniques by local farmers or craftsmen. The Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe (BA-33) reports that at first people came together from scattered places to form farmers clubs. Later it was found beneficial to organise them according to where they were actually farming. People, especially between the ages of 18 and 30, are registered in a club. 'As soon as they form a club, they would seek ideas. For the first two and a half years they participate in theoretical and practical training on land management, cattle husbandry, and health systems. The third year their work is examined by an agricultural officer. If they have been able to apply the teachings on their farms relevantly, they receive *Master Farmers* certificates. We found it of quite vital importance because as soon as these people pass their examination, in turn they start teaching their own colleagues in the village. They do this voluntarily and are not paid for that. Of all the farmers receiving certificates, 48 percent have been women.' (BA-33)

Orlando Pabotoy is a farmer working with the Light of Life Project (ILAW) (SP-18) in the Philippines. He describes an approach which is based on people's natural propensity to pay attention to what they can see is working.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

'The training centre brings the farmers and fisher people together to share their experiences and listen. We are trying to make them aware of the environment. For instance, we try to make them understand the importance of our natural resources that when we destroy our forests, trees and the coral reefs in our area, the time will come when nature is exhausted. I didn't have an intention at first of making a demonstration farm, I wanted to provide for my family's needs. I farm differently from other farmers; I practice multi-cropping and inter-cropping on my small little farm. I am one of the volunteer faculty which the centre had requested, considering what they have observed in my own backyard, how all the coconut and fruit trees grow well, how I use my livestock, how I farm without using chemicals, the new fertility of my soil. So I share my experiences with other farmers.' (Project Compassion - ILAW, SP-18)

In Mexico, The Integrated Farms Project (LA-12) has involved 184 families in a demonstration of alternate ways to manage natural resources. The government institute trained a few volunteers. These volunteers then tried the new techniques on their land and, in turn, they got everyone else involved. In the first instance, the people were not all that interested in being self-sufficient or in having land that wouldn't be eroded in 20 years. What they did want were other ways to obtain a better income. A delegate from the project commented, 'Through the demonstrations they have changed their patterns so there's a full cycle of what they can do with this farm. They now raise fodder for pigs, chickens and cows, as well as crops. These people don't go around selling things blindly. They are self-sufficient. *The greatest thing for a farmer is to see what happens, the results, not theory, but results.*' (LA-12)

Community Demonstration Plots

The objective of the Proyecto Micro-Regional de Desarrollo Rural en Hauncavelica (LA-31) in Peru is to improve the working conditions and standard of living of the villagers by augmenting their productivity using appropriate technological alternatives. Agricultural demonstrations are done on community-held parcels of land, where people are trained through practice of the new methods. Seeds and capital are accumulated through community work, enabling payment for work and repayment of loans. The project uses similar principles for demonstrations through commonly run livestock farms and artisans associations. In India, the Gujarat State Rural Development Corporation Ltd. (SA-26) uses a similar approach on their wasteland development farms. The people who work on the Corporation farms have learned techniques of forestry and fodder cultivation suitable for developing their saline land.

Graduates of the People's College (SA-19) put their training into practice through the 269 fortnightly discussion groups which serve as a support giving assistance and backup to their efforts. This includes a range of information on farm methods, soil testing, selecting crop strains, fertilisers, pesticides and non-chemical means of controlling crop pests, as well as on any problems arising in connection with the income-earning skills learned at the College.

LOCALLY ORIENTED CURRICULA

Delegates recognised that *curricula devised by the villagers* have a greater relevance than could be provided from the outside. In addition, they observed that the commitment of the teachers deepens as they wrestle with creating a curriculum. Their learning process intensifies as they seek to put it into practice, experience success and failure, evaluate their results and modify their methods.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

Indigenous Curricula

A marked trend in many Western nations is for cultural minorities to insist on the teaching of their culture in the established school system. In some cases, they have negotiated agreements with state education authorities and taken control of the primary and secondary education of their children. In these experiments relatively small communities take responsibility for designing the curriculum, training teachers and supervision. Although quite a task, these projects have created viable systems of education. For instance, in Canada, the Lac la Ronge Band (NA-4) of over 3,300 Cree people live in six communities on reserves which are often 200 miles apart in central Saskatchewan.

Tom Mackenzie, Chief of the Band who attended the New Delhi event said, 'In the past ten years our education programme has been our main emphasis. To set it up, we entered into agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs. The Band was made responsible for setting up the curriculum, hiring teachers and maintaining the schools. We hired a curriculum development specialist who works with the local people. She set up community meetings... through the local education committees. The purpose of the meetings was to discuss what should be taught to the children. From the compilations we set up a curriculum. The main emphases were the teaching of our language and culture in the primary grades. This would give students a sense of identity and maintain their culture. Children are taught English as a second language.' (NA-4)

Cultural Relevance

The revaluation of traditional culture has implications for education and training. Several of the projects have developed alternatives, with carefully tailored content of curriculum and vehicle of instruction.

One project teaches that there are six seasons in the year, based on their recognition of 'freeze-up' and 'break-up' as times when distinct activities go on in the tribal community that were done at no other time. The Kipoptakaw Education Programme (NA-3) in Alberta, Canada has based its curriculum on the 'Anisa' model, meaning, 'a flowering, a healthful growing. It is as rich in symbolism as the Cree culture itself. It embodies the concepts of beauty, grace, nurture, shelter and growth. The model teaches the relatedness of all the Universe and man's vital part in it, as taught by our elders.' Paintings, handicrafts, Indian symbols, collages of family photographs, and the care of living things in the school help achieve this.

In India there has been a conscious effort to establish alternatives to the prevailing European pattern of schooling. Often Gandhian organisations such as Anand Niketan (SA-23) run schools that teach only skills that are usable in the villages from which the students come and do not emphasise skills that would encourage graduates to locate elsewhere to use their education in employment.

The Lac la Ronge Indian Band Schools (NA-4) do not give certificates, although they emphasise both academic and practical skills, so that a student has a variety of choices to make when he or she graduates. 'The primary skills are taught in classrooms. But as the children grow older, they must go out into the environment for periods of time in order to fully acquire the skills and put them to use. The timetable is set up to take into account students going out into the field as teams. They put the basic skills to use. They learn how to make a fire, and make sure they don't create any forest fires. Other skills include recognising animal tracks, the kind of traps to set, winter skills, and skills for the fall and spring.'

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

Local Issues: Local Agriculture

Formal education structures as networks can also be used to create awareness of social issues, both on the part of the children and on the part of their parents. Agri-school, a project of Minnesota Women for Agriculture addresses the lack of knowledge of an increasingly urbanised population on matters related to agriculture and rural life through kits on Minnesota agriculture. 'Its aim is to teach school children about the importance of Minnesota agriculture as it relates to the consumer, the economy, and the community. Designed to educate both teacher and student, the kit deals with farm products and vital issues such as farm chemicals, conservation, exports, and animal rights.'

Agriculture Reafforestation

The Greenbelt Movement (BA-15) in Kenya is addressing the critical issue of reafforestation. *People are mobilised by way of the school system to get trees planted and to take other actions to stabilise the environment.* The basic component of the project is the planting of *greenbelts*. These are strips of land in school, church compounds or other community sites that contain between 1,000 to 3,000 trees. To begin a belt, a local Greenbelt Committee is formed to direct the digging of holes and preparation of land. After planting, the community assumes responsibility for nurturing the trees. Actual care is done by a group of school children assisted by a ranger.'

USE OF APPROPRIATE MATERIALS

Delegates emphasised that materials have to be appropriately designed for the reading levels and experience of the students. Otherwise, they communicate not the intended content, but how much the students have yet to learn and how difficult it will be. Many projects have developed their own materials.

Textbooks for Villages

Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh (Village Womens' Association, SA-9) in Madhya Pradesh, India, aim is to change the status of women through non-formal education and engagement in village development, formed their own syllabus for literacy programmes. They organised workshops for writers who could prepare literature for women. *'We wanted to help women learn their own goals in household work of the village and society as a whole. We took up the theme of women's role as good housewife, mother and Annapurna (the goddess of giving good food) to the family members as good citizens and agents for social change.'*

The primer has been followed by three standard books and seven follow-up books like 'Awakening Sunrise', 'Rise of the Village Destiny', 'Flowers in the Courtyards' which are well received by readers all over the country. One of the books, a revolutionary comment on social prejudices, won a prize from the Government of India. Motivity in classes has been high as a result of the use of books like these.

Folk Dramas

Illiterate community workers can be trained through dramas, proverbs or sayings, songs and stories. *The Comprehensive Rural Health Project (SA-4) in India has used drama to teach birth control methods.* They have also developed methods for the health workers to recognise different kinds of medicine without reading. In Ghana APPLE (Association of People for Practical Education, BA-27) incorporates improvisational drama in its educational programmes.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

'Flannelgraphs' made locally from jute sacks and home-made cardboard and pens are used as aids. They report that in addition to learning through drama, this approach instills into the project a tremendous kind of feedback mechanism.

Many other groups used songs and dramas as communication and teaching methods. People's College (SA-19) uses in the village meetings, 'not lectures alone, but community singing of local songs before and after each session and telling of stories of the heroic deeds of their tribal ancestors.'

T.S. Stephens, a delegate in New Delhi commented, 'What we need is a psychological change, an attitude change... They believe that change is not possible, that they will live in misery forever. Communication needs to change this mental picture so that they can begin creating their own destiny out of new images of themselves. *We use the village street theatre... We sing about our progress and a new life. This is the most effective way of informing people about health, and agriculture. We call it the people's media.*'

The impact of methods goes far beyond learning skills to remind people of their own decisions. Panangari Balamma of Modallaguden Village of Andhra Pradesh, India, has been involved with WCADL's Adult Education programme. He describes his experience, 'Previously we were singing traditional songs for our festivals and at harvest time. Now we are singing songs we learned from WCADL. These songs portray the kind of life the Harijans and the oppressed sections had. These songs also contain themes and directions by which we can improve ourselves. They help us to improve our own thinking capacity.'

The preceding examples reveal that education, to be effective in rural areas must be life-oriented and related to the environment of the participants. Practitioners' approaches suggest that the best way of learning and helping others to learn is through practical demonstrations, by showing people how something is done. Additionally people seem to learn better when instruction is focused on a situation that they are involved in and when they have the opportunity to apply what they are learning immediately. Finally learning happens much more effectively when the curriculum and materials being used are in the idiom of the people.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN LEARNING

'Education must not be separated from community and family life. At all levels it must be owned by the community members, not pushed into place by outside government or other decision makers. In our own community-tutor approach to adult literacy we have found that having every student evaluate their own experience, and make suggestions for improving the programme for the benefit of others, has led to all of us recognising that it is a student-owned form of what one student has called a *second chance* school.' (Ferguson, L., Reading and Writing Project, NA-7)

LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF PROGRAMMES

Community Initiative

Since most of the training and education programmes described in this report aim to enable local self-reliance, they place emphasis on the community and the participants 'owning' the programme. The decision of the community to move beyond the frustration of not having adequate education available for local people is one step. *Initiating a new programme or taking over an existing one so that it can more adequately meet the community needs is another step.*

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

One example of this is the Lac la Ronge Indian Band Programme (NA-4) in Saskatchewan, Canada. It was a response to a situation where the only way for children to get any education, required 'leaving home and being exposed to a foreign world' which threatened the loss of their own culture and mother tongue.

The Kipohkawk Education Programme (NA-3) on the Alexander Indian Reserve of 715 people in Alberta, Canada resulted from a poor educational situation. No one had graduated from the high school in the previous ten years. The elders saw their people losing their pride, values and way of life. Those who were at school were about three grade levels behind children in other parts of the province. An education committee was formed that involved members of the community and educators from outside. They designed a programme after careful thought about the spiritual base of their people. 'The clearest indicator of the change in the attitudes of our youth is reflected in our school's attendance rate which has increased to 95 percent in 1983. The school has become the community's cultural centre. Communication has improved within the community with a twice-monthly newsletter from the school.'

Local Control

Local people have largely been responsible for the management of these schools, even when an outside agent is organising the programme. The key factor has to do with maintaining a continual dialogue between the people and the provincial or national agencies. *Also essential is finding a way to ensure that the programme is directly accountable to the community.* The co-operatives project in Mexico, Estrategia Para el Desarrollo Rural Integral (LA-34), a group of 160 co-operatives one of whose objectives is to train villagers to manage their own development, has found, 'the permanent residence of the government technician in the community allows more flexible communication with the local people and engages their participation more easily. It was also found that the management of the budget and the legal accounting is best done directly in the community.'

Westman Media Co-operative Ltd. (NA-10) in Canada is a cable TV company owned and controlled by several communities in Western Manitoba, which serves a region of over 50,000 square miles with about 63,000 families. The shareholders elect a Community Media Committee which plays an active role in the management of the co-operative and the community-owned cable television station. Skills training is available for community people who in turn take responsibility for the ongoing operation and programme selection of the local access channel.

The life education offered at Anand Niketan (SA-23) is very much integrated into the development work. Students of 'The Life School' (Jeevan Shala) return to work with their village after their schooling. When a village has decided to do an irrigation project, it can send people to learn to make concrete pipes; or when faced with some injustice, representatives can come for legal support or to meet people from other villages who have overcome the same problems.

Financial Support

Still another dimension of local ownership has to do with the financing of the programmes, through fees, 'sweat equity' or participation in fund-raising activities. Though the very poor have little money beyond what they need just to survive, they do have a labour resource that they can put into the construction of facilities, especially during slack times when no other work is available. In some of the projects, local people volunteer their efforts to help in the teaching of classes in literacy or skills.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

Learning to tap resources outside the community, from government schemes and funding agencies, has been important in many cases. Other programmes have used county fairs to raise funds, such as the Mississippi Action for Community Education (NA-A) in the USA. A number of the projects are self-supporting at least for their training dimension. The Suruchi Campus, Chapshala and Agricultural Tools Research Centre (SA-13) in Gujarat which has as one of its objectives the upgrading of village craftsmanship and the promotion of intermediate technology earns its entire yearly operating budget of Rs5,00,000 through the sale of products made by the trainees, such as redesigned agricultural hand tools and implements, farm hand pumps and quality printing. By charging a 20 percent administrative fee and offering services, APPLE (BA-27) has turned a situation requiring emergency food relief into one which has provided income for members and support for the voluntary organisation. Since the most productive members are given larger plots to work, people are motivated to learn more about innovative farming methods, and boosting overall production.

The structure of local-based education needs to match local programme and appropriate staff requirements. There has been a great variety of structures designed and utilised, such as community education centres, education co-operatives, and training-cum-production centres. In still other situations, the project is organised into small groups to minimise the potentially negative images of institutional learning. Still others are based on one-to-one teaching. The effectiveness of the form depends upon the degree to which it responds to the local need.

Basic Infrastructure

The emphasis in several African projects exhibited in New Delhi was on creating the basic infrastructure for primary and secondary education by constructing a school building. In Zambia, the Kapini Human Development Project (BA-12) emphasises local involvement. 'The primary school was built in 1979 by the community. At that time, there was no primary school in this area and children were lacking in education. Those who had a chance of getting a place in school had to travel long distances during the rainy season. For this reason parents gathered together and discussed this issue of building a primary school. Since the completion of the school, the government has taken responsibility for the building and assigned four teachers with two streams of classes from grades one to four. We expect to open grade five in 1984.'

These schools were not started by education projects, but by development projects with a strong economic component. *As soon as the group made a little income and gained a sense of solidarity, the priority was children's education.*

In Kenya, with the Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development Project (BA-14) the women of the co-operative are talking about establishing a secondary school with boarding facilities for girls. Zipporah Nganga added, 'We were looking at primary schools, we wanted to do this work with the members, with the primary schools. There are seven kilometers to go to school, and there is no water supply at the school. The children carry water for lunch. These school water-storage cisterns were built by women contributing money. They tell the teachers this water is for children at lunch. When they come for lunch...you give everyone one glass of water. That is one thing that we are doing.'

In North America and Europe declining birthrates over the last two decades have resulted in redundant school buildings. Many village schools have closed. For rural communities, the school was often a focal point of community life and identity.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

It occasionally happens, after a number of other services and identity points have been lost from the community such as the post office, the railway station, or the village council, that a group forms to 'save our school.' *In the United States the planned demolition of the school in Geneva, Nebraska (Geneva Public Schools, NA-VIII) led to a community effort to save it by using the facility for a broader range of community activities, and is now being used at full capacity.* Lewknor Community School (EU-13) in England was consolidated with a nearby school to form a single entity. It offers not only regular primary education, but also extensive community programmes. A classroom has been converted into a community hall. Outreach programmes include a community newsletter and a weekly visit by teachers to all homes in the community. The intention is to involve everyone in shaping the educational structures of the community.

When there are too few children left in an area and closing a school becomes inevitable, some communities have responded by purchasing the building and turning it into a community centre offering informal education programmes. In Warren, Indiana, USA, the elementary school became the issue around which the community gathered. 'A community-wide effort was started, and \$250,000 was pledged to an endowment fund. The interest earned went towards the support of the facility. We started out to have a community centre and in the process built a *community*.' (Warren Elementary School Project (NA-C))

This was also the case in Nordwijk in the Northern Netherlands, where a village of 600 people experienced the proposed closing of the school as the unacceptable last attack on an identity that had been weakened by successive departures of services out of the community. The community of Nordwijk was threatened with the loss of its only school, since the number of pupils was below the minimum set by the government for funding. 'A project was initiated to develop the school into a community learning and developing centre, including education for adults. Following this initiative the movement broadened to develop the *community well-being* of the village. Through the new activities in adult education and development, an additional room was built through common effort.' (EU-XLV)

In these communities, threatened closure of the state school led the community to claim for itself a new role in its own education—a process which has resulted in the community gaining a broader range of educational programmes for more age groups than it had before the threat of closure.

PARTICIPATIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Role of the Animator

Traditional education systems rely on the teacher to present the students with subject matter which they are expected to absorb. The process is more or less objective, requiring little involvement of the students beyond the commitment to learn. Many participants favoured a less traditional process perhaps best described by use of Paolo Friere's image of a 'cultural circle.' This process is led by a co-ordinator who is as much learning as teaching, as an equal with the group of students. Delegates indicated that too often formal educators treated the local people as passive recipients of knowledge (Friere, P., 'Education for Critical Consciousness,' 1973, p. viii)

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

There was greater emphasis on this indirect or animator role than on the more traditional teacher role in the participating projects. The use of local resources for the community learning process has also contributed to this shift.

The self-teaching style has motivated the people to become part of an active learning process that elicits commitment to the implications of their discoveries.

Participative Learning

Conscientisation approaches have been widely used to help rural people become aware of problems. Such efforts aim to develop the critical capacity of people to act responsibly to change their environment. Development is not a question that one has to supply a right answer to; it is a process of creating a response to a situation. Though particular content or skills may be passed on, the teacher becomes not an expert but an animator, a guide, a participant in the process. Such education aims to challenge the perceptions of the situation, the cultural milieu, and the larger society, rather than merely enable skills acquisition.

Several projects in India, Africa, Latin America and North America run programmes in which the participants were also the teachers. Lino Acosta, a campesino (peasant-farmer) who works with Integrated Farms (LA-12) in Mexico commented, 'Another great achievement is in education. *It's not enough to go to school. What's important is that the people themselves learn from each other, so that the older people learn from the children and vice versa. The greatest thing is when the community can do these learnings through its own community method, so in that way it's much better than any school they can go to.*'

There is a pattern of groups teaching themselves what they need to know. Lino Acosta said of one of their projects, 'The Institute of Biotic Experiments has people who are not just theoreticians. The investigation they made was that each farmer knows how to take out the products from his land, but he doesn't know how to put the seeds in properly. Their idea was that each farmer should be trained so that he, in turn, can train another farmer in the community. The farmer was working together with the instructor on his own particular land. Whatever they learned was used to train groups of women and groups of children.'

Another project from Mexico, Autodidactismo Solidario (LA-13) reported, 'The Otomi Indians are seeking to liberate themselves through a deeper awareness of their own history and organise themselves in a spirit of solidarity. Their objective is to set up economic, social and political organisations managed by the communities. *New forms of education have been developed as well as new models for community organisation. Basic education courses have been organised in mathematics, communication, social sciences and natural sciences. The project has begun basic training in land and cattle, nutrition and health and rural industries.* It is also involved in interchange of experiences at the zonal, regional and national levels, and horizontal communications in the form of festivals, radio programmes and brochures.'

The communities participate in research on their history, resources and management. About 95 percent of the study courses are taught by people from within the communities. The previous dependency on institutions has been replaced by an inter-dependence among the communities. People have new ideas about the process of popular thinking, about sharing and about participative leadership.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

Role of the Change Agent

The change agent sometimes provokes the local people to reflect on their situation by asking questions or presenting a socio-economic analysis of a situation. This role is a delicate one. It has to nurture the growth of such awareness and yet have the patience not to push it too fast. It is easy for an outsider to encourage a group of poor people to make a decision that they may not be ready to carry out. It is for this reason that the organisers of AWARE (SA-21) discuss issues and alternative possibilities for action. *'Once the villagers make a decision the organisers will talk through the implementation. But they will not go along with the local people to the government office or bank or to confront a landlord about wage rates. The extension worker must not promise anything. Their posture is 'I am zero. If you, from the village, stand beside me our strength goes up to ten.'*

INVOLVING LOCAL PEOPLE AS EDUCATORS

The Local Multiplier

In most cases local promoters are highly motivated to enable significant education to take place. They are selected by the community or just take the task upon themselves. Sometimes they are paid, but often many are not. In their work they frequently find they also benefit from the group's journey to awareness and involvement.

Autodidactismo Solidario (LA-13) has formed self-teaching study groups and new structures are organised on a circular basis. This depends upon volunteer group promoters, rather than a traditional process, with outside promoters playing an important supporting role. Once the group has formed and real leadership has emerged from the community, the outside promoter's task is to be a resource for the local leadership of the group.

Extension agents try to awaken people and train them to make needed changes. The objective of the Brazilian, Rural Multipliers Programme (LA-3) is to provide a participative method of improving the income and the quality of life of rural communities through the adoption of innovations in agricultural and community development matters. *'The key element in the process is the multiplier, who is a member of his own group, has leadership characteristics, and was chosen by the villagers to transmit the information supplied by the extension agent.* This information includes alternative solutions for community problems which were previously discussed by the group with the extension agent, and are part of the community development plan. All of the multipliers have a crop or livestock demonstration on their own property, where they and their group receive technical information to improve productivity. Systematic evaluation and reprogramming are built into the process. New practices are adopted more rapidly. The role of the extension agent has shifted from one of passing on information to less educated peasants, to one of active dialogue with the farmers about the possible application of techniques in their real situation, facilitated by the multiplier. The educational programme has more than 10,000 families and has an impact on more than 500 communities.' (LA-3)

Local Teaching Assistants

A local person is often the only one who can adequately deal with the cultural content of a project. Chief Tom McKenzie of the Lac la Ronge Indian Band (NA-4) described the use of semi-professionals in their schools to teach traditional language and culture:

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

'In order to meet the cultural components, local people had to be trained as teachers. I am one of the graduates from that programme. There are approximately 15 of us in the six schools who are teaching in the primary grades, and we can teach the language as well as the culture. We are now in the materials development stage of curriculum development.'

Parental Involvement in Teaching

Projects from almost every continent are experimenting with ways to involve parents and grandparents in teaching and curriculum planning. Very often this becomes a step to wider responsibility in the community.

The Guarderías Infantiles Programa Andalucía (EU-43), in Spain, is a multi-institutional project that intends to reshape a traditional pre-school programme to facilitate greater involvement of the parents. There are several special features including a home programme in isolated villages. 'Three centres are in operation near Granada, Sevilla and Cordoba as well as a *Pre-school in the Home* programme in the more scattered rural areas of Granada. In the latter programme two teachers work with mothers as well as children. They meet once a week together in various homes and the mothers teach on alternate days. The teaching team visits several different groups on different days each week. *The co-operation of the mothers is voluntary. Following a training programme parents help run the pre-schools on a daily basis.* Each day begins with an hour-long training session. This involvement of the parents in the development of the curriculum, benefits both the school and the family. It gives positive reinforcement to the professionals and favourably aids the children's transition from a home environment to a school environment. Most of the instructors in the schools are the parents themselves. The professionals have also changed their attitude from teaching a traditional curriculum to one that is oriented toward the child's participation and the development of the community.'

The Parent-Child Home Stimulation Class (NA-D) in the USA describe their programme as, 'created to give parents the training and skills needed to be their child's first teacher. The course (10 weeks, 2 hours per week) is built on methods that allow all to participate at their individual levels of readiness, and that *involves the entire community as a resource for child and parent development.* Over 2,500 parents have participated in the programme.'

These projects grow out of the relatively recent awareness that a child's first six years of life are educationally far more important than any other time. They also reflect a growing trend to involve parents in the educational process either as partners with professional teachers in Europe and North America or as the actual teachers in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Although these trends are noticeable in urban areas, it seems that the cohesiveness of rural communities make pre-school programmes particularly appropriate as starting points for other initiatives, such as health, and women's income enterprises.

Involving the Elders

A number of projects relied on the practical and frequently unused skills of older people. When these are used, the community has access to a wealth of life experience and cultural memory which are invaluable in negotiating a course through the often perplexing immediacies of development. In the process the elders often find new ways to relate experience gained in the past to the situations of today.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

In Jamaica, the Elders and Youth Skills Training Project (LA-16), with locations in seven parishes in Jamaica, addresses the issue of unskilled and therefore unemployable rural women. Since the programme uses the local resource of the skilled elderly people, it breaks down social, age and financial barriers and helps preserve cultural heritage. 'The technical training in fields such as food processing, metalcraft, needlecraft, and wine and liqueurs production is linked with income generation in the form of small business and co-operatives. This led to training in personal development, family life and management skills such as accounting and communications. Then the youth and elders drew together in a meaningful way. *It has also shown that the elderly can make a significant contribution to development.*' (LA-16)

PARA-PROFESSIONALS

An important strategy was the use of local people trained to work in a practical and educative function. The most common application then was the training of village health workers in Latin America, Africa and the Subcontinent and 'barefoot' doctors in China and Peru, (described at length in VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS TALKING ABOUT HEALTH CARE). Other projects including several from India and Mexico trained para-professionals to deal with legal issues.

It is of interest to look at the designations of the staff of AWARE (SA-21), 70 percent of whom come from the grassroots level. These men and women are working as:

- Chief organisers who co-ordinate the work of the field staff in their zones
- Organisers, responsible for a cluster of eight to ten villages participate in village association meetings and look after socio-economic activities
- Barefoot legal workers with approximately 20 villages, functioning as social investigators. They locate and process legal cases, particularly land disputes
- Barefoot health workers, local people trained to monitor health, detect disease and malnutrition, and disseminate health information
- Community education organisers (from most of the villages) care for the Community Education Centre programmes and generally are involved in development activities
- Cultural Organisers write songs and dramas incorporating development issues and highlighting local successes.

HOW RURAL PRACTITIONERS LEARN

'The people have tremendous wisdom. I am now learning actually from my work. There is really no substitute for working with the people.' (Espiritu, R., Sarilakas, SP-32)

INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES

Philip Coombs in his book, 'Meeting the Needs of the Rural Poor,' says that a switchover to a more community-based, integrated approach to rural development will inevitably require the recruitment, training and effective backstopping of large numbers of front line workers. These include particularly:

- Resident village workers, often volunteers, who serve as the main link between their neighbours and vertical delivery systems.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

- Para-professionals who are full time employees, based within close range of a set of villages, who function as the main supervisors and supporters of village workers and as their liaison with the rest of the delivery system.

Coombs feels that the basic role of all professionals and administrators at higher echelons of a community-based system is primarily a facilitating role in contrast to their predominantly directive role under a typical top-down system. (Coombs, P., 'Meeting the Needs of the Rural Poor,' 1980)

Selected Curriculum Profiles

During the Central International Event in New Delhi, several teams of delegates and practitioners visited institutions in India which are engaged in the training of rural development workers. Three of these programmes: the Xavier Institute for Social Service, the Asian Institute for Rural Development and the Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology are summarised on the following page relative to the courses they offer and those who attend as well as the practical work involved in the curricula.

Orientation to the Poor

The Xavier Institute of Social Service (XISS) (SA-7) which began in 1955 as a Social Service League within St. Xavier College of Ranchi University in Eastern India, began teaching diploma courses in 1960 and was registered in 1973. A structural analysis of society revealed that their programmes were being monopolised by the business and industrial sectors of the area. Also, tribal youth who were already relatively privileged tended to benefit from the development and professional education courses. The rural masses were not receiving their share in the services of the Institute. A rethinking of the Institute's objectives and programmes is currently going on. The gravity point of the syllabus will probably be how people organise their struggle for rights.

Similar courses have been conducted for the past two to three years at the Asian Institute of Rural Development (AIRD) (SA-9) and the Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology (IERT) (SA-18), both in India. *All three programmes aim to instill in the participants a deep sense of the significance of their work and an identification with the poor.* AIRD aims to train people who are actually doing rural development in diverse situations in a number of countries. The participants tend to be a rather heterogeneous group, both in background and actual job involvement. Most graduates of the IERT and XISS programmes hope for employment in rural development programmes sponsored by businesses, government or banks following their training.

XISS tries to develop the resolve in those who take jobs 'to use their position in the delivery mechanism to help the oppressed,' and at the same time to encourage others who will forgo job security and become full-time agents of change in the villages. In either case, they try to cultivate in the students values and attitudes that make them effective agents of change. Many come with a deep anger at the injustices perpetrated on the poor, respect for the dignity and rights of every human, especially the weak and exploited, a firm purpose to use one's professional standing to struggle against irresponsible practices and attitudes, and determination to set this right.

Dr. Kanaka of AIRD commented, 'If a participant has a living sense of empathy, putting himself in the shoes of the other man, if he has the psychological makeup, then when surrounded by the needy people, he will come out. To find people because somebody has applied for a job is hardly the way.'

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

Training Institutions Information

Institution: Xavier Institute for Social Service (XISS) (SA-7)

Location: Ranchi, Bihar State, India.

Course: Two-year post-graduate in Professional Management of Rural Development.

Students: India and beyond with a point of reference in Eastern India Tribal Peoples in the Chotanagpur region.

Syllaba: Current social problems, especially of the poor; Developing analytical and local skills; Communications and Inter-personal Skills; Research Principals and Techniques; Hindi and Tribal Languages.

Practicum: Six months to two years and beyond. Students are assigned with various panchayats for data gathering and work experience.

Other Courses: Training teachers in Adult Literacy; Research activities.

Courses for Villagers: Tribal Entrepreneurship Development; Training for Women; Village Workers; Field Prospects; Community Forestry Cell; Legal Aid Bureau; Coaching Classes for School Drop-outs.

Institution: Asian Institute for Rural Development (AIRD) (SA-9)

Location: Bangalore, India.

Course: Three-month course for Asian Rural Service Corps; Rural Animators Dialogue.

Students: For agencies of rural development in South and Southeast Asia; and Africa.

Syllaba: Rural Economics and Society; Approaches to Development; Technology Transfer; Community Organisation and Leadership; Institutional Support; Rural Community Participation Project Formulation.

Practicum: Four to six day project placements with three South Indian Projects; Three days of practical skills work.

Other Courses: Land Reform and Rural Development; Rural Orientation.

Courses for Villagers: Rural Women's Training for Self-employment; Integrated Rural Development Projects; Development Education for People's Participation and Action.

Institution: Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology (IERT) (SA-18)

Location: Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh State, India.

Course: Two-year course in Rural Technology Development and Management.

Students: From Northern India and beyond; in Allahabad District.

Syllaba: Social Science; Economic Development; Technology Transfer and Design.

Practicum: Live and work in villages; come to institute in the city for academic work; Work with other projects.

Courses for Villagers: Community Education; Rural Technology Transfer; Integrated Development through Growth Centres; Self-employment Training and Marketing; Water Resources Development.

Effective Strategies

A key to commitment involves relating village work to the broader context. Practical experience is important not only in enabling a student to gain practical skills but also in creating motivation and the capacity to strategise. In the AIRD programme students are exposed in the classroom to a variety of approaches: Gandhian, Sarvodaya, dependency theory, community development and five year planning, regional approaches through growth centres and clusters. Project placements in India with Gandhigram (SA-24), the Rural Unit for Health

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

and Social Affairs (RUHSA) (SA-27) as well as exposure to a number of other projects, give the participants the basis from which to evaluate their own ideas and to choose for themselves. RUHSA as a voluntary agency has worked closely with the government and through it a health centre, a government dispensary and eight maternity homes now serve the K.V. Kuppam block in the North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu state.

In both the IERT and the XISS programmes students are involved over a period of time in working with particular villages to overcome the obstacles to development. Through this process they evolve strategies in response to the real situation and learn from the people. For the students to gain maximum value from their field work their experience must be carefully monitored. The scope of the institution's other involvement in developmental activities is also a factor. For example, the work of XISS in promoting social forestry, the use of appropriate technology such as the solar pump and in making legal aid available, encourages participants to think through all aspects of development in a co-ordinated manner. In addition, they arrange an optional six-month 'housepersonship' period with a sponsored rural development programme.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Internship Programmes

A simple but effective approach, used by the Indian Ahmedabad Study Action Group-Poverty Project: Dholka (SA-1), is to have the new staff member work with organisations for a period of time during which the newcomer and the agency get to know each other. This is done through the Antyodaya Field Unit (serving the poorest, the last). Field staff are hired to work for a pilot period. In the course of their work in 60 villages of Dholka Taluka (county) of Gujarat, ASAG has amassed substantial survey data on the 3,500 poorest families. Building on this base, trainees work with experienced staff to do an action survey for specific information for a new project, like the Integrated Child Development Scheme, Weavers Project or the Cobblers programme. The scheme involves:

- Developing a trial questionnaire and testing it in several villages, with extensive discussions on the day's activities every evening
- Structuring the format and procedures
- Doing the survey for six to eight months
- Writing up the results in the form of an action plan.

Through this process new staff who may not have travelled beyond their village environs come to know their area. In many cases, they become committed to responding to some obvious need since the villages are easily frustrated with surveys and push the workers for action. Also, the surveys give the workers a reason to talk with many kinds of people and to build up the relationships on which future implementation will depend. Analysing an issue from many directions helps the worker build his own perspective on the root causes of village problems and possible actions. The surveys provide objective data on families who are to benefit from any new scheme.

Such surveys are expensive in time and money, but ASAG has found that they yield more than their cost in benefits to implementation and training. Some trainees are then taken on as full-time staff to implement the programme.

To enable people to develop the capacity to think and learn from their

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

experience, IDS (SA-22) uses what they call a self-training approach. For the first month a new employee works closely with another community organiser. IDS staff work closely with villagers and also involve professionals from outside in the planning, designing and execution of projects involving technical content. The community organisers meet together once a month. Administrative staff are available if they are required to be in the meeting. The chief community organiser leads the discussion regarding particular problems and incidents that they have encountered in their work that month. They also *work with the poorest and least powerful in a cluster of 21 villages and plan to limit their involvement to ten years, intending to create strong groups and individuals.*

The group discusses particular issues from many points of view, analysing how the situation came to be, how to respond and how to prevent similar incidents. Many factors would be talked through, and different methods explained. The discussion ends with the organiser summarising and drawing lessons for the future.

Interchange Systems

Most organisations have some kind of internal meeting and staff training dynamic. An important point is to think through carefully the needs of the particular staff. AWARE (SA-21) is an interesting case in point, since 70 per-cent of their staff of 500 are from their target group of tribal people and Harijans from Andhra Pradesh villages. The remaining 30 percent are graduates of their training programme, some of whom have specialised in medicine, social work, agriculture or other fields. A few are experienced people retired from the government service and other occupations. This diverse staff meets together three times a year for in-service training camps and seminars to deal with current issues and the context of their developmental effort. In one meeting, workers representing approaches to development quite different from that of AWARE gave talks and responded to questions. This provided an opportunity for the staff to probe their own intentions and methods.

Exchange with other practitioners through site visits, newsletters and conferences has proved helpful. *No one is interested in talk alone, but in practical interchange that will support their work.*

The Saemaul Undong in The Republic of Korea (SP-33) runs courses jointly for Saemaul leaders, and for public officials, industrialists, intellectuals and other social figures. These courses have three basic methods. First, exemplary Saemaul leaders are asked to present their success stories; those who are in policy-making positions become informed first-hand. These become occasions for building mutual respect. The second method is to stress practice more than words in the training. Thirdly, self-evaluation is done through study team activities.

A number of delegates commented on conferences that had changed their approach to their work. Carola Bell who works with the Co-Chomunn Nis-Ness Community Co-operative (EU-14) in the New Hebrides Islands off the coast of Scotland, described her experience at the New Delhi event. 'Because I am on an island, I am very isolated from anything that is going on. This is incredibly stimulating. One is constantly saying, Ah! That is a good ideal Find out about that. They have managed to make it work. That might work for us. Why did we not think of that before?

From the projects we visited in India I gained an incredible amount about approaches to problems. I think we have a more hodge-podge approach. We take

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

one small area. We don't look at the whole problem. A lot of the people here look at the whole situation and fill in the gaps. I am not at all involved in education but I have picked out interesting points about education that I want to share with people at home.'

MODULES AND TRAINING CAMPS

Intensive training programmes are offered by some organisations for their members or potential staff members. Such training covers a range of awareness and skills to permit trainees to be effective in their later work. These include:

- Awareness of the actual situation, through discussions, surveys or practicums;
- Acquisition of particular skills needed in the work;
- Theoretical or contextual background;
- Direct familiarisation with a particular programme or scheme and with the operating patterns that make it work;
- Relationship of village work to what is happening in society;
- The sorting out of what participants really want to do and the degree of their commitments.

The variety and scope of such programmes can be seen in the three organisations below. Although each one is working in situations quite different from the other the multi-function training component is key to the success of all. As they proceed, the programmes tend to use evaluation less as a formal routine and more to ensure the reaction and involvement of the participants in what is taking place.

For Grassroots Organisers

The Mississippi Action for Community Education (MACE) (NA-A) serves 35,000 members of 14 county-wide unions for progress. The coalition grew out of the black voter registration movement in the 1960s and subsequent efforts at developing diverse grassroots organisations. *MACE has provided leadership development training in community organising skills to 600 individuals.* These people were nominated for this training by the county affiliates because they demonstrated a potential for leadership and the commitment to improve the quality of life in their communities. Following the six weeks of instruction in basic skills and development techniques, options for further training are available through internships, study practicums and regular programmes.

AWARE (SA-21) grassroots organisers are oriented to their role in a 30-day programme. The syllabus covers both ideology and methods for working in the villages. Participants learn how to organise village associations and education centres, and how to use village meetings productively. Practical instruction is given on how to start revolving funds, what government schemes are available and how the government machinery works. They develop a basic understanding of the relevant laws and legal procedures. They then work under a team supervisor who helps prepare detailed weekly, monthly and quarterly reports of the situation in their villages and of their work.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

For Village Volunteer Workers

In the Kenya Replication Scheme (BA-19) an eight week Human Development Training Institute (HDTI) prepares young men and women from project villages for two years of voluntary service in Africa. The scheme seeks to provide villagers with methods and organisational structures so they can strategically use local resources to meet basic human needs in a self-reliant manner. To date 900 villages are involved. No direct financing is made available to the villages, so that exaggerated expectations are neutralised from the beginning. The HDTI graduates form a capable and motivated leadership group who understand the village situation and who can serve any village in its overall development effort. Over the last five years, the major emphasis in the training programme has changed from practical skills, like digging soakpits or starting a small industry, to practical methods for leading a village meeting and for training villagers to do their own economic, cultural and social activities. The replication scheme currently covers 900 villages in 26 districts that comprise 90 percent of the rural population of the nation.

Much of the training is done through leading workshops, visiting local development sites, engaging in community workdays, practising basic health care methods and observing new agricultural techniques. In excursions to Nairobi participants encounter Kenya's rich history. An evaluation by the Swedish Co-operative Centre comments: *'The training gives participants a global perspective of themselves, enabling them to better appreciate their own situation, and also realising that it is possible to develop by initially making use of outside resources. (At the same time it) stresses the need for self sufficiency and the danger of becoming dependent upon outside resources.'*

After a year of practical work, students return for an Advance Training School to refresh practical skills by engaging in a field situation, examining various aspects of their own experience and creating needed plans. A Health Auxiliary Training School prepares selected staff to teach five health workers from each village. The staff also conduct a variety of training events for the villagers. In the five-day Village Leaders Institute, village leaders of all educational backgrounds acquire skills in planning and implementation, leading meetings and teamwork. A three-week school equips them to co-operate with other villagers, to implement government schemes, and to gain required flexibility.

Other avenues for expanding and training leadership include a Farmers and Health Planning Conference, a Women's Advancement Module and a Health Training Module. In addition, there is a training component included in all meetings, demonstration farms, village activities and project initiation events. This provides identical management knowledge to villagers, village leaders and government officials, thus giving a reference for improved communication among people in these categories. The training component is a means not only for imparting skills in planning and management of village activities, it also contributes to village identity and self-confidence.

For Independent Workers

Such training, more or less formal in its approach, can be a means by which an organisation catalyses similar efforts elsewhere. AWARE (SA-21) reports, 'In order to stop the unwieldy growth of the AWARE organisation itself, a programme has been introduced to train the All-India Cadre for Nation Building Programme, known as CORE (Community Organisers for Rural Development).

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

After two years under salary from AWARE, the trained young people work with the same methodology and objectives, but independent of AWARE's administration. Trainees are free to choose any area of the whole country.

The first year of training is divided into 30 percent theory and 70 per cent practical work in an existing project. Trainees learn how to write project funding proposals, accounting and administration. *Many of them drop out after the tough examination at the end of the year, leaving only the most committed ones with the project.* The second year is a guided preparation process for their work in their chosen area. They start with village surveys and building up rapport with people. Once the people are organised and ready, the trainee prepares a project proposal and submits it to AWARE for assistance in locating a donor. In the future the new project will work directly with the donor.

COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The moving picture (film, television, video) can be a powerful means of achieving attitude change. Video is increasingly being used in a wide variety of situations. SEWA (SA-32), for example, employs video for education and training of self-employed women, rural and urban.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

The projects that participated in the Exposition used a range of communication modes from puppet theatres, dramas and songs to satellite, cable TV and video. Autodidactismo Solidario (LA-13) used festivals, radio programmes and brochures to facilitate lateral communication among farmers. AWARE (SA-21) in India distributed wall-newspapers for new literates on issues of current concern. The Central International Event at New Delhi incorporated an exhibition that featured effective approaches to rural development from 189 projects. Practitioners displayed at least 34 slide shows, videos or films that they had produced.

Global communication media is undergoing dramatic change with the development and refinement of new technology. Its impact is felt across the 'developed' and 'developing' world. While its integration into the public communication media varies from nation to nation and its current applicability as a tool for education depends heavily on this fact, we have featured several projects in this section that are experimenting with innovative use of these technologies. However, at the same time we recognise that some of the more common technologies such as the slide projector and the radio currently are being used very effectively and can be more widely used by practitioners.

The IERD process demonstrated how international exchange of project information can be facilitated via a computer-based information network. In countries with highly developed infrastructure, computers have been used co-operatively at the local level for such things as farm management programmes for small farmers. Computer Assisted Learning With Videodisc (EU-29) in France is combining video and home computers to teach languages. It is a system that allows the use of interaction on real video pictures (from a videodisc player) connected to a personal computer, by the means of symbolic keys.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

IMPACT OF TELEVISION AND RADIO NETWORKS

Many villages in India have a community television set. The Indian Space Application Centre transmits TV programmes to 700 villages in Kheda District of Gujarat whose dairies are members of the Amul Milk Producers Union (the prototype for the National Dairy Development Board, SA-33). When the farmers bring their milk in the evening for measuring and testing of the fat content, they can see an hour-long news broadcast, a training or information film and an entertainment programme.

In middle-income countries of East Asia and Latin America, receiving sets are much more widely distributed. *In Peru, El Aula Abierta (LA-29), a tele-educative service, broadcasts for training and development on 22 networks and six frequencies.* Its training system has a wide audience. Programmes promote family self-help in primary health and training of the agricultural sector. 'Tele-books' are distributed for use with the programmes; radio theatre programmes are also produced. It motivates people to participate in development, and is changing the attitudes and life styles of its audiences.

USE OF VIDEO AND CABLE TELEVISION

'The ability to transfer successful experiences from one area of the world to another is at the very heart of the development effort. We need communications that can transport results from place to place; that gives people tools and ideas and experience of others and then invites them to make their own solutions. It is *appropriate technology*: small scale, individually manageable, adaptable to many different circumstances.' (Stewart, M., Central International Event delegate)

Another project which had a similar experience with video and slide shows was the Clear Fork Valley Project (NA-12) in Tennessee, USA. In an area of geographic isolation and cultural diversity, video has enabled the project to discover support from individuals, churches, foundations and government agencies, and to influence public opinion to temper the effect of inappropriate public and private policy (including that of the many absentee landlords of the area). They have obtained video equipment and trained people in its use which has led to increased local support for the work of the various voluntary organisations when people see what they can do. 'When the deep coal mines closed down and the companies closed down, the valley was left with virtually no services or community structures. Now, grassroots efforts have initiated co-operatives to deal with fundamental problems of education, land ownership, basic infrastructure and human services.'

The Association of People for Practical Education (APPLE) (BA-27) has begun to experiment with videotapes as feedback techniques in the nation's capital and will use it with funding sources as well. Other projects have used video to capture the wealth of wisdom and knowledge of their elders in their own dialect. During the preparation phase of the IERD, Nigeria's satellite telecast of the three-day Rural Development Symposium lead-up event in Lagos was viewed daily in 19 states. This brought the IERD concept to life throughout the nation.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES

LOCAL CONTROL OF TECHNOLOGY

Delegates were concerned about the local-based approach. One delegate from Sri Lanka stated, 'TV in our country is flooded with western programmes. We need to learn to run our own cable TV so that we can do our own programmes.'

Communication of information has to do with more than simply giving out bits of knowledge. At its best, it elicits a commitment from people to act on the information, to be involved. Rural projects that have had the opportunity to use information technology mention how it can foster interaction between communities in an area. This is particularly true where climate, distance or terrain make direct contact difficult. The Westman Media Co-operative Ltd. (NA- 10) is a cable television station owned and controlled by 17 communities in southern Manitoba, Canada. Residents produce particular programmes, participate in local access programming, and assess and evaluate all media which affect their community.

Ivan Trail who attended the event in New Delhi, reported on how communities were using this system to the advantage of the community: 'Little things have happened, like our courthouse which is one hundred and some years old has been saved from a demolition crew because somebody had guts enough to get up on TV and say 'there is no way you can tear down our courthouse'. From then on about 20 women got together. They had over 51 percent of the people actually sign a petition. They had put a referendum out and it went to 80 percent. The developments in technology that brought costs down have made it possible for small communities to install it in their towns. 'We've got other technologies coming out now. We can broadcast—hook up the farm community that surrounds the town with a broadcast microwave. It's easy to get a license because the signal degenerates very quickly. After you get past 20 kilometers the degeneration is very fast, which is what we want. We don't want people interfering with the next town. The microwave transmitter doesn't cost that much; US\$7,000 to US\$8,000. We even put up a local tower so that they get a much better signal on their local channel.'

The technology has also been able to involve various sections of the community including the elders. Mr. Trail went on to say, 'They'll videotape some old time band that they can't afford to bring into the senior citizens centres, or the old people can't go out to see. Not only do they make their own programmes, but they are really reliable people who will put the videotapes on, and do the playbacks for you. They also know they have that outlet when they need it. Nobody has ever used it to do any big campaign, or change anything really. It's important to them to know that it's there.'

Mr. Trail also sees a useful role this can play in filling a communication gap that exists in many small towns and he is confident that they will respond. 'We're getting down now to towns which have 500 to 600 people in them. They don't have any newspaper, and really no means of communication, except through a town that is 100 miles away. The minute we turn that cable on, they are going to have that community ready to roll. Some have it ready to roll already. They call it a Media Committee, it has control of what goes on the air.' .PA

LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESS

In an age where communication technology has eroded local identity, cultural projects like the Westman Media Co-operative are showing how they can be used creatively by people to build up their communities. The effectiveness of communication media to empower learning processes and interchange lies in feedback and control being present at the local level. This is seen to a greater degree in programmes that emphasise face to face interchange (Ibid. MODULES AND TRAINING CAMPS, see previous section). To the extent that new developments in technology can allow local feedback and control, practitioners should consider using it as a tool in their work.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

THE CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON HUMAN SETTLEMENT

'If you plan for one year, sow a seed.
If you plan for ten years, plant a tree.
If you plan for hundreds of years,
Prepare a human being with full awareness.'
(Chinese Saying)

There will be no general solution to poverty or questions regarding quality of life or environment or technology, appropriate or otherwise. Rather, there will be thousands upon thousands of highly practical, highly specific solutions requiring the creativity, risk and commitment of local people in rural situations around the world. This booklet is part of the series that brings together the insights and experiences of practitioners and village workers from different parts of the world as they looked at approaches to rural development that have worked. It focuses upon those aspects within three areas of concern which emerged from participant interchange: human settlement, the physical environment and appropriate technology.

BACKGROUND TO CHANGE

The times in which we live are characterised by a radical shift in the way most people commonly perceive and understand their experience. This alteration in basic perception has been marked, for example, by the atomic explosion, the Earth-rise, the oil crisis, TV, the space walk and acid rain. The extent of the implications and the influence upon rural social, economic and human development is unclear.

The practices of development have gone beyond a primarily economic approach of exploiting the natural resources. The rhetoric of the environmental and the ecological movements coming out of the 60's and 70's not only intensified concern for rural development but also shifted people's awareness, and changed their thinking about the situation in rural areas. The more recently expressed concerns for energy and biomass are deepening the perception people have of the very intimate interrelationship between themselves and their surroundings, both natural and human-made.

THE MICRO-ISSUES

At New Delhi the realities of the limitedness and fragility of our planet abounded from the earthquake felt by some of the delegates in their hotel one night, to the concern for natural farming, for cheaper and more locally available forms of housing, clean water, link roads, reforestation and the like.

Concerns expressed by the interest group included:

- Not using resources to the greatest extent.
- The top-down approach in decision-making.
- Concern about the poorest of the poor.
- Building the nation is finished, now is the time to build the village.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Opinions expressed in delegate interest groups included: 'We have to save energy drastically (50 percent to 60 percent is really possible) and develop the use of the renewable energy sources. We have to change our life style; small scale production for local and regional consumption, organic energy-saving agriculture and less meat in our meals, are some of the approaches.' Or, again, 'People do not seem to understand that everything they do to their land, alters their environment positively or negatively. This is one overlooked aspect of development.'

The delegates became familiar with many projects where villages or groups of villages are involved in serious efforts at environmental improvements and technical advances. One delegate from Sevegram, India commented, 'People are here who are actually involved in doing it (housing and water) They are not just talking about an idea or something they read in a book. They have done it themselves.' Another stated, 'There are no training programmes on these concerns for practitioners.'

Few of the representatives had degrees in ecological sciences. But they have, as Salah Arafa, a university professor from Egypt put it, 'learned from the village.' The interest group decided not to be overwhelmed by success but use it as a basis for dialogue about what works. *The interest group listed the following approaches that work in their experience:*

- Social and economic programmes together;
- Grassroots people participating and making their own decisions;
- Getting all people involved with everyone working together;
- A catalyst who is dedicated and can motivate others;
- Four sector approach where the project serves as a meeting ground;
- Need for and use of (outside) money but aiming at self-sufficiency;
- Teaching confidence.

THE MACRO-ISSUES

The Macro issues are the awareness and growing documentation related to the fragility of the natural surroundings of our planet. It includes the growing awareness that only massive effort will stop desertification, pollution and a host of other ills. Perception of the situation was enhanced by the image from the interest group that 85 percent of the available fossil energy sources is used and spoiled by one-third of the world's population in the developed nations, while two-thirds of the world's population has only 15 percent.

WHAT IS APPROPRIATE?

This question has been raised seriously about technology for almost 20 years. Appropriate Technology Design and Development, an association of engineers, designers and craftsmen who combine their various skills to develop and promote appropriate technologies, has attempted to answer the question. 'In order to see what is actually appropriate one needs clarity, flexibility and openness. The willingness to let go of all that you already know, if necessary, to allow the best solution to emerge.' (Creative Hands Workshop, EU-33).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY**HOUSING****USE OF LOCAL RESOURCES**

'A settlement of a few thousand people might be either a village or a town depending on the types and amounts of employment facilities and services, and on the functions it serves in relation to its hinterland and the surrounding settlements. The village is the more prevalent type; it is characterised by the fact that a large proportion of the population is involved in agriculture as cultivators, livestock raisers, or agricultural labourers. A village has few facilities and its inhabitants usually must go to other settlements for health care, most marketing facilities, secondary schools, shops that stock durable goods, banking and credit facilities, etc. While a rural town's prosperity also relies heavily on the agricultural products of the area, it has a greater variety of employment in small industries, commerce and services.' (Development of Rural Settlements and Growth Centres, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Habitat, Nairobi, Kenya, Oct., 1981, p.. 17).

Development projects from all over the world have worked to improve the housing of residents. The concern of the interest group was expressed as follows: 'Housing programmes which emphasise self-help construction, locally available and low cost materials, and maintenance training, can bring adequate housing to the rural poor.'

In addition, programmes of professionally designed rural housing have been instituted which can enhance sanitation and 'liveability.' It would seem that the challenge in rural housing lies in combining local values and professional design in an economically feasible manner.

A university professor, Dr. Kamal S. Galeh, representing a project in Egypt recommended the following:

- There is a need for better, more functional and healthy design of the rural house that should meet the residents' needs and wants and assures privacy, less crowdedness, sanitation and the protection of animals outside the household residence.
- Variant designs are needed to present to rural people using different existing building resources and characterised by simplicity.
- The need to use efficient ways to drain both human and animal disposals and plant remains for a functional cheap source of energy.' (Basaisa Village Project, NM-3).

The values surrounding building materials are clear: locally available, locally usable and low cost. No one seems to be looking seriously for prefab plastic houses, primarily because it is not readily available. The most apparent solution would be trees. But this would not be easy. Massive reforestation would be required in a very short period of time and this is already problematic. Yet the delegates made suggestions, such as that by R. Thimma Reddy of Karnataka, India. 'India needs millions of houses by the dawn of the 21st century. By that time our forest may not support timber for house construction. The share for roofing materials is 80 percent. Action has to be taken to plant trees which produce roofing material and which can be useable in a short period of time. Bamboo is the best answer for roofing material in house construction. With some treatment it can last many decades. The bamboo used by my grandfather in our house in 1850 is very good even to this day.' (SA-40).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

FIVE ELEMENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL SELF-HELP PROJECTS

To save money and train people in providing housing, self-help efforts have proven advantageous. A number of successful locally initiated projects were represented in New Delhi, not only in housing but also in other areas of village reconstruction. All the projects represented stressed the active involvement of local people in initiating housing and other construction programmes, and within that emphasis several elements or approaches were clear:

- Planning Housing Carefully;
- Grassroots Wisdom in Design;
- Supervised Sweat Equity;
- Locally Based Organisations;
- Available External Assistance.

PLANNING HOUSING CAREFULLY

Since housing represents a major investment and undertaking, it is effective to plan carefully and clearly to make sure that all elements of the plan are feasible. Be-Wab-Bon, a group of Metis and non-status Native Americans in Ontario, Canada, built 52 homes in their community. One of their learnings included the need to take time to do careful feasibility studies. 'We spent a year researching possibilities for funding. Much volunteer time was put into visiting Federal and Provincial offices working through possible scenarios for funding. Time for planning also involves time for learning to operate in new arenas. Major challenges ... dealing with a multi-sector board, large budgets and highly technical professional issues. We have learned how to move from becoming frustrated in the short term ... to work out of long term objectives.' (Canadian Documentation, 'A Spotlight on Community Projects and Programmes in Canada,' 1984, p. 23, NA-1).

Housing

A different perspective on planning is presented by Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti, Gujarat, India. Planning needs to relate carefully to the actual needs of residents with available resources. 'The housing situation in the villages is that all families have some form of house. They are predominantly timber-frame structures varying greatly in size but similar in shape and layout. In a survey of over 1,000 of the 6,000 antyodaya ('poorest of the poor') households, it was found that 80 percent had some permanent shelter value and reasonable materials. Some houses only needed minor repairs or addition of various convenient facilities. This situation presented many obstacles in reconciling existing housing patterns and materials with available resources. If conventional materials are used, smaller houses would have to be built to stay within the financing limits. This allowed most of the financing to be used for tile roofs which was the first priority of the villagers. Although government housing requirements and financing are for 180 sq. feet most villagers expressed a need for 400-500 sq. feet. This larger space was now possible by reducing the cost of the walls, and by the villagers supplying the labour.' Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti (VIAS) (SA-14).

Be-Wab-Bon, in Canada, also points to the need of keeping everyone who is involved in the project informed through monthly meetings, updating people who drop in to the project office and by providing news articles. All of this is seen as necessary to the planning process. (NA-1).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

GRASSROOTS WISDOM ILLUSTRATED

Another approach has been to involve residents in the design of their own houses which, in the long term, seems most effective. In Canada, the Mohawks of the Gibson Band (NA-5) have a housing project which is an excellent example of how low cost housing can be provided with distinctive individual design. 'When the Band Council investigated funding for housing for the elderly, we discovered it was only available for multi-unit buildings, their only value being low cost. The Council visited each of the elderly people to ask what type of house they would like. An architect was then brought in at the Council's expense to design small attractive homes which took into account the needs of the elderly, such as wide doorways, ramps and appropriate supports for people in wheelchairs. Instead of applying for senior citizen housing, the Council decided to go after a capital housing programme available to any person. The Council selected a small wooded area that was central to the reserve. They have kept the naturalness of the area as much as possible as the construction has proceeded. The plan is to construct eight homes. Two are completed, four are nearly complete and two are to be started. This expansion of housing has freed up several homes so that younger families can now move back onto the reserve.'

The Project Description Lab at Vedchhi Intensive Area Scheme (VIAS), (SA-14) project of Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti in India reported direct collaboration as an important aspect of design. 'Improvements in the design and space utilisation were achieved by the collaboration of house owner and architect, including the addition of conveniences like a bathing area and veranda, as well as the separation of animals from the family living space.' (SA-14).

The interest group noted that capacity for maintenance can be built into the design stage. The process of decision-making involves the people in looking at maintenance and repair considerations during the planning stages. This can eventually lead to a reduction in operational costs as well.

SUPERVISED SWEAT EQUITY

Projects can not only save money but provide employment and promote pride of ownership through self-help housing. In the USA, 'Self-Help Enterprises (SHE) (NA-22) New Housing programme combines efficient house design with the family's contribution of labour. Under the skilled supervision of SHE construction staff, families directly participate in the construction of their own homes. In this process, SHE obtains land and develops it into suitable building lots, informs families of the availability of the programme in their area and assists eligible families in the submission of loan applications. In most instances the loans are secured from Farmers Home Administration, the federal agency which funds SHE, to provide this technical assistance. Generally, eight to ten families are formed into a group which pools their labour during the approximately eight-month construction period. Participating families dig and form the foundations, pour and finish the concrete, frame the houses and install doors, windows, electrical wiring and cabinets, lay floor tiles, and paint the interiors and exteriors. As a result of their 1,300 hours of labour, families have established equity in their new home. Through this programme SHE is able to assist over 100 low-income families a year to realise what once seemed to those families to be an impossible dream—living in a home of their own. It is a home which is adequate in size, attractive and comfortable, efficient in its use of energy, and affordable. An additional benefit claimed is that people who have built their own homes are able to maintain and repair them.' (NA-22).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Another example: In Canada, 'Several projects established construction companies to mobilise local skill in addition to self-help. Funding for Be-Wab-Bon was approved to create a construction company to do the homes so that the programme would provide jobs for the community at the same time. As a down payment for the home each new resident pays \$1,800 or utilises the equivalent in work or 'sweat equity'. The latter was the route most families took. Care was taken to purchase lots throughout the community so that a new ghetto was not formed. Operation Beaver, a not-for-profit organisation provided volunteers to work with the residents in helping with the training and encouragement of the task. During three years a total of 52 homes were built and 45-50 people employed.' (Be-Wab-Bon, NA-1).

LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

Local organisations are necessary to establish funding schemes, to create a liaison with governmental agencies and to manage the complexity of housing projects. The Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society, Hyderabad, India, CROSS (SA-25) currently works with 135 sanghams (local associations) some of which are for men, others for women, with a total membership of 4,000. The housing issue was discussed first in the sangham. Then the state government was asked to lend financial support. They gave Rs1,000 per house. From CROSS, people could get a loan up to Rs2,000 which had to be paid back in amounts of 200 to 300 Rupees per year. The rest of the Rs5,000 the people had to find themselves. In this event CROSS enabled the people to deal directly with the government and encouraged them to supply their own money. 'This was enough for building a house of common quality but if they want to build a house that is not washed away by a monsoon they will need about Rs7,500.'

As Clyde Kilgore, a representative from South Gutherie, Tennessee, USA, stated, 'I represent a small black community in Clarksville, Tennessee. It is a rural community made up of about 300-400 people. We have formed an organisation called the South Gutherie Community Improvement Association. The purpose of this organisation is to better the community as a whole; to bring up living standards of the community—improvements in housing, roads, pure water, sanitation, health, and education. Through the efforts of the Association we have improved 34 brick homes, and have remodelled the remaining structures.' (NA-23)

Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti (VIAS), in India, used registered trusts. 'A strategy that has linked villages has been the formation of groups of villages as registered trusts. As legal entities these trusts enable the villagers to take advantage of external resources more effectively. They also provide a structure through which the villagers can work towards self-sufficiency in a more comprehensive and systematic manner.' (SA-14).

This strategy was implemented through the villagers themselves. 'From the beginning, villagers were told that they would be directly responsible to the financing agency for repayment of loans. They were given assistance in setting up financial accounting systems and were encouraged to form housing trusts either as villages or groups of families. These village organisations were encouraged to meet twice each month. At their meetings it would be decided how much of a loan to give and how the repayment would be done.' (NA-14).

Andong Sari Bamboo Housing Project in Indonesia used another strategy to keep the the village operating while the housing project went on. 'The bamboo housing project is a well-coordinated, completely locally initiated effort to solve a social housing problem and not allow village activities to be ignored.'

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

The project relies on local contributions of money and skills, community workdays, and the formation of the village into guilds to manage business, agriculture, and other activities. The community completed the first phase of the project in a little over six months; building bamboo additions on 32 of 37 houses identified as substandard, and completing permanent brick additions on two houses. Not only has a sense of accomplishment raised community spirit, but benefits have been perceived in several arenas: village income has increased, the village's appearance has improved, many people have been trained in job skills, and they have attracted notice in the region.' (SP-1).

USE AVAILABLE SUPPORT ORGANISATIONS

In some situations support organisations are available to provide technical and supervisory assistance in home building:

Operation Beaver assisted Be-Wab-Bon (NA-1), in Canada, 'In working together with veteran volunteers and community members we have been able to realise family dreams of better housing. Success comes only through self-help projects. The Beavers are invited by the community to work alongside their members on the construction of a new home.' (NA-1).

Frontiers Foundation knows that in the long term people who have built their own homes have a greater respect for them. (NA-1).

Self-Help Enterprises (SHE), is a not-for-profit corporation working in seven California, USA, counties to assist low income families in building new homes and rehabilitating old homes, and assisting small communities in sanitation and housing plans. To date 2,672 low-income, rural families have moved into their own homes with affordable monthly payments, as well as sweat equity of US\$6,000-8,000 at the time they move into their own home. As the first rural self-help housing programme, SHE is the pioneering organisation in a concept that has proved viable across the nation. Today, there are 70 similar self-help projects. SHE is the oldest and remains the largest. It has helped to create key self-help legislation, which now funds the technical assistance for rural self-help housing, and was instrumental in securing the inclusion of housing for migrant farm workers in Department of Labour funding activities.' (NA-22).

AN APPROACH WITH MANY VIEWS

Housing has been an entry point to development activities and momentum for the whole community. In India, Vedcchi Pradesh Seva Samiti's (VIAS) housing trusts have provided a decision-making vehicle for the village. 'The direct involvement of the villagers in developing the whole housing scheme and the village organisations to implement the scheme has become a very effective development tool. Out of the meetings of the housing trusts their development activities took shape, such as villages deciding to initiate forestry plantings or biogas systems. Villagers are now requesting this scheme be introduced in their village. Some other groups have already organised themselves to do this housing scheme and are making monthly installments toward the housing.' (SA-14).

The Ahmedabad Study Action Group-Poverty Project (ASAG) (SA-1) Dholka, India has been engaged in low-cost housing and community activities since 1969. They take a professional, multi-sectoral, multi-disciplinary, project-based approach to various developmental issues. 'Housing has been ASAG's entry point to more comprehensive development.' They have found that any housing project involves two stages. Although their extensive experience is deeply rooted in the Gujarati situation, it can easily be adapted.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Stage One

Operating capital and housing finance:

- Since in India bank loans and government subsidies are normally based on the progress of materials delivery and construction, operating capital must be found. The estimate should include about a 20 percent loss to cover cost inflation, though some can possibly be recovered with a large investment of energy. No project should begin until all documents are signed by local government officials regarding the subsidies and the land.

Stage Two

Past experience with construction indicates a number of directions:

- Group processes: It is easiest to do housing by caste or social groupings, but it is far more useful in the long run to facilitate the creation of a more mixed living community.
- Broad-based responsibility: Whole community meetings plus an intercaste committee, for purchasing raw materials or guiding the construction process or bringing electricity or water, facilitate this process.
- Co-operation for economy: Well-built row houses are cheaper but require a lot of co-operation.
- Community centre: Allot some of the land for a community centre and people will contribute energy and resources during the construction process.
- Design: Evolve a common basic design by involving future residents with meetings, drawings and models. This determines the net raw materials to be purchased per building, including the amount of materials to be used in the foundation, wall thickness, etc.
- Priority purchases: Buy roofing materials first, then if a cost problem arises, compromises can be made on the bricks and stone.
- Cost cutting: Substantial money can be saved by making bricks in the village before the monsoon. Timber should be seasoned and treated for white ants.
- Local resources: Examination of sources for mud mortar can raise the quality substantially. Lime-sand mortar is best in low-lying areas which tend to flood. This preparation can be done while applications are being processed. If everything is ready the voluntary labour component can be significantly increased in the slack season.' (SA-1).

OVERALL COMMUNITY RECONSTRUCTION

'In a rural settlement, dwellings and structures, community facilities and social and economic activities of the people are closely interrelated. An improvement in any one of those components affects the others.... Improving conditions in rural settlements and the lives of the people who live there involves investment in and attention to physical, social and economic concerns.' (Development of Rural Settlements and Growth Centres, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Habitat, Kenya, Oct., 1981 p. 27).

Rural villages have been able to do serious reconstruction on their own. Projects at the New Delhi event represented various levels of development, different sizes and many different approaches. They involve programmes in overall reconstruction, beautification, creation of public amenities, link roads and housing. From their experience in these projects delegates discussed workable approaches and reflected on their learnings.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Some projects represented situations blighted by deterioration or destroyed by floods and rebuilt. The Newmarket Development Project, in Jamaica, was flooded in 1979. The urban development corporation started a project to relocate residents and provide new commercial opportunities on higher ground. New housing has been provided and a community service facility built through the use of integrated planning and resident participation. Two learnings from the Newmarket Redevelopment Project (LA-18) were:

- Community participation and decision-making ensures that the priorities of the community are addressed.
- A consciously aware community is better able to identify its needs and aspirations.
- Community participation was the key concept. Meetings and discussions determining priorities were critical to the project.

The Community of Bangor, Michigan, USA, stopped the stagnation in their town by engaging local citizens to revitalise and expand housing. Specific accomplishments included the removal of 38 blighted houses and 9 commercial buildings, rehabilitation of 88 single family residences, construction of 24 units of senior citizen housing and 30 multiple dwelling family residences of new housing, nine commercial buildings were rehabilitated and a 135 acre industrial park was created and certified. Citizens developed the plan, organised the boards, and secured in excess of US\$20,000,000 of outside capital to vastly improve the physical, social and economic climate of its 2,001 residents. One project learning was that group effort can bear fruit. (NA-14).

A delegate from the Gerard Aboriginal Community, South Australia described their work: 'They didn't have bathrooms, they didn't have roads in their communities, they didn't have the proper housing, they didn't have proper liaison in welfare, health, education. (Then) the three major reserves in South Australia (started) getting together, talking at conferences and naming the main priorities, and bringing it before the resource people. Now we've got education for the aboriginal people; doctors; new road systems through our towns, and new projects that are going up all the time.' (SP-11).

Projects using community effort to build parks and other public spaces have benefited beyond the direct financial savings involved. According to Clyde Kilgore: 'First we didn't start off as a great big issue or a great big thing, we just wanted to come together and see what we could do about our community problems and from that effort each individual contributed what he could to the project. Our first project was to buy a US\$27.85 gate to close off our cemetery. Then we started a cleanup campaign and from these little things that we accomplished we decided that we could have a whole community project and set up a workable plan, a plan of action in writing which we did. From that we started the ball moving.' (South Gutherie Community Improvement Association, NA- 23).

The physical condition of the village has an effect on the identity of the people. It is possible to catalyse changes in that identity which affect motivation for reconstruction. In the Azpitzia Human Development Project in Peru, it was the involvement of the youth club in beautifying the plaza which demonstrated that a community could alter its image out of its own resources and work. 'The emphasis in Azpitzia was beyond what we did ...signs, plaza, miniparks, rose bushes...the environment guild youth club really raised their own money over a 14-month period of time and were a major source of workdays and continual development.' Such efforts at local renewal create a new momentum in the mobilising of the village for more extensive development.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

However, reconstruction projects of any appreciable size soon reach the point of needing outside assistance. Usually the reason for that assistance is to be found in relation to the public sector. In any case the community eventually needs a way of working in partnership with government resources. This often can be most effectively facilitated when several small communities work together. As with Gerard Aboriginal Community in Australia the beginning was with a meeting.

In an interview with Colin and Yvonne Cook, from Gerard Aboriginal Community, South Australia, they reported: 'The first step was a social gathering of the three reserves. Then we went into holding council meetings to solve problems. We had a social gathering first to get together and meet each other, talk, and have a good old time. We are very close people, we've known each other for many years. Now the three major aboriginal communities meet once every three months to discuss the problems of each community and perhaps help solve them with each other. If they can't solve them then they acquire government help. We generally sit down and talk things over and help each other.

'They began by following the rules: There was a time when we gave technicians our yearly budget submissions, when they asked us what we would need. We sent in our submissions. Then we would get an answer back saying 'you don't need this, you don't need that, we'll give you this, we'll give you that, but with a little bit of difference': and yet a lot difference you know. When we need something we really mean it, you know, and they tell us that we don't need that.

'I think the main thing was the elected council giving the chairman the right to go out and discuss the situation with the resource people. We talk about it, and get a positive answer straight away from them instead of waiting. No use standing around. No use sending papers around, you don't need it. You just meet. One other thing that opened their eyes was them coming to our reserve and seeing it for themselves; looking at the things that we thought were priority such as roads and bathrooms.' (SP-11).

The practitioner can facilitate the establishment of this partnership. CROSS has worked to raise people's consciousness of their rights to basic services available through government policies and assisted in the total effort to get implementation of basic community infrastructure. Joint effort has been made between local sanghams and CROSS to implement improved housing, village health care, adequate electrical supply, schools and roads. (SA-25)

In Sawauchi Village in Japan the new mayor, vowing to risk his life for the people, risked their future finances for a bulldozer to clear snow from village roads in 1957: 'In his view, managing the snow meant the 'dawn' of the village, and to this end, a bulldozer had to be obtained at any cost. Yet the machine was something that the village could not afford ... However, this piece of machinery became the very motive power which rebuilt the village as we see it today. The bulldozer removed the snow from the main roads and provided an access to the village for buses and hospital jeeps. Until then villagers had thought that winters meant months of seclusion from the outside world. Nobody dreamt that buses would ever be able to travel to their village during the winter months to save lives.' It was several years later that Mayor Fukazawa visited the district government centre and saw the purple line on the map which showed that the district government had initiated snow removal service to Sawauchi, Japan. (Iwate-ken, SP-28).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

COMMUNITY BUILDING: COMPETITIONS AND IDENTITY

Link roads remove the sense of isolation which is so deadening to any positive momentum for development both by putting people closer to resources and also by giving them new images of proximity. The Tata Steel Rural Development Society (TSRDS) in India, reports that link roads in an isolated area are a critical aspect of development. They not only enable easier access to services, such as drilling of wells or medical assistance, they also provide a new basis for dealing with exploitation by providing exposure to how things happen elsewhere and access to alternative markets for village products. The foremost challenge in securing adequate road systems for so many of the rural isolated villages is in acquiring the necessary funding. (SA-17).

One interesting approach was represented by several small villages from Germany (BRD). The village competition: 'Unser Dorf soll Schöner werden.' (Our village, a great place to be alive) has encouraged rural communities to adjust to change, conserve their historical appearance, care of green spaces and wildlife, economic construction of streets and roads and increase of social activities in the village. Four of the 6,000 German villages involved were represented in New Delhi: Milchenbach (EU-1), Idstein-Lenzahn (EU-4), Hayna (EU-2), Sternenfels (EU-5). Achievements included renovation of buildings, landscaping and beautification, establishment of recreation facilities, repair of environmental damage, care for ponds and riversides and a general revitalisation of community life, children's playgrounds, renovated community buildings, housing and new construction. These villages reported approaches which worked for them.

First, detailed planning:

From Sternenfels: 'Of great importance in all renewal efforts has been qualified and detailed planning. After the completion of the old village centre in Sternenfels a new living area was planned to be developed and built. The old village centre will be rebuilt to improve the communication between the villagers and create improved living conditions.' (EU-5) .

From Milchebach: 'A realistic financial plan has always been needed in order to implement the project.' (EU-1) .

From Lenzahn: 'Good results could only be achieved through careful planning. Measures for reaching the final aims had to be articulated, beforehand, even though they needed to be flexible enough to be adjusted to issues coming up during the practical work.' (EU-4) .

Another approach involved mobilising the whole community for the task rather than counting on a few committee members or established leaders. One reason for this is that the complexity involved in initiating even simple tasks requires a great deal of involvement. From Sternenfels: The 'buildings didn't meet the requirements of modern living. Inhabitants were socially disadvantaged and needed the support of communal government offices. The old picture of the village needed to be preserved, so planning was necessary. Surroundings needed improvement. Initiatives required the contribution of labour, time and financial support which takes a good deal of persuasion from the leadership to convince the residents and to create an understanding of the necessity of those measures and activities. Project plans had to be adjusted to existing regulations. The administration and planning group gave information to villagers but needed feedback that they often didn't get. It often is difficult to choose optimum targets within economic and financial limitations.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Undesirable social structures and social groups in the village centre result in a loss of status in a neighbourhood for others who would live there. Human relations and animosities among neighbourhoods, clubs and administration had to be considered. Also initial excitement sometimes veiled the final targets. Administration and planning teams tend to give directions from the top. The burden for implementation then is on the community and clubs to provide finances, volunteer work and maintenance. The orientation towards the final aim tends to discourage people. They can't see past the cost and the hard work.' (EU-5).

Village meetings and work units were important methods in mobilising the village. In Sternenfels '... an aim could be achieved only when the mayor and the village council got ideas from all sides. The public has to be excited..., by slide shows and publications. Then by renewal activities, concerned residents had to be encouraged to leave their old business and living areas and invest at more favourable places.' (EU-5).

Another approach to mobilising people was simply the power of positive example. In Hayna, There need to be some initiators who give positive examples and encourage activities of the community. For example, the women's group demonstrated the possibility of corporate work, also the village leaders sometimes needed to be exemplars for the village. For the future the community council is working on a village plan that ensures the maintenance of the facilities that have been created up to now and that honours local buildings.'

This led to a positive kind of competition. '*Sometimes there developed a competition between houses.* One family began and others followed. This pattern produced a great amount of initiative among the villagers and an increased living standard during the last 30 years. In the end everybody was willing to invest money, labour and time.' (EU-2).

NATURAL RESOURCES

The Agricultural base of rural communities makes caring for the land and its resources a priority.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A SOURCE OF CLEAN WATER

The actual construction of a well in a local situation can be a significant undertaking and an important event in the life of the village. The Multi-sector Rural Development programme in Uganda, reported on the construction of a well 10 feet in diameter and 20 feet deep: 'The labour required was provided by the community with some staff assistance. The actual building was done by a brother and a team of six young men. They lived for three weeks in a makeshift tent with food and cooks provided. Ten big snakes were killed at the site. It should have taken about one month, but was delayed for another two months. Funds came from several sources. One important learning was to build smaller wells which require fewer materials. This well was the first of nine and was hailed by a gathering of all the local government officials, the local people and the heads of religious bodies from eight different African nations, in full costume. To enhance the demonstration, the old well, dirty and weed choked, has been left nearby as a vivid reminder of the before and after picture.' (BA-35).

Clean water in the rural areas is an important concern. Application of readily available and appropriate technology improves the quality and quantity of rural water supply. In Jawale one of the Field Visit sites, the percolation tanks were very impressive.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

There are three small dams constructed which have allowed the formation of ponds, which in turn maintain the water table. Pump wells are usable therefore long into the dry season. The interest group talked about encouraging the construction of catchment ponds for irrigation and washing purposes. They acknowledged the difficulties of communicating the need to conserve water and harvest rain to people who seldom have enough water for their needs, and to communicate their concerns for the falling water tables. One suggestion made was that malaria can be prevented by adding a thin film of used motor oil to ponds, killing the anopheles larvae while leaving the water clear below the surface. One project, the Jawale Cluster in India, which illustrated the short-term participation of volunteer groups in third world development efforts has focused on the digging of wells by volunteer students from Japan. Seventy wells have resulted from their efforts. (SA-28).

Households need the capacity to treat their own water supply for cleanliness. The first aspect of this has to do with improvement of the delivery of water within the village: 'Now the village has tap water which has made a large difference in the life of the women here. Before they would come home from the fields every evening and have to walk a kilometer to get good drinking water. Previously the well in the village was used, but it was found to be contaminated with worms. Now they just have to go around the corner. Every four or five houses has a tap. It is turned on in the morning and the evening.' (Comprehensive Rural Health Project) (SA-4).

This is not only an issue for villages in developing nations. According to the Virginia Water Project, 'Over 200,000 rural Virginians rely on contaminated wells, streams and cisterns for their drinking water, or use unsanitary waste disposal methods which create a danger to their health.' (USA, 'Fit-Unfit-To Drink,' Virginia Water Project, Inc. Roanoke, Virginia, 24001).

The supply of water needs to be guarded and balanced with its disposal. In more developed situations, this involves sewage systems and in other situations simpler solutions. The Comprehensive Rural Health Project reports significant reduction in malaria through the use of household soakpits throughout the villages. Besides the obvious need for potable water, there is the need for an adequate supply of crop water. Application of readily available and appropriate technology like cisterns or water jars to catch seasonal deluges can improve the quantity of rural water supply. Additionally where adequate quantity already exists irrigation schemes can result in arid land reclamation for crops and forests. (SA-4).

Some projects have to deal with externally caused pollution. The villages involved in the India Development Service Integrated Rural Development Project (IDS) had a nearby industry, 'manufacturing rayon polyfibres and dumping their effluent in the river. The villagers began to suffer and most no longer took their drinking water from there. About two or three months back, the local people found tons of fish dead in the water. They took the fish to an office and discovered the cause of death to be oxygen insufficiency in the water. However, the company had influenced the testing agency to suppress it. The politicians would not touch it, they were receiving contributions from the company, but the villagers were suffering. The local practitioner went to Vedchi Pradesh Seva Samiti (VIAS) (SA-14) and organised a training programme on environmental matters and then held a camp in each village. It is in such a situation as this that the practitioner must take a stand, even forgoing whatever programme is being done, and engage with the villagers on the topic.' (SA-22).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CARING FOR THE FOREST ENVIRONMENT

'The DGSM realised that trees could survive only if the local people have a sense of belonging to them. *Local people will have sense of belonging to the forests only when forests meet their daily economic needs.* Hence the DGSM decided to plant such trees as would solve the problems of fuel and fodder of the local people.... Since the priorities of men and women are different, the DGSM tries to balance the needs of different sections of the villagers. For that, the villagers are told and convinced about the need to meet the minimum necessities of each section of society. The secret of this success is that Dasholi Grama Swarajya Mandal (DGSM) (SA-77) puts 'humankind' at the centre of environment.' ('The Chipko Experience,' p. 15-16).

Some of the clearest approaches to environmental improvements came out of the programmes in tree planting which were presented in New Delhi. 'Facts and figures show that only one quarter of the world's land surface is now forested, but this is expected to drop to one fifth by the end of the century. For Kenya, the once extensive forests have been reduced to only 2.5 percent. Ninety per cent of the population gets 85 percent of their energy needs from wood.' (Greenbelt Movement, Kenya, BA-15).

Dr. M.S. Swaminathan writes, 'It is because of the Himalaya that most of northern India escaped from desertification. The Thar desert extending up to western Rajasthan would have engulfed all the Indo-Gangetic plains but for the Himalaya. Unfortunately today human-made desertification is taking place because of our ill treatment of the Himalaya. While we derive our spiritual and cultural strengths from association with the peaks and rivers in the Himalaya, we continue to ravage the flora and the fauna and destroy the vegetation. Consequently soil erosion, silting of rivers and reservoirs, flash floods and other disasters are becoming frequent. In the plains adjoining the Himalaya, we have problems of alkalinity and soil fertility depletion. Most of these problems can be traced to the indiscriminate felling of trees.' The immensity and fragility of these highest mountains on earth provide illustration of approaches to reforestation. The Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal (DGSM) is a voluntary organisation committed to the 27 villages of the Alakananda Valley between Gopeshwar and Joshinath in Chamoli District of Uttar Pradesh. This involves improving the living environment of the villages through planting of trees, contributing to the overall economic development of the villages with fuel and fodder plantations, cash crop trees and small industries, increasing the independence of the villages through their own self help efforts and co-operation and improving the status of the villagers through equality of participation and linkage with others. Major accomplishments include launching the Chipko Andalan movement to stop indiscriminate tree felling and secure villagers rights, and the holding of tree planting camps with an 85-95 percent survival rate for seedlings due to intense village involvement. (The Chipko Experience, SA-77).

The Greenbelt Movement (BA-15), sponsored by the National Council of Women of Kenya, began in June 1977. It was a response to the increasing depletion of Kenya's forests and the resultant desertification and soil erosion. The Greenbelt Movement has spread across Kenya, involving thousands of people in hundreds of community groups. Over 500,000 trees have been planted, community education programmes on environmental protection have begun, several hundred women now earn a monthly income from seedling production, and 190 people (mainly handicapped) have been employed. The Greenbelt Movement is teaching people to respect and protect the tremendous natural resources of Kenya.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Other projects from Europe and Asia and Latin America show a similar pattern of approach. For example, Treework Services in Southwest England is involved in economically viable management of small deciduous woodlands linking ecology and conservation with practical funding models. (EU-35) .

HOW TO OPERATIONALISE FORESTRY PROJECTS

Community Involvement

Basic approaches from the following illustrations give some points to consider in implementing forestry programmes:

Village Responsibility is the key for the Greenbelt Rangers: A fundamental approach to reafforestation has to do with locating the responsibility, benefits and work of tree planting all in one place; the village.

The Greenbelt Movement (BA-15) relies on local groups planting 'green belts' of trees on school compounds and churchyards. To begin a belt, a local Greenbelt committee forms to direct the digging of holes and preparation of the land. The community then assumes responsibility for nurturing the trees. Many times the actual care is done by a group of children who are assisted by a Greenbelt ranger. These rangers are for the most part handicapped community residents who receive a small stipend for their work. They are key to the success of the green belts. It is easy for the headmaster or any other community member to be enthusiastic about a green belt for a week or even months. It is another thing to maintain the interest sufficiently long to allow trees to reach the self-reliance stage. The presence of a Greenbelt ranger, about whom the Greenbelt Movement inquires every month, whose work has to be reported on monthly and whose main role is expected to be encouraging children to participate, becomes a focus point for all concerned. There now exist over 400 green belts across Kenya.

In Dasholi Grama Swarajya Mandal, research and planning begins in the village meetings where people discuss issues together. Since growing trees and not planting them is the environmental issue, lessons from projects which have increased the survival rate of seedlings are important to hear. Reports of large numbers of seedlings being planted leaving behind barren fields with twigs sticking up from the ground, though impressive in their statistics will do little to save the Himalayas or any other thing. In an early attempt, DGSM planted 150,000 willow saplings in two camps. Failure to provide a protection wall resulted in a low rate of survival. Learning from its failure...DGSM decided to take care of each sapling planted. Ever since, workers of the Mandal have been travelling to these remote villages convincing women and men of the wisdom in the idea of planting trees for fodder and fuel in their vacant lands, behind protective walls. In the DGSM experience, the ineffectiveness of the afforestation strategy of the Public Works department (contractual planting in large tracts of commercially valuable trees) led them to move into this area cautiously and through trial and error method. (SA-77).

As their approach has evolved, the DGSM gets 85-95 percent survival rate on the seedlings it plants. The key to this is the villagers' involvement. A first key step is working with the village to make decisions to begin planting. This involves three things on the part of the village: a decision to set aside a plot of land and fence or wall it off, a decision taken by all the people in the village about the kinds of trees needed and their use; and a decision concerning the scheduling of the work and of a tree plantation camp when outside volunteers, DGSM workers and villagers work together to do the actual planting.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

The main discussion involves cash crop trees for fruit or nuts or timber, versus fodder and firewood trees which are faster growing...men prefer cash crop trees while women tend to emphasise the fodder and fuel-wood trees.

In preparation, the villagers build a wall around the plot to keep animals from grazing the area to be planted. To do this they employ a unique method of using a food-for-work programme that allows them to be freed from other work for the plantation preparation. 'Pits 18 inches in diameter and 18 inches deep were dug. The women collected dry leaves and burnt them in these pits, thus getting a good natural pesticide, and followed up by adding cow dung which served as a fertiliser.' DGSM workers participate with their expertise in placing the plot where it will have the greatest stabilising value on sloping land and relate best to the villagers' other enterprises.

As a part of the preparation, they agree to a schedule of up keep and organise work on the plantation during certain festival days (a time when the villagers see themselves free of other work), for watering the trees, and also for harvesting grass and other plant life from the plot for use as fodder for animals. (SA-77).

Greenbelt's approach is similar in using delimited plots set aside by the village (on school or church property) though they rely more on school children and Greenbelt rangers for maintenance of the plots. By concentrating the trees in a special designated plot it is simpler to nurture the trees and protect them from grazing animals. Also the plot itself is an identifying symbol for the village. (BA-15).

PLANTATION GROUPS

A Catalytic Event

DGSM uses plantation camps to accelerate tree planting and also to accelerate the whole process of development and development awareness. The afforestation camps have several characteristics:

- Plantation and education are given equal importance through a strict timetable.
- All strata of people participate fully in both discussions and physical labour.
- These camps serve as a catalyst between the government, development machinery and the local people.
- The association of the women in the activities of the camp.
- Finally, during the discussion sessions, the problems of immediate interest and long term interest of the local people and Himalayan ecology are discussed. (SA-77).

Plantation and education are given equal importance through a strict timetable. The cultural programme of the camp with evening celebrations, songs and dances and use of festivals is important in changing images. Evaluation is built into the evening sessions in the camps. In the summer camps, they start earlier and go later in the night.

All strata of people participate fully in both discussions and physical labour. 'For the convenience of the local people, the proceedings of the camp are conducted in the local dialect. Students, DGSM workers, representatives of other voluntary organisations, villagers, and others participate equally in work and discussion on a common timetable.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

'These camps serve as a catalyst between the government development machinery and the local people. During the camp, the main problems of the people of villages situated at the vicinity are discussed with the villagers. On the final day of the camp these problems are put before the authorities. At the same time an organisation of the most active persons of the village is formed which pursues the matter with the respective authorities. If the authorities try to bypass the problem, then the agitational methods are adopted. For example, the problem of construction of pedestrian passage ... was raised in these camps and was solved by the district administration with the association of the local people. Similarly the issue of wild animals destroying crops...was raised...and it was suggested that the local villages should be engaged in the task of constructing a boundary wall around the field. Till July 1980, the scheme was being implemented by eight villages and the work was found to be quite adequate.

'Till 1979, the camps used to be all male affairs. The women's participation in the camp's activities was more formal than real. In June 1979 a few young women members of Tree's Friends participated in the camp and raised the questions of making women's participation more real than formal. In the winter 1979 and June 1980 camp at Bembru, women were mobilised to attend the discussion sessions also and their suggestions were sought on the selection of the species to be planted. Unlike the men, the women insisted on planting more fodder trees. The suggestion was accepted by the meeting. Now women are involved from the very beginning in the planning and preparation as well as the camps, if possible by joint participation in meetings, but if necessary in separate meetings where their insights are sought.

'Finally, during the discussion sessions, the problems of immediate interest and long term interest of the local people and Himalayan ecology are discussed. For example, in the camp held at Pakhi and Bembru villages during 1979-1980 the main topics of discussion were Ecology and Uttarkhand, the responsibility of the Uttarkhand people on ecology, different aspects of ecology, the dual exploitation of women of Uttarakhand and ways of combating it, contribution of nature to man, significance of forests to local people, methods of increasing the forest-wealth, etc. This linking of immediate problems of the people with the larger problems of the region helps in sustaining the interest of the people on ecological issues. The camp's discussions make the ecological problems part and parcel of the people's problems.' (The Chipko Experience, p. 23-25, SA-77).

CONSIDERATIONS IN NURSERY ESTABLISHMENT

One Interest Group observed: 'You know, it takes a lot of trees to cover a hill.' The provision of seedlings as they are needed is a fundamental support function for any afforestation programme. These projects have come to depend on nurseries set up by the local people as supplements to government programmes. The situation in Chamoli District is described as follows: 'Generally, the nurseries of the Forest Department have only seeds of commercial species. Due to the unavailability of desired seeds and saplings, the Mandal gradually prepared a nursery for the villagers. A sister organisation, the Tangsa Gram Seva Sansthan, developed a nursery for horticulture. Enthusiastic students of the primary school in Bembru-Syaun village collected the seeds of 'Kiral' trees and dried them in their school courtyard. With this capital the school will start its own nursery.' (The Chipko Experience, p.. 71-72, SA-77).

The Greenbelt Movement in Kenya, since it is a nationwide programme (Dasholi deals primarily with 27 villages), has had to make nurseries a major component of its programme. They too have established special nurseries.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

'These were established to overcome several problems: the available government tree nurseries were very far apart; few farmers could afford the cost of transportation of such seedlings; there were not enough trees at the available nurseries to meet the demand. The Greenbelt Movement decided that the best way to handle these problems was to encourage private individuals, especially women's groups, to establish their own nurseries. The income rural women have been able to generate through growing seedlings has been a significant product of the project.' (BA-15).

It's interesting to note that the Greenbelt Movement provides no seeds to the women for their seedlings. Instead, it teaches them how to find their own seeds in the surrounding area. This is done for two reasons: 'So that the women learn that the seeds are locally available, free, from nature, and so that the women learn not to become dependent upon the Greenbelt Movement' (BA-15). Likewise, in Nepal, the fragile mountain project features locally owned and operated nursery services for tree seedlings. (SA-77).

The type of trees to plant, like anything else in life, is not automatic and so you must choose according to their uses. In addition to a concern for trees which can supplement the local economic situation and are chosen by the local people, certain ecological considerations are important in using trees as a means of checking erosion. Delegates suggested the following guideline in the interest group: For trees that are harvested use anything that meets the need, for trees meant to last, use local varieties.

COMPONENTS OF A MOVEMENT

There seem to be several key components for why the Greenbelt Movement in Kenya has been so successful: it started slowly; and had political support, funding and careful management.

Start Slow

A component of success seems to be to start locally and get the bugs out of your system and then grow like a tree slowly and steadily. The Movement started slowly and only expanded when it was sure that the foundation was solid. The idea for the Greenbelt Movement was conceived in 1974 which allowed for three years of thinking and planning until 1977 when it was adopted by the National Council of Women, Kenya (NCWK). 'Then it started small with the initial planting of only seven trees. Its growth from there was gradual and well-planned, starting with women's groups, then expanding out to school and youth groups, then to the community at large. This gradual expansion was intentional. The project organisers knew that people needed to understand first why care for the environment was so important. Once people understood this, then they could become committed to caring for and nurturing the trees.' (BA-15).

DGSM started slowly as well. A flood in the area in 1970 really started them working on afforestation problems. However, the time between then and 1974 was spent to a large extent in visiting and trying to work through a viable approach, first directed at stopping the indiscriminate destruction of the remaining forests and then later at the problem of afforestation. Their first camps were held in 1974-1975, and now after 47 camps, they still consider each an experiment. (SA-77).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Political support

For a project to be widespread, it must have both public and political level support to move rapidly at the local. For Greenbelt, Kenyan President Moi became a supporter of the Movement by publicly planting trees, and encouraging his fellow Kenyans to do the same. This gave the Movement credibility and people became more readily involved. The Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources has lent its expertise. Technical know-how and training is received from the Department of Forestry. This has been an important structural linkage because the Department of Forestry has field officers and staff throughout the country who are available for on-site advice and counselling. The reason for this successful co-operation is that the Greenbelt Movement has always seen itself as working in collaboration, not competition, with the existing government structures.

Although the Chipko (DGSM) movement started in opposition to government structures and policy permitting commercial exploitation of the forests, once that policy was changed, they worked in co-operation with government structures. Today district and other government officials participate in the camps (which are funded by the government).

Funding and Support

Funding and support of the project at each level and expanding with the programme is an important element. The consistent financial support the Greenbelt Movement has received has been an important component. The initial support for the project comes from individual donations of 10, 50, or 100 Kenya Shillings. Individuals also pledge small amounts to sponsor one or more trees in memory of a loved one or to mark a special occasion. As the Greenbelt Movement grew, support began to come from local organisations and businesses and then from international agencies. For a group to start a green belt, they must promise to provide the land and the labour required to both dig the holes and provide ongoing care. This donation of labour from the local level has allowed the project to stretch its money. DGSM now receives assistance in its efforts through food for work programmes and as subsidies for its camps, but a significant element in its sustained growth has been the industries which were set up between 1965 and 1970 which now provide the minimal salaries for all its staff.

Careful Management

Record keeping and management of logistics for the whole thing and for each plot are important elements to plan in at the beginning. The efficient management of the project has led to success. There is a good record keeping system that enables effective monitoring of the project. The Greenbelt committees are supervised and submit regular reports. The sixty-nine Greenbelt rangers serve as a liaison between these committees, the national headquarters and the Department of Forestry. Thus issues are resolved before they become too serious. Also the publicity and public education programmes have been well planned and carried out.

DGSM works closely with the local university for technical support as well as with the appropriate government departments. Additionally, the staff maintain contact with each participating village on a regular basis, visiting the village every 2-3 months.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

SOME PRINCIPLES APPLIED TO SOIL CONSERVATION

Though soil conservation projects were not present in as full an extent as forestry, many of the approaches and principles are transferable. Since one of Dasholi Grama's Swarajya Mandals concerns in their afforestation programme is soil conservation, they have developed some guidelines as follows.

Terracing

'In the eroding areas formation of strong walls at the top and bottom of the slide must be made. On the middle part small terraces should be formed. Then plants must be planted below the walls, so that these may not be destroyed by the eroding soil.

The Annual/Perennial Mix

'The perennial plants grow in many years and before grown up they are destroyed. So some grasses or bushes which grow quickly, must be planted, with those perennial plants. These are annual, biennial, etc.

Topographical Considerations

'The land formed by silt rocks can't bear heavy forests, so lighter plants must be planted, as bushes favour the area.

Use of Rooted Plants

'The vigorous roots of plants help in anchoring the soil strongly. The roots spread deeply and widely check the erosion.' (The Chipko Experience, p. 39, SA-77).

Wasteland Reclamation

Although many efforts are directed at saving and restoring currently usable land, projects in New Delhi were also engaged in demonstration and initiating activities in reclaiming wastelands.

APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

'Higher technology is best applied to larger community projects or clusters of villages. Standard technology must be adapted to local conditions in order to use local resources efficiently.' (Central International Event Interest Group Report).

DEVELOPING THE KNOW-HOW

The Perspective: In the midst of problems, conscious and continued effort is needed to develop and enact rural technologies in villages. Creating the know-how to overcome problems of rural disadvantage is not an easy matter.

Current technologies like hydro-electric systems must continue to develop appropriately, but they cannot reach all villages. In the New Delhi exposition one project represented the traditional scale of technological and energy improvement. This project was the Accelerated Mahaweli Ganga project from Sri Lanka. This is a multi-purpose project which has effected the generation of 450 mega-watts of hydro-electricity and irrigation facilities for 130,000 hectares of land.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Cyril Gamage talked about the project: 'Mahaweli is the name of a river, the longest river in Sri Lanka. And there is a big project to divert the water from this river to the dry areas. It is positive that about 130,000 hectares of land would be irrigated within six years. But, people are settled on that land... And the government has set up the necessary machinery to see that this settlement goes on slowly. There is a particular authority called the Mahaweli Authority which is looking into various aspects of human resource development in this area. This river diversion area, apart from the consumption aspects of building the canals and the reservoirs and so on, is the human aspect of settlement. This particular project is one concerned with human development—how to provide them with the necessary services in order to upgrade their social, economic and cultural or spiritual conscience. What are the sort of measures that should be taken...? It is also comprehensive in its approach, because it tries to upgrade the living conditions of the people, not only taking one segment of the society, but a wide spectrum—men, women, families, children. So the ultimate objective is to upgrade their conditions of living. Besides making the country self-sufficient in food, and also increasing the energy capacity of the country with the water diversion, we have power stations and so on. Besides producing more food, more energy for the country it provides more job opportunities for the people.' (SA-61).

In relation to such projects one interest group commented: 'Higher technology can be used successfully in the rural area if it is adapted to local skills and organisation and if it is applied at an appropriate population and geographic level.'

THE MEANING OF APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

The Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology (IERT), in India, indicated that a conscious process of awareness, demonstration, adaptation, testing and application is needed to upgrade technology. It is important to develop an appropriate technology for rural areas. Appropriate technology is, for instance, necessary for the development of rural energy potentials. (SA-18).

This means that technologies do not only have to be upgraded but also downgraded to make them appropriate to rural areas. 'One of the major reasons for the creation of dual societies in India has been the imitation of so-called 'Western' technology which tends to be labour saving and capital and energy intensive. It is therefore necessary to develop and use appropriate technologies in all areas of development such as agriculture, rural industries, housing and health, which are suited to the conditions in a given area. (India Development Service, IDS, SA-22).

Several criteria began to emerge: The use of appropriate traditional technologies is being resorted to locally to reduce the cost of production. Appropriate technologies result in meaningful employment.

A major criterion was that maximum use of local resources provides the primary context for technology in rural projects. This has two aspects: First, approaches should focus on using locally available low cost materials and efficient use of local resources at the village level. Second, the human resources should be considered. People who accept technology must manage and maintain it. A large number of projects are working toward appropriateness of technology and use of resources though they would not be classified as technology projects. The use of appropriate technology should be more and more emphasised in rural development, and so should the use of existing local resources. (Ahmedabad Study Action Group - Poverty Project: Dholka, SA-1).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Much of the experimentation with technologies is related to the provision of additional resources of energy at the local level. A major aspect is decentralised production. Total energy planning for maximum use of decentralised but integrated energy production systems, based on the use of all sources of low cost local materials, is the basis for sustained rural access to necessary energy. At the same time, there is still need to ensure access to current systems in many local areas. In Andra Pradesh, India, CROSS (SA-25) was encouraging people to stand up for their rights for electricity. Because of the existence of the Sanghan (local association) they felt strong enough to force the electric company to supply electricity in sufficient quantity. (SA-1).

THE DEMONSTRATION EFFECT

A number of projects stressed the importance of demonstrating new technologies if they are to be used. Since people are interested in visible results, a key method of promoting alternative technologies is through demonstrations in the community. Effective demonstrations are visible, low cost, have short term payoffs and utilise a willing individual or a project for the village as a whole, such as a school or clinic which all can see. Exhibits, such as the solar energy exhibit in Basaisa, Egypt, are also a form of demonstration. (NM-3).

Anand Niketan Ashram uses this approach as well. New technologies like biogas or farming methods are introduced first at the Ashram in a very visible way so that many people will see it in operation. Then a few people who are willing try it out and then it is used more broadly as others can see the results. (NA-23).

Demonstrations in the village are especially significant while working with isolated people according to Tata Steel Rural Development Society (TISCO). In dealing with people whose exposure to alternative methods and technological breakthroughs is limited because of their isolated life style, it is necessary to demonstrate the new in such a way that it is readily linked with their previous experience. For example, crop demonstrations are more effective on a farmer's plot in the village than in the less immediate environment of the input centres. (SA-17).

After a time the demonstration approach becomes an immediate response as illustrated by this comment from Dr. Arafa: 'I was asking about the light in the village we visited today. Do you know what we did? Immediately without even thinking about it, we said, we need emergency light with solar power for community provision. We had been working with solar energy. So there are immediate responses. And if you are serious about it you have to take a little bit of the effort and put it in the programme for the funding of it.' (NM-3).

For a village to adopt a new technology, the people themselves must decide. 'I think I have a belief that as long as we give responsibility into the hands of the people and we guide them, truly nothing is going to fail. And this belief has been sort of proven all the way along. Only when we misinform the people or we try to impose something by our own ideas are we in trouble. I think many of the problems that we have been facing are when people want to do the job quickly—get the reports, get the information. I think we have learned also to give the real information and leave the people to decide. You promote biogas, but you have to give all the perspectives—the bad and the good sides of it. Leave the people to decide, but make a show with one or two models and so on—getting people to see TV pictures and interviews and so on is part of the thing.' (Delegate report from Basaisa, Egypt, NM-3).

PART II: PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS**INDEX (continued)**

INDIA'S NEW GROUP FOR RAICHUR'S INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT (INGRID) (SA-05) GUILLESBUR, KARNATAKA STATE	2-018
INSTITUTE OF ENGINEERING AND RURAL TECHNOLOGY (IERT) (SA-18) ALLAHABAD, UTTAR PRADESH STATE	2-019
MAHAROGI SEWA SAMITI PROJECT (MSS) (SA-15) WARORA, DISTRICT CHANDRAPUR, MAHARASHTRA STATE	2-020
NATIONAL DAIRY DEVELOPMENT BOARD (NDDDB): ANAND MILK UNION COOPERATIVES (AMUL) (SA-33) ANAND, GUJARAT STATE	2-021
RURAL DEVELOPMENT CELL: SYNDICATE AGRICULTURAL FOUNDATION (SA-12) MANIPAL, KARNATAKA STATE	2-022
RURAL UNIT FOR HEALTH AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (RUHSA) (SA-27) K.P. KUPPAM BLOCK, DISTRICT NORTH ARCOT, TAMIL NADU STATE	2-023
SELF-EMPLOYED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (SEWA) (SA-32) DHOLKA, GUJARAT STATE	2-024
STANDARD MILLS AND THE SURAT COTTON MILLS RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (SA-10) HYDERABAD, ANDHRA PRADESH STATE	2-025
TATA STEEL RURAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY (TSRDS) (SA-17) JAMSHEDPUR, BIHAR STATE	2-026
VAISHALI AREA SMALL FARMERS' ASSOCIATION (VASFA) (SA-20) VAISHALI, BIHAR STATE	2-027
VEDCHHI INTENSIVE AREA SCHEME (VIAS) (SA-14) UDYOGWADI, VALOD, DISTRICT SURAT, GUJARAT STATE	2-028
WALCHANDNAGAR INDUSTRIES LTD. (WIL) (SA-16) WALCHANDNAGAR, DISTRICT PUNE, MAHARASHTRA STATE	2-029
XAVIER INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SERVICE (XISS) (SA-07) RANCHI, BIHAR STATE	2-030

PART II: PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS**INDEX**

ACIL NAVASARJAN RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION (ANARDE) (SA-11) RAVALSAR, DISTRICT JAMNAGAR, GUJARAT STATE	2-001
ACTION FOR WELFARE AND AWAKENING IN THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT (AWARE) (SA-21) HYDERABAD, ANDHRA PRADESH STATE	2-002
AGRINDUS PROJECT OF BANWASI SEVA ASHRAM (SA-02) GOVINDPUR VILLAGE, DISTRICT MIRZAPUR, UTTAR PRADESH STATE	2-003
AHMEDABAD STUDY ACTION GROUP (ASAG): POVERTY PROGRAMME, DHOLKA (SA-01) AHMEDABAD, GUJARAT STATE	2-004
ANAND NIKETAN ASHRAM (SA-23) RANGPUR, VADODARA DISTRICT, GUJARAT STATE	2-005
ASIAN INSTITUTE FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT (AIRD) (SA-03) BASAVANA GUDI, BANGALORE, KARNATAKA STATE	2-006
CHIKHALE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CLUSTER: BANKING CREDIT SCHEME (SA-28) KHANDALA BLOCK, PUNE DISTRICT, MAHARASHTRA STATE	2-007
COMPREHENSIVE RURAL HEALTH PROJECT (CRHP) (SA-04) JAMKHEDE, MAHARASHTRA STATE	2-008
COMPREHENSIVE RURAL OPERATIONS SERVICE SOCIETY (CROSS) (SA-25) NACHARAM, HYDERABAD, ANDHRA PRADESH STATE	2-009
EXTENSION TRAINING CENTRE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE (SA-19) HALDWANI, NANITAL, UTTAR PRADESH STATE	2-010
FOOD SPECIALITIES LTD. (SA-30) MOGA	2-011
GANDHIGRAM TRUST (SA-24) ATHOOR BLOCK, DINDIGUL TALUKA, MADURAI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU STATE	2-012
GONDA GRAMODAYA PROJECT: DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE (DRI) (SA-06) JAYAPRABHA GRAM, DISTRICT GONDA, UTTAR PRADESH STATE	2-013
GRAMIN, JIWAN JOYOTI-KENDRA PROJECT (SA-09) DISTRICT INDORE, MADHRA PRADESH STATE	2-014
GUJARAT STATE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (SA-26) GUJARAT STATE	2-015
HISAR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES (SA-29) DISTRICT HISAR, HARYANA STATE	2-016
INDIA DEVELOPMENT SERVICE (IDS): INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (SA-22) RANEENNUR TALUKA, DISTRICT DHARWAD, KARNATAKA STATE	2-017

PART II

Project Descriptions

OUTSIDE INTERVENTION

An example of outside intervention that has a beneficial effect on village character is seen in the case of the Anand Niketan Ashram's (SA-23) work with tribal people in eastern Gujarat, India. They evolved the system of the 'Open Court' based on the tribal way of deciding quarrels through the village leaders.

'The tribal people had one main handicap in their struggle for restoration of their rights, overall development and justice. Conflicts among them, both big and small, created discord which often ended in murder. The tribal members were often dragged to court in such conflicts. Much time, energy, and money was wasted. The harmony and affinity of tribal culture were often replaced by deep bitterness which sapped collective efforts. The Open Court system evolved as a speedy inexpensive form of justice, intelligible because of its truthfulness, liveliness and morality.' (SA-23).

Even when outside intervention takes place there can be dialogue rather than opposition. In the case of the Open Court it is noted that one of the outcomes is the creation of a forum of social and political education for the masses. This forum helps to replace their superstitions with a new vision and with changed attitudes, a spirit of 'give and take', 'forgive and forget.'

An understanding of the term 'development' must be related to how the practitioner describes his relationship to the village in which he is working. The image of agent and beneficiary which is commonly used understands development as being done for the people. ASAG in India, (Poverty Project: Dholka, Ahmedabad Study and Action Group, SA-1) sees the people with whom they work as clients and not beneficiaries. This avoids a patronising image. Many practitioners live within the village and identify themselves as part of the community. This empowers the image of change from within. Several of the change agents in India describe themselves as an Ashram. Their roles cease to be that of an impersonal development expert and greater importance is placed on personal life and behaviour as examples for the village to observe and emulate.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

Intensify Common Economic Development Programmes

When a massive population in a geographical area, such as in an entire district, lives below the poverty line, the key to successful development lies in establishing structures to improve the economy of the people by intensifying development in the area of their common needs. Large irrigation coverage, increasing and improving the skills of local artisans and production and marketing their products may be appropriate to this intensification.

Role of the Agent

The agent must remain dedicated to the cause of the people she or he is serving. It is also important to help the villagers become aware of the main objective so that all the programmes that are planned become their own. It is helpful for the agent to fit into a larger context such as, 'We are working for the total transformation of rural areas of our country.' This image when grounded in the minds and hearts of local people motivates their participation and dedication to build their own community.

CATALYSIS OF THE CATALYST

As a result of the project expansion, the change agent also undergoes change. One way this happens is that they soon experience the need to crystallise experience into lessons and methods that can be passed on to others. Those who have an innate or developed skill in particular areas find where a large number of people are involved, they have to capture that skill into words and procedures that can be applied elsewhere, in order to make the programme effective.

Second, greater attention is placed on the crucial importance of village involvement and village leadership. Change agents involved in a single village project can foster a dependency relationship among the villagers. When the change agent has to 'take on' a larger geography the need to cultivate village initiative is intensified and becomes obvious.

Third, the change agent provides the villages with a broader context to appreciate the significance of their involvement in development. DRI notes, 'villagers involved in the programme became a demonstration for others.'

Fourth, while keeping the practitioner in the perspective of the local, renewed attention is brought to the villages' relationship with the broader region and gives them new ways to resolve issues between villages.

Finally, the issue of staff recruitment and training is raised. 'You spot very unique projects by people who have chosen development as something they like to be a part of and not because they have been employed to do a job. It is a process of education. I think it is built in development or what we call leadership development. We need to know examples of someone who has succeeded in doing that' (Salah Arafat, Egyptian delegate) (see also 'Training of Rural Development Workers in LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES, Part I, Section 6, p. 1-600).

This is the challenge that expansion represents for the agent of change and the population with whom he or she works. More attention needs to be focused on replicability of projects and all that this involves.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

To facilitate the implementation of DRI's programme, each cluster has a volunteer 'chief' who oversees its development with the assistance of eleven local programme arena chiefs who meet bi-monthly. Their meetings include people from the private, public and volunteer sectors. An assistant director from DRI meets with cluster chiefs fortnightly to discuss issues and approaches. The project director circuits the various divisions (groups of clusters) and provides strong continuity and a guiding force. There are three locations for concentrated research, training and demonstration run by assigned staff. In addition, DRI has secured the voluntary services of individuals, professionals and the co-operation of various relevant government agencies. Private donors and villagers assist the project.

APPROACHES THAT WORK

Some approaches DRI has discovered to be effective in working on a district-wide basis can be reported here.

Hold Regular Contexting Meetings

Such meetings help the villagers to understand the basic concept of their development. They are the ones who have to take up the major responsibilities of developing their entire community in all aspects. They learn that they are partners with those who come forward and offer services and resources.

In all cases they are the major implementing agency. These meetings also can inform the villagers of different points of conflict the project is encountering and together they can creatively approach such adversities.

Identify Catalytic Village Leadership

The key to successful community development is an effective and dedicated leadership team within the village or cluster of villages. Their catalytic role brings about the transformation in the communities. It is the task of the Project Agent to keep personal contacts with the villagers to identify potential leadership. Being in regular contact with the villagers and implementing programmes helps the Project Agent and the villagers to become aware of all the responsibilities required from the community and the type of roles needed. It also provides an opportunity for the Project Agent to observe the emergence of such leadership, village structures and organisations. Organising the villagers enables them to participate fully in development. This should be in line with the traditional patterns and cultural ethos. When this is done, the villagers adopt such structures effectively and become capable of handling them independently.

Train Through Visible Demonstrations

To conduct any type of training programme the key is to ensure practical demonstration with regard to the curriculum that is being taught. The trainees learn and adapt easily and effectively if they see with their own eyes and have the opportunity of doing things themselves.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

The Lardin Gabas Rural Health Programme in Nigeria (BA-4) emphasises preventive medicine and health education. They have organised 118 communities over the last ten years to participate in the planning, establishing, supervising and control of their own health care delivery system. About 355 village health workers have been trained.

The Kenya Food and Nutrition Training Programme (BA-13) trained local field workers in programmes such as child care or small farming techniques. These field workers then organised and began 23 integrated community projects that directly benefit about 4,000 people.

The diversity of approaches points to the fact that practitioners are at a learning stage about the effective ways to expand the results of their efforts. Various approaches have been used by different organisations to broaden the impact of development. The Deen Dayal Research Institute (Gonda Gramodaya Prakaalp, SA-6) serves a district intending to involve every village through an extension approach. The Institute of Cultural Affairs, Kenya, (BA-19) serves a nation intending to involve selected clusters of villages in each part of the populated areas of the nation (see Appendix Q). The Ahmedabad Study And Action Group - Poverty Project, India, (ASAG, SA-1), serves a taluka (county) but focuses their work on a specific economic strata in the 10 percent of the population representing the poorest of the poor (see Appendix R).

The Gonda Gramodaya Prakaalp, Deen Dayal Research Institution (DRI) (SA-6) includes the entire district of Gonda, in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India. Situated on the Nepal border this is one of the most socially and economically backward districts of India. Its population of 2.8 million people, almost all of whom are rural, lives in the 2,814 villages of the district. With a staff of 90 people DRI works with 44 clusters of villages in this district. They have evolved an integrated approach related to motivation, economic development, health and education.

The project began in 1978 with the establishment of a research, training and demonstration centre in the village of Maharajgunj. It has various demonstrations of agriculture and animal husbandry and runs a school that has classes up to the secondary level. Sixty young graduates joined the projects on an honorarium of Rs500 per month for a period of two years. They helped in a detailed door-to-door survey of the needs of the entire district from which plans were made by the staff, based on DRI's philosophy of 'Integral Humanism.'

In the first two years of their progress, an emphasis was placed on irrigation. Thirty thousand tube-wells were completed and electric or diesel pumps were installed. This resulted in a 33 percent increase of crop output. An additional demonstration centre focusing on seed supply, irrigation farming and orchards was set up. The invention and use of a bullock-driven pump by one of the staff was a highlight.

The second phase demonstrated increased responsibilities given to the villagers. While earlier projects continued, an emphasis was placed on employment generation. A rope making machine was invented and distributed, the Rural Marketing Centre programme was accelerated and dairy co-operatives were established.

The two years prior to 1984 have seen an emphasis on the social dimension of the village. Primary schools, adult education classes, eye camps, women's groups and the formation of voluntary youth organisations to assist in DRI projects were among the activities.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

In the final analysis, integrated development involves human development. This entails developing the human resources of individuals and communities to initiate their own plans and establish structures that will sustain their community over the years.

STRATEGIES FOR EXPANSION

'Our world of today is characterised by the fact that ... about 800 million men and women live in absolute poverty. As the North-South Commission under the direction of its Chairman Willy Brandt has pointed out, this means that 40 percent of the people in the Southern part of our planet can only just survive in a situation marked by hunger, unemployment, lack of sanitary installations, disease, illiteracy and political and social oppression. Their livelihood is insufficient even to meet the simplest basic needs of human existence. They live at a level below what can be reasonably defined as befitting a human being.' ('Self-help Organisations In The Third World: Six Case Studies,' Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Foundation), Germany (BRD), 1982).

SELECTED METHODS OF PROJECT EXPANSION

One village, or even a cluster of villages, with a vibrant economic and social life is but a curiosity unless their well-being has implications for the issue of those trapped by poverty. For the practitioner this is the critical issue behind all of her or his efforts. It is not enough that a specific programme succeeded. The factors that were responsible for its success must be identified and documented. Each project undertaken can be a demonstration from which others learn.

Related to this is another concern. What does it take to expand the effects of a project geographically or to duplicate it elsewhere? What are the most effective strategies and approaches that work?

There are a variety of images for strategies that propagate development. Projects such as those just discussed operate out of the image of expansion where, as they progress and establish themselves, their project boundaries broaden without intrinsically affecting their approaches. Others use an image of extension where trained staff from a research and experimentation station visit villages across the project area to train, organise and demonstrate new methods and approaches to villages. The image of replication suggests the reduplication of an entire project that has been found to work in a different location. Yet another delegate, Salah Arafa, from a solar energy and village development project in Egypt, describes their approach as 'diffusion' where one village is selected as a 'growth centre' for solar technology and its impact diffuses to the adjoining areas.

Several of the Central International Event participating projects are already in the midst of such an expansion. The Rural Multipliers programme (The Santa Catarina Rural Extension Service, LA-3) from Brazil, are concerned with the increase of production in basic food products and improved rural family welfare. They have evolved a system by which their 'multipliers' could operate on a scale where they gather 120,000 producers and housewives around demonstration activities through which technology is transferred through 8,000 groups. This can be done within three years of establishing the project.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

Institutionalised Implementing Structures

When the issue of a social technology to enable people to participate in building a plan for the future is solved with methods like the aforementioned, and others, another challenge lies ahead. Some kind of village structure must be created to co-ordinate and implement these plans. This may emerge in the midst of the planning. However, while it may be easy to create structures to initiate these plans, having structures that can last over a long period of time is much more difficult.

In the case of AGRINDUS (SA-2) the formation of a local self government structure was a foundational prerequisite for the initiation of their project (see also ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DIVERSIFICATION, Part I, Section 3, p. 1-300). In the past, villages had a traditional system for self-government. When the project was initiated most of these were not functioning. With the acceleration of new activity and development in the village, the importance of this structure was again realised.

In 1967 they initiated several 'Gram Swarajya Samitis' (local self government committees). In most villages at least one person from each family is a member and participates in meetings. These meetings are held at a time when decisions or issues need to be considered.

In addition, AGRINDUS (SA-2) promoted the establishment of a 'Gram Kosh' (village fund) in each village made up of small contributions from villagers as a mutual aid system in times of urgent need and as a source for a village revolving fund. This system has been set up in 2000 villages to provide cheap credit of from five to 10 Lakhs Rupees per year.

Some Practical Challenges

Participants described the following challenges faced in implementing such programmes:

- Ensuring that the poor get their share of the total output;
- Common interest versus vested interests—integrated development will not work if the interests of the people are not common;
- Securing community leadership for the programme;
- Using structures to an advantage by turning around those that are exploitive.

The most important thing is involving the people. In such an interrelated universe, the implementation of an integrated programme encounters a great deal of complexity.

Practitioners suggest that the following be kept in mind:

- Simplifying the programme so that people can understand and be involved;
- Integrating the approaches with the local ways of doing things;
- Building-in common accountability for the people in order to allow the programme to become the peoples' programme;
- Dealing with the complexity of the task by implementing the programme first in a limited geographical area.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

The consultation begins with a ceremony with speeches from local and district leadership. The next five days consist of the actual planning event which revolves around five basic questions:

- *Vision*; What concrete changes do all of us want for the village's future?
- *Contradiction*; What specific issues are preventing us from accomplishing these goals?
- *Proposals*; What are the new directions we would propose for the village?
- *Tactics*; What are specific actions that must be taken to accomplish these proposals over the next two years?
- *Implementaries*; To initiate these actions over the next six months: What are the different tasks? Why are they being done (intent)? When is the most appropriate time to do them? Where will this be done? How will they be done? Who should do them? At the beginning of each day, one of these questions is discussed for a short time by the entire group. Then they gather as teams to examine particular aspects of this question. Some teams may go on field visits to find the answers. In these discussions two roles emerge. There is the objective one of the consultant who sees the village from the outside and asks questions and there is the subjective one of the village resident who sees the situation from the inside. This allows for creative discussions to go on in the team. At the end of the day results are reported at the closing session.

SIDA, The Swedish International Development Authority, Kenya, (BA-18) comments in their analysis of the process used by the ICA in Kenya. 'There are no restrictions on the objectives or goals proposed by the villagers. All suggestions are considered by the village meeting and no propositions, however extraordinary, are disregarded. It is the planning process, when it comes to designing methods with which to reach the goals, which makes the villagers realise that some of their over-ambitious objectives cannot be realised. This mode of local planning creates an integrated way of tackling local problems which differs considerably from many of the conventional efforts to push sectorial development in rural areas.'

On the last day of the event each team launches a project through some concrete action. A farmer may donate some land for a demonstration farm. The first session of a kindergarten for village children might be held. A group of women may form a society for starting a cottage industry. This 'bottom line' gives a practicality and action orientation to the team discussions and focuses the entire consultation towards programme implementation.

The method of indicative planning has sufficient depth and flexibility to deal completely with issues and yet is simple enough to be mastered by ordinary villagers. 'Village residents were trained to lead and participate in the meetings and task forces in both formal and informal programmes were held locally and statewide. Since the project has expanded to ten villages, leaders of Jawale village began to relate to other villages by leading meetings, participating in cluster events and demonstrating methods and presuppositions of locally initiated development. Many have travelled across the state and nation to participate in courses, consultations and councils.' (The Jawale Cluster Human Development Project, Maharashtra, India, SA-28).

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

PLANNING WITH PEOPLE RATHER THAN FOR THEM:

Some Practical Hints

'What we need is a planning technology which can be handled by the people themselves which in essence means techniques and tools of planning which can stimulate people for self-reliant development. In what way is a group of village people sitting and deciding on what to do to improve their living conditions inferior to a village plan prepared by an outside agency after spending more money than the village will ever get to develop itself? One can understand the sophistication in planning technology at the national level where facts have to be generalised, but not at the grassroots and local level where it is the details which matter.' (Mishra., R. P., 'Participative Planning and Self-Reliant Development,' 1983).

Elkford Community Development Project (NA-2), a coal mining town of 2,000 people in British Columbia, Canada, went through an extensive programme of planning and financial analysis for the development of their residential, industrial and commercial needs. This was in response to the decision of several coal mines to open up new mines in the vicinity which was expected to bring in several thousand new people to the area and could mean either new opportunities or unmanageable problems. Through the involvement of the community in thinking through their future, they were able to turn their situation to their advantage. They list the following as their learnings about participation:

- *Clearly stated goals* both long term and short and a plan to reach these goals, allows full participation from all the sectors (public, private, local, volunteer) and helps create a positive atmosphere for development.
- *Comprehensive approach* including as many factors as possible in the plan shows the core leadership how to proceed in spite of surprise.
- *All communities need to plan for the future* whether they are stagnant or not. Building plans and setting goals welds a community together.

To be partners in action needs a planning technology that village people can use. An approach that has these characteristics is one developed and used by the Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA) in their projects in different parts of the world. This process described as *the indicative planning process* has been used in week long camps called *village consultations*.

The consultation, having a festive atmosphere, is held in a public, accessible place within the village such as a school building or a tent. Preparatory visits and discussions are held with various sections of the village in order to clarify the intent and nature of the planning consultation. Visits are conducted with leadership in the nearby towns to assure their future support and with selected government officials, business people and any others whose technical knowledge may be of help to the village during the planning process. The practical organisation of the consultation is:

- The village makes the practical arrangements to conduct the event.
- The facilitators comprise five or more ICA representatives and volunteers trained in the method.
- Participants are divided into smaller, more manageable teams of ten to twenty people.
- About fifty to a hundred villagers participate on a full time basis in the planning with others on a part time basis.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

An important aspect of an integrated approach to rural development on the micro-level is the comprehensiveness of the approach. The question here is, are all the aspects of the life of the individual and the community being taken into account in designing the developmental programme? Delegates pointed out that this is based on the recognition that human problems are inter-related and require a co-ordinated approach.

It is clear that neither the number nor the diversity of programmes that an organisation implements is an indication of a comprehensive approach. The Academy of Development Sciences, India, points out that; 'Much of the thinking and work regarding the integrated approach among voluntary groups is still rather immature and in practice an organisation doing integrated rural development runs a number of distinct and separate projects in education, health, agriculture, etc., where the integration is mechanically done.'

In focusing on total human situations the practitioner comes to a comprehensive approach. Creating a new synthesis of care, the practitioner designs an integrated approach. The values of comprehensiveness and integration are two sides of the same coin.

The point is borne out by the experience of many practitioners where any particular programme taken with any seriousness over a period of years leads them to relate it to other problems of community life as well. 'Gradually we realised that an integrated approach was required that would include not only essential health care (prevention, family planning, sanitation and treatment) but also practical education and income-generating activities in the form of small-scale productions of the necessities of life.' (Gandhigram, SA-24).

Over the last twenty years The Fifth City Human Development Project, (NA-17) Chicago, USA, while working with the Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA), evolved the following five principles of comprehensiveness that they have used in designing other projects:

- *Operate within clearly delimited geography;* In order to produce visible results and create community identity, it is necessary to focus renewal efforts. Given the anonymity and loss of identity characteristic of urban areas, this allows for a sense of identity and cohesiveness within the project area.
- *Deal with all the issues;* Problems within a community are inter-related and must therefore be tackled simultaneously.
- *Involve all the people;* By involving all the people of a community a consensus on future directions can be created.
- *Address the depth human issue;* By confronting the community's root issue the community is released to see the possibility of effective action in areas previously considered impossible.
- *Create key community symbols;* Communities need social reminders of decisions they have made.

The invitation to think, plan and demonstrate methods and models toward a new synthesis of care is an invitation that must be extended to the total village. This is more crucial in generating a comprehensive approach than the practitioner's attempt in initiating a variety of diverse programmes. The comprehensive approach depends on a partnership in action of both the community and the practitioner.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

Sports activities, originally organised with school children, gained the interest of the youth and adults. Villages contributed towards the cost of equipment. Those who became involved in sports also became more regular participants in evening classes and other community events.

INGRID used a night school to initiate formal and informal discussions with villagers on other subjects. This provided opportunities for villagers to talk through and learn to manage crisis, conflict and neighbourhood quarrels. Through their experience of successfully handling their own issues, the residents have become aware of their potential strength. They have learned what rights to expect and how to go about claiming them. In the process, effective ways to work together have been learned and leadership has emerged.

INGRID has now broadened its work from education to other issues such as land rights, securing promised government subsidies for housing for the disabled and elderly and working with various community service needs such as sanitation and road construction.

As another example, AGRINDUS (SA-2) began with water conservation as its entry programme. It started its work in the famine year of 1952 in a predominantly tribal area known as Son Par, 100 miles from district headquarters of Mirzapur in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India. Five workers moved into huts provided for them and played an important role in organising famine relief. However, they were not satisfied with mere relief work and wanted to introduce programmes of an enduring and self-generating nature which would prevent the occurrence of further famines. They worked with the villagers to help them protect their crops grown in the monsoon period which were vulnerable to untimely and scarce rainfall. Through the building of bunds (small earthen dams) water conservation measures were instituted enabling full harvests.

Further, dam-building enabled the villagers to have enough water to harvest a second crop in the dry season as a cash crop. As this became a regular part of the village economy, it became a problem to secure fertilisers. The multi-purpose co-operatives in the area were not supportive and finally AGRINDUS organised 'Gram Kosh'. Gram Kosh is a village revolving fund accommodating 250 villages to provide inexpensive credit to farmers who could then buy fertiliser wherever it was marketed.

While continuing these and a number of other programmes, they now plan to undertake skills-training to develop diverse employment options and also to enable people to take gainful employment in large industries in the project area.

Water conservation, which began as the entry point for AGRINDUS, has branched into other related programmes which will become the foundation for further development.

Use a Comprehensive Approach

'Development starts with a commitment but becomes more complex when you talk about comprehensiveness.' (Lily Fox, Fifth City Human Development Project, NA- 17).

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

At the level of the community, the nutritionist, the health worker, the sanitarian, the water supply technician, the pre-school teacher and child development worker have to learn to work together. This has several implications. They need to be trained, not only in techniques, but even more strongly in their attitudes. They need to be exposed to one another's aims and disciplines. And finally, when there is only one multi-purpose worker in the community, he or she will have to imbibe the basics of all basic services.' (Ibid, Haxton).

INITIATING AN INTEGRATED PROGRAMME

Find the Entry Points

'It's the entry programme which decides where we stand in our working, to what extent we will be able to build relationships with the people and to what extent we are able to attempt to address their problems.' (INGRID) (SA-5).

Another aspect of integrated programmes is the concept and implementation of programmes that are entry points. Several of the projects at the IERD event have developed, grown and diversified their activities over the years. Most of them began their work by addressing one major concern which became their entry point. Their experience has been that it is a valuable approach that ensures that integration occurs. It gives the change agent time to build a relationship with the community and become familiar with the community and its issues. It also allows leadership to be built in the community to initiate and support the programmes. Therefore, it is most important that the programme chosen be the most appropriate for an entry to the community. In addition, the best way of getting the people involved in designing an integrated programme (to make it a truly integrated programme) is a matter of the people and the practitioner learning together how to succeed in their first venture.

The experience of INGRID (SA-5), India's New Group for Raichur's Integrated Development, working in Raichur district in the southern state of Karnataka, is a clear example of the effectivity that can be released by an appropriate entry programme. They held informal meetings with villagers to discern the needs that could formulate the basis of the first INGRID project in 1981.

They were aware that the success or failure of the first project would score INGRID as a winner or loser in the neighbourhood. In order to succeed, they felt that the project should be as simple as possible and fill a need that is already recognised by the people.

In their discussions, people began pointing out the need for public education. Technically each village had a government teacher. Although four of them had school buildings, none was equipped with teaching aids, health facilities, playgrounds or lunch programmes. In four other villages, classes were being held in temples, making it sensitive for Harijans or Muslims to attend.

The INGRID staff began conducting classes in two of the villages on the basis of three to four days a week. After three months, during which the attendance of the pupils, children and adults was still regular, an education plan was drafted for eight villages where no education facility existed. When it was decided that the adult education curriculum should expand beyond reading, writing and arithmetic, they developed lessons on information giving, development of leadership and the development of hygiene and health habits.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

Using three different strategies simultaneously, like the above, to accomplish one thing is an integrated approach to economic development.

Carefully examining a project from various aspects when it is being designed is another integrated approach to promoting important developmental priorities. Dr. David P. Haxton from UNICEF speaking to the Central International Event delegates, illustrates this with regard to the issue of children's health: 'Consider, for example, the planning, construction and maintenance of an irrigation project. Integral to the project design and execution, can we not appraise its impact on children and turn it to the advantage of their health and development? A way to begin this process is to start with the children of all those working for the project. What are the nutritional and health care facilities available to pregnant and lactating mothers? Do we ensure that all children and women have access to learning opportunities relevant to their lives, presently and in the future? Can we promote income-generating activities for women? And on the basis of this cluster of measures and the employment avenues available directly or indirectly through the project, can we also promote the acceptance of birth spacing? This way we would have laid the foundations of child health and development in and around an irrigation project. This nucleus could be built upon to reach children and their families in more villages in the neighbourhoods.'

DESIGNING INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES

Integration requires the imaginative anticipation of the future and the involvement of the local people in pulling together innovative and simple projects that include all the needs and values. Jagdish Nazareth of the Ahmedabad Study and Action Group - Poverty Project: Dholka (ASAG) (SA-1) in India, sees this as getting a 'gestalt' of where things are. His imagery of creating a *house of the collective mind* points to the importance of ensuring that people are involved in visualising the entirety of the project and its growth so that all the participants can be creatively engaged in its-day-to-day implementation.

In one of the interest groups, Rod Custodio of the Philippines (SP-10) provides some practical hints in creating this collective mind. He defines community as people who have a common interest. Designing an integrated programme requires looking at the human beings who make up the community. This is not done abstractly. Custodio suggests that it could be done, for example, in the context of a training session organised around a common interest like the income source of the community. He says, 'During this training, find out who the leaders are. Find out the women's role, the role of the youth.' In the Philippines, as in many other countries, the growing of rice is the major income source. This activity is related to several other issues as well, such as providing employment, creating a demand for agro-services, the rearing and harnessing of livestock, the growing of vegetables and raising of fish in rice fields. These issues are all related to each other. Taking Custodio's suggestion, the practitioner would be able to use the training session to involve the community in designing an integrated programme for crop improvements that could include all these activities. The training session would also be used to motivate the community to assume responsibility for the total project.

Another element of integrated programmes is the concept of convergent services where all elements that answer the needs are incorporated into the programme on the local level. 'The convergence is not a final consummation, but a coming together of the various services from the earliest stages of and through the development process.'

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

THE INTEGRATED APPROACH

'In the same soil, water and climate one seed becomes a tree, another a bush. So it is with the seeds of development. Before we start we must know, like the seed does, whether we are going to be a tree or a bush. We have to create the concept, the house of the mind. In a community project that is the house of the collective mind it has to be good, feel good and be properly calculated to do its functions.' (Jagdish Nazareth, Ahmedabad Study Action Group, Poverty Project: Dholka, ASAG, SA-1).

DEFINITION APPLICATIONS

Despite the fact that many of the projects at the the New Delhi exposition commonly described themselves as *integrated*, the understanding varied from project to project. Without attempting to define the term so that it holds all the possible meanings, this section will look at a few aspects of effective integration seen in some of the approaches represented at the Central International Event.

The team that visited the Whole Village Development Project of AGRINDUS (SA-2) in Banwasi Seva Ashram, India, were impressed with how their development programmes made full use of the local environment and resources of the area. 'The management of land and water was outstanding in each project within the four blocks. Land reclamation, water reservoirs, irrigation systems were used extensively. Village labour, as a resource, was managed by having crafts in the homes with simple equipment for spinning, for example, which could be repaired locally. Local materials, mud and wood, were used to build the homes and community buildings.' Developing people's relationship to their local environment is an integrated approach to creating a sound economy.

Anand Niketan Ashram (SA-23) educational programme represents a refreshing departure from the prevalent models of education as used in village schools in India. 'Appropriate education is integrated into everyday life. Besides reading and writing, the children are doing some practical work for two hours a day. When they are twelve years old they go into an apprenticeship to learn an agricultural or technical profession' (see also LEARNING AND EDUCATION PROCESSES, Part I, Section 6, p. 1-600).

This is another form of the integrated approach. The student is integrated into a developing, effective educational programme within the context of the socio-economic pattern of his rural society.

The Coordinacion Rural, A.C. (CRAC) (LA-1) of Queretero, Mexico, employs the following strategies to enable the economic security and independence of the farmers in their project area:

- Making favorable the use of existing resources of land, local knowledge, skill and human intelligence to ensure protection of these resources and the increases in net income from their use;
- Creating new productive capital, which in time, becomes a new asset in the estate of the local people over which they contribute to the control and management;
- Facilitating organisation through which people exercise their decision-making capabilities to deal with all matters affecting their lives in a sensitive, peaceful and responsible manner.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

LOCAL GROUPINGS AS CHANGE AGENTS

Formal organisations (societies, co-operatives, associations) can often act as a vehicle and provide the *muscle* for a community to bring about its own change. The Ha'asini-Hamula Co-operative Society in Tonga (SP-13) is a society which has 62 members: about half the population of Ha'asini. The difficulty of transporting goods from town, the scarcity of water, the lack of technical knowledge and skills were some of the issues around which the members decided to begin an economic development project. With seven residents, who worked as volunteer staff for the society, they established a shop with a capital of US\$900. The profits from the shop enabled them to build a club house. Revenue and contributions from the club house helped them build a coconut 'copra' drying shed three years later. The society went on a campaign to secure aid and received a tractor from the Central Planning Board of the government a year ago.

The project has had an impact beyond the economics in both the village and the surrounding area. Women members hold monthly hygiene inspections of kitchens, utensils, water tanks, toilets and fences. The tractor has improved the agricultural standards in the entire district. Marketing of crops and handicrafts has increased as well.

In Malaysia, the People's Credit Co-operative Society (SP-6) points a way that the poor can develop the strength to improve their situation. Most rubber estate workers in Malaysia live and work on plantations that are totally company owned and controlled. S. Janakey Raman, President, Peoples Co-op Credit Society, relates how a group of workers got together ten years ago to do something about their situation; 'We needed co-operation especially among the youth. Thirty-three workers formed a co-operative and asked the government to register it. Four years later we got the green light. Now there are committees on loans, education and so on. We teach people bookkeeping and conduct adult education classes. In addition, we work with them on labour laws, consumer education and management. Only workers have leadership in this co-operative. Teachers and others can only have consultative roles. This is a totally new thing in Malaysia where all co-operatives had been top down. Now there are 30 areas each with its own co-operative. Many of their memberships cut across racial boundaries as well.'

A major accomplishment for the workers was the construction of their own homes through their co-operative at the nearby town of Batang Berjuntai. Since plantations are company owned, when the workers retire they are either entrenched or homeless. Members of this co-operative can look forward to a roof above their heads in their retirement.

Such organisations can be a great vehicle to influence development. A delegate from the University of Nigeria, Professor Martin Mutan, related how the Umuanunu Nsu co-operative centre at Nsukka (BA-2) had been a force for development. 'Because of political problems, people were returning to the village. They were literate but had no trade. So trades were taught. The co-operative selected people and sent them to the Ministry and other places for three months training.'

However, Professor Mutan does point out the vulnerability they experienced when politicians and other powerful structures in the village tried to take power. The key, he feels, is to ensure the member's control by enforcing a *one person, one vote* system; allowing only one position per person, training members in management and selecting representatives with care.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

One family began and others followed. This pattern produced a great amount of initiative among the villagers and an increased living standard during the last 30 years. In the end everybody was willing to invest money, labour and time.

This spirit has spread to other areas near Hayna as well. In 1969 measures for consolidation of farmland and meadows were accomplished successfully. The drainage system was replaced by 1976. They now have their own water supply system and a water purification plant. In 1981 they converted their gymnasium into a multi-purpose hall that could be used for sports as well as different events organised by the local clubs. Since 1980 the village has had a leisure park in the centre that includes grass areas, a playground and a hard court. They have renovated, plastered and painted their former school house and church. Private houses were renovated at the initiative of the residents. Areas for new buildings have been developed. The face of the entire village has been transformed through things like flower arrangements around the houses, planting of trees and construction of benches.

Tsumago village (Conservation of Historical Environment in Tsumago, SP-29) with about 1000 people in the Nagano prefecture, Japan, illustrates a different aspect of the role of tradition and people's participation in deciding what this tradition should be for them. Sixteen years ago they were one of the poorest of villages until they decided to turn one of their assets of their historical environment into an advantage by enhancing and restoring it into a living symbol of Japan's tradition and history. By getting financial assistance from Nagano prefecture they restored several of their houses. As tourists began to make it a place to visit, bringing more traffic and business to the community, they prospered and restored several more houses. Today Tsumago is one of the finest historical villages in Japan.

Another aspect of the community's resolve is the set of principles they established regarding life in their village. Naoshi Kawabata, a delegate who was one of the people who designed the plan for historical preservation said, 'An association called *We love Tsumago* was created. All the residents became members and helped establish the principles such as *never sell, never hire out, and never destroy*. Anyone could have up to two occupations but no more in order to maintain equal opportunity of income and employment. This is because if someone becomes poorest then the historical conservation cannot continue. It is not some kind of authorised law. It is just kept. Everybody does. For example, after 10 pm they cannot drink. In the morning they cannot walk with a rough style. It is really strict. Everyday one representative from every family must clean the roads in front of their house almost at the same time. That is because it is a symbol. If everybody doesn't co-operate with each other the project will be destroyed. It is to symbolise action.'

Hayna and Tsumago both indicate the creative ability of local communities to rebuild their society. Hayna reveals the strength of tradition to be a force for change and development. Tsumago is an example of self-reliance in recreating social relationships in a community rather than remaining victims to forces of decay. Both of them show that trends shaping the planet do not necessarily have to be blind forces that only massive and powerful mechanisms can withstand. These trends can be the result of changes intelligently conceived and nurtured by ordinary, human communities around the world.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

This was demonstrated in Germany (BRD) and must be seen in the broader context of the post-war transformations that were taking place in the rural sector. In the 1940s and 1950s the emphasis in Germany (BRD) was on rebuilding communities after the destruction caused by World War II and on the resettlement of millions of people who came from Eastern Europe after the War. In the 1960s major efforts were made to reorganise and consolidate landholdings to provide for larger farms, upgrade and modernise such infrastructures as highways and drainage canals and centralise many rural activities into larger, more efficient units. Major political reorganisation at this time reduced the number of municipal governments from 24,000 to 8,500 as villages were amalgamated with each other or with nearby towns.

The primarily economic changes of the 1950s and 1960s were made to bring about increases in agricultural production and public services. What was not seen at the time was the social cost of these changes such as the loss of village identity and the breakdown of a sense of community. This also included the narrowing of economic security as more and more rural families became dependent on full time work outside the village and gave up a multiple-income life style that included production for their own consumption. Then there was the loss of farm land for urban style subdivisions, the separation of generations as children were bussed to larger schools outside their communities, the segregation of older residents and low-income families to the deteriorating old buildings of the village core, plus the increased financial stress on the few full-time farmers as agriculture became agro-business producing for national, continental and global markets and requiring higher capital investments and more debt financing.

In the last 15 years a substantial shift in thinking has taken place. In rural organisations and in government ministries the re-evaluation of the traditional village community and the local economy has led to new programmes. Some of these, at least in spirit, are in contradiction to what had been official policy only a few years previously.

Along with this shift is the emergence of the ecology movement as a major force with its emphasis on organic farming, small scale agriculture, simpler life style and living in harmony with the environment (see also COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY, Part I, Section 7, p. 1-700). This movement has its strongest support among younger university educated, city-dwellers (many of whom have moved to the rural areas in the last 15 years). Together, these trends have produced a new focus on rural life in Germany (BRD).

Since 1961 there has been a tradition of village competitions called *Our village, a great place to be alive*, with points awarded every two years for the best kept village. In 1983, six thousand villages took part involving several million people. The uniqueness of this competition is that it requires a minimum of public assistance and a maximum of local self-help through citizen participation in the form of voluntary work days and money donations.

Hayna (EU-2) is a village of 970 residents in the state of Rheinland-Pfalz. Even though the trend towards industrial employment is increasing it has an agricultural economy with tobacco as its major crop. It was one of the earliest villages to participate in this competition. This was because of the 'Corpus Christi' and 'Pentecost' processions of the village where people decorated their houses and yards with flowers. They started to leave their decorations out in a more permanent way. With the beginning of the competition the residents started to do more beautification of their houses. Sometimes a competition would develop between houses.

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

DYNAMICS FOR BUILDING COMMUNITY LIFE

'Development is not a cluster of benefits *given* to the people in need but rather a process by which a populace acquires greater mastery over its own destiny.' (A CRUEL CHOICE by Denis Goulet).

ELEMENTS OF SELF-RELIANCE

Among the practitioners and projects represented at the IERD were those whose uniqueness was that they did not rely on initiatives from outside agents of change. These were communities who saw a need for something to be done and organised themselves to do it. Agents of change associated with such projects played an augmenting role and not a central one (See Appendix A).

Such a phenomenon is not unfamiliar for most parts of the world. The tradition of self-help is seen in the traditions of 'Harambe' (pull together) in Kenya, 'Gotong Royong' (collective self-help) in Malaysia, 'Shramadan' (gift of labour) in India and known by many other names across the world. These efforts continue to make a difference in the quality of life of villages and communities but go undocumented. While benefiting close neighbours, their achievements and learnings about approaches that work are lost to the rest of the world.

The spirit of self-reliance can arise, even in the absence of community support and sometimes even in spite of it. Devidass Ghodeswar from the Collective Farming Project of the Indian Institute for Youth and Welfare (IYW) (SA-43) relates the story of a group which stood on their own before coming for aid.

Seventeen landless families in an economically backward and socially fragmented village of 800 people came up with a solution to their poverty by collectively cultivating barren land belonging to the government. For two years they encountered no opposition and then the landowners of the village took measures to get rid of them. Their appeals to the police and the revenue authorities received no response. Instead of giving up they contacted the IYW which provided protection for them to cultivate the land and aid for seeds and fertilisers. Devidass reports that they have now developed irrigation facilities and begun other programmes on animal husbandry, education, tailoring classes and women's training. Of further significance is the fact that landless labourers from other villages now approach them for guidance and support.

As the process of economic self-reliance has been initiated by the group in the village the relationship between members of the group and the small and marginal farmers of the village has also changed. The small and marginal farmers started thinking of their own situation and felt that this group can help them for their economic development. So a cordial and co-operative relationship is established between the group and the small and marginal farmers of the village. A recent development is that two of the group members are elected on Gram Panchayat of the village and the head Sarpanch of the Gram Panchayat has quite a good relationship with the group. It reveals that the socio-economic and political structure is changing in the village.

DEVELOPING COMMUNITY IDENTITY

While the struggle for economic survival and the sense of being *against all odds* can call forth self-reliance in communities, another aspect of the struggle is to develop a community identity.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

Exchange of data around the world is an important concern especially for those in the specialised field of technological development as expressed by the interest group. 'The creation and accelerated systematic use of information networks are essential for the rural poor to participate and benefit from potential energy development. A lot of information exists but a system for sharing is needed both between nations and among the masses.' As a project from Europe stated: 'We see a tremendous need for research and development. Many successful appropriate technologies already exist in one place which could be used in many more places, including the developed West. Some technologies require further development and field testing, and other areas of need cry out for fresh approaches and initiatives. In all cases clear practical documentation is necessary if the working technologies and methods are to be widely shared. We would emphasise this as probably the most important aspect of our work.' (Creative Hands Workshop, EU-33).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

There are many levels of appropriateness of technology. Centro de Estudios de Tecnología Apropiada Para México (CETAMEX) in Mexico (LA-49) was born out of a concern for rural projects that fail due to deficient technology even where other factors are satisfactory and the realisation that a project must be adequately implemented with a particular technology. CETAMEX is an association of professional volunteers who work in other government rural development programmes. They generate and implement technology appropriate to local conditions in seven regional projects in arid, humid, and tropical areas of Mexico.

These special technologies receive much recognition but there is also recognition that more traditional institutions can be effective. 'Technical institutions can effectively serve as rural development laboratories for experimental equipment, technology and methodologies.' (Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology, IERT, SA-18).

Some form of bridge is needed to disseminate new techniques across a cluster of villages. The need for this motivation to use new technology utilisation is clearly stated in the materials from the Vedchhi Pradesh Seva Samiti, VIAS project: 'As these villages are isolated from the main stream of modern ways of living and working, a critical strategy has been the introduction of new and appropriate technology. This has included both technology for improving living conditions, such as smokeless stoves and new housing designs and techniques, and for improving working conditions with such new technologies as improved seeds, fertilisers and pesticides for increased production.' (SA-14).

The Institute of Engineering and Rural Technology (IERT) has developed the concept of the Growth Centre 'to provide a resource pool for development within walking distance of the rural poor. The objective is to enable the surrounding cluster of villages to become self-sufficient and to improve the life style of the people. The Growth Centres interact with the Hamlet Development Committees. At first the major obstacles were party groupings and vested interests, but over the course of two to three years, popular and official support for the project outweighed objections. Each of the Growth Centres also has an energy complex. Appropriate technologies for alternative sources of energy are built and used as a demonstration to the surrounding villages and as a model for other institutions. These include windmills for pumping water, biogas plants for the provision of cooking gas and the generation of electricity, solar cookers, solar water heaters, a solar timber seasoning plant, and smokeless chulas. Cheap rural houses have been built and many items including overhead tanks manufactured from ferro-cement are in use. In practice the Growth Centres relate both to the Centre and to the villages.' For example smokeless chulas (stoves): 'The Centre experimented with half a dozen designs for smokeless chulas to find out which was most efficient in terms of fuel economy and smokelessness. They selected the double damper design, which is demonstrated at each Growth Centre and has been widely installed in villages around Gohari. Social workers are trained in its installation and practice in the Growth Centre, and then construct demonstration units in the villages. These are usually in the houses of the better-off who can afford to experiment with new ideas, but the ideas spread quickly.' (SA-18).

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

In the Local Situation

Suruchi Campus: Chapshala and Agri-Research (SA-13) noted, 'The work of the ATRC (SA-13) has demonstrated the creativity that is released when sciences and engineering, working closely with the rural farmer and artisan, produce products and processes which increase the potential for rural populations for centuries.'

From the Local Perspective

'Among the solar energy technologies demonstrated, those indicating a higher probability of acceptance and relevance to local needs are the small photovoltaic power systems and the biogas plants. Other solar technologies would need further development to suit the living conditions in such rural areas.' (Egypt, NM-3) This would suggest that a lateral exchange, village to village, is the most likely mode for spreading technology.

Through Local Utilisation

A number of projects emphasised development of technology on site. The People's Alternative Energy Services (PAES) is one: 'Our homestead has evolved into a demonstration centre which is equipped with several passive adobe structures to house our office, family, and animals. We utilise photovoltaic cells to operate our office, helping to account for our low overhead when maintaining grants. Our home also incorporates photovoltaic panels to pump water, an attached greenhouse, a food dryer, two solar water heaters, and other assorted passive devices. A new feature we are experimenting with is solar aquaculture to grow African perch in a closed system within our greenhouse. A passive animal pen complex will assist us in rounding out our attempt at presenting a complete picture of an efficient lifestyle alternative. In the future this will extend into intensive gardening, cold frame uses and other efficient food production. Another future goal is the construction of a large independent biosphere for family scale fish raising, fruit tree growing, and interior food production. (NA-21).

A number of projects from Europe use this approach. The Centre for Alternative Technology (EU-34) in Machynlleth, Wales aims to demonstrate that alternative technology is not only hardware, but also a set of alternative values and priorities about living. They are open to the public every day and run a range of residential courses. Set in a 40 acre site in a disused slate quarry, they have designed and built all their buildings themselves, and the community produces its own energy from water, wind, sun and wood. They grow food organically, and are experimenting with ways of recycling human wastes on a small scale.' The Stienkens Hof Farm for Active Living and Learning in Germany (BRD) (EU-3) has discovered that through living, working, planning and participating together individuals are able to expand their consciousness, and new possibilities are revealed and can actually be implemented in the group. (Creative Hands Workshop, EU-33) in Gloucestershire, England is a project that works on the design and development of intermediate technology for application at the village level, through machinery and instruction manuals using local materials. They emphasise equipment which can be built and repaired where it is used. De Kleine Aarde (The Netherlands, EU-12) and Tilth (USA, NA-30) are two additional projects which specialise in appropriate techniques for organic agriculture and are mentioned in the Agriculture booklet in this series.

COMMUNITY HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

But in addition to a decision, some local means of establishing, operating and maintaining the technology is required. 'Very often village-based development efforts are hampered by the lack of clearly defined structures and channels within the village for decision-making and implementation. Establishing village structures can provide a more tangible way for villagers to work together to carry out their plans. When we began using small photovoltaic solar power systems like solar powered communal TV sets, it was found necessary to develop micro-organisations at the community level; a sort of energy co-operative to:

- Manage the new technologies introduced and sustain the ongoing activities based on them.
- Generate funds needed to maintain, repair, and replace the systems in use.
- Integrate the different activities for a positive and comprehensive development.' (NM-3).

EXTENDING THE TECHNOLOGY TO OTHERS

Once people begin to accept new technology, they must become the responsible persons for it, so that they are able to manage and maintain it. This approach spurs expansion. 'It became obvious that there is a strong grassroots interest in and demand for these types of training and production programmes at the village level. The project began a series of intensive training programmes geared to applicants, but also to those local villagers who demonstrated the requisite capabilities for assuming the future training and quality production for the community co-operative projects in the area.' (NM-3).

In India, Suruchi Campus, Chapshala and Agricultural Tools Research Centre (ATRC) uses a similar approach. 'The campus has developed two approaches that are very helpful in serving rural people in clusters of 50 or more villages: the development of a local rural-based technology centre is key to the continuous training and equipping of the small farmer to be self-reliant in the midst of a changing situation. The training through a production approach allows technical education to be available to anyone with the will to work.' (SA-13).

In the USA, Peoples Alternative Energy Association, one of the agencies involved in the San Luis Valley uses workshops: 'The best way to introduce energy self-reliant concepts into any community is through hands-on workshops. We have found this a valuable tool within our own village. Through workshops we have constructed several low-cost devices which have both assisted needy families to utilise a solar device and have helped other working participants to learn design and construction details via hands-on training experience. As a direct result of our many workshops, public presentations on solar power, and community education efforts our county has been stimulated to utilise solar and wind alternatives. Today we can document that 15 percent of our county's households are fitted with do-it-yourself solar and wind devices. This has assisted our residents to maintain a level of economic stability in a locale where there is only a 90 day growing season, and climate conditions require heating eight months of the year.' (San Luis Valley Solar Energy Projects, NA- 21).

A review of the various projects involved in technological innovation provides some initial patterns and guides:

INTRODUCTION**Typologies**

The Project Descriptions in the following pages are those of the 30 projects visited during the Central International Event of the International Exposition of Rural Development, 5-15 February, 1984. These projects scattered across nine different states in India represent the broad variety of development arenas and the many significant approaches being taken in India today.

They also represent the participation of all sectors of society in the development task. There are projects sponsored by government and quasi- government agencies, both state and central. They range in size from those covering an entire state like Gujarat, to those focused on a particular concern like the National Dairy Development Board in many states. These projects generally represent where broad-based social consensus for development priorities has directed public investment of monies and human resources. They are also seeking to be the basis for self-generating development rather than temporary solutions which only last as long as the funds are available.

Some of the most innovative projects are those developed by non- governmental organisations, relying on volunteer workers and self-help initiatives. These projects generally focus on specific social needs such as Women's role and participation in society and the tribal and harijan community's overcoming of second class citizenship and economic deprivation. The base of these projects is rarely funding or policy implementation, but rather courageous response to harsh conditions and painfully felt needs that are not being effectively addressed any other way.

The private sector is not without significant illustrations of serious endeavour to occasion lasting development as well. Their expertise is generally applied in the fields they know best—employment, skills training, management, and the other fields of agricultural, industrial, and business enterprise. Yet many illustrations exist in these pages of being drawn into the broader arenas of social needs and contradictions: the need for people to participate in planning and implementation of their development rather than having development done to them or for them, no matter how much money or how many resources are available. Indeed many professionals are beginning to view their vocations and skills as tools of service to people in genuine social need of things such as health and housing.

Data Gathering Process

Four major resources have been utilised, all or in part, for each project description. The first is the existing published materials on each project in which they, or observers, have described the purpose, approaches and significance of their work. The second are interview and questionnaire forms completed by the project during their participation in the IERD research preparation process preceding the event in New Delhi. The third are workshop products from Project Description Laboratories held with Indian National Steering Committee and Advisory Board members, Indian Co-sponsor Representatives and ICA:India staff members. The fourth are comments from team reports of the site visits to these projects on the approaches and significance they observed. Lastly, each project has been asked to provide corrections of the contents of these reports to insure accuracy.

PART II: PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS**INTRODUCTION (continued)****The Format**

In the editing process, there has been an effort to preserve the language and idioms in which the reports were originally prepared while weaving together the insights into some basic common categories. Because of the diverse nature of the sources, not all reports lent themselves well to a common framework. However their significance is not lessened, but enhanced by their uniqueness. The principal concern here, as in Part I of this book, is how the practitioners themselves understand and describe what they do and how they do it.

The general framework is as follows:

PROJECT PROFILE

- Geo-social Setting
- Target Population
- Presuppositions
- Issues and Strategies

AGENT DESCRIPTION

- Purpose and Objectives
- History
- Organisational Structure
- Staffing

PROJECT JOURNEY

- Phases and Turning Points
- Basic Social Changes
- Agent's Role
- Future Images

OPERATIONAL MODES

- Research and Planning
- Implementation
- Participation
- Inputs

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

- Approaches That Work
- Models

PROJECT SIGNIFICANCE**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION****PROJECT DESCRIPTION LABORATORY TEAM**

In a number of instances information on one or more categories was either not applicable or not available. Readers are urged to provide such information for future editions of this publication and for inclusion in the computerised database that supports this and other publications.

Location: RAWALSAR, DISTRICT JAMNAGAR, GUJARAT STATE

PROJECT PROFILE

Geo-Social Setting

ANARDE foundation sponsored by Aegis Chemicals Corp. Ltd. in Bombay has been able to call forth considerable local investment in villages with very low foundation resources using preschools as the entry point.

Target Population

The Jamnagar Centre works with broadened leadership from 124 villages to link the government integrated rural development programme and bank schemes with the landless labourers and marginal farmers. It is a semi-arid area.

Issues and Strategies

The issues and strategies may be summarised as follows:

- Creating opportunities for the educated as well as the uneducated by providing gainful occupation in rural areas thus preventing migration to urban areas;
- Educating the farmers with modern technologies in agriculture and animal husbandry which increase outputs;
- Assisting organisation of Rural Marketing with the help of professional expertise to increase returns for their produce;
- Providing training facilities for rural artisans, craftsmen and entrepreneurs and assisting them in establishing Cottage industries for self-employment;
- Building necessary liaison for accelerating rural infrastructure development including educational facilities, roads, electrification, health and other amenities;
- Creating awareness in a socially backward rural population and through various social and cultural activities.

AGENT DESCRIPTION

Purpose and Objectives

The philosophy of the Foundation is to implement integrated rural development programmes using modern principles of management involving professional staff and business norms. The economic development of an area and people is being attempted through the optimum development and utilisation of local resources—physical, human, and financial—by bringing about necessary institutional, structural and attitudinal changes.

History

For over 30 years the government has been doing Rural Development work throughout the country. But now it has been realised that Rural Development programmes should be done on a massive scale in which industries and professionals should associate themselves as their social obligation.

The management of Aegis Chemical Industries Ltd.(ACIL), Bombay, accepting their responsibility towards the rural poor, began Integrated Rural Development programmes in various parts of Gujarat.

A Public Trust, ACIL-NAVASARJAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, popularly known as ANARDE Foundation, was established for this purpose.

Organisational Structure and Staffing

The Foundation based at Bombay has a well planned organisation of professional expertise to monitor and evaluate the entire programme. The experienced staff is employed to work at the project level for effective implementation. The following is a chart of the organisation:

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

- PROJECT MANAGER
- PROJECT COORDINATOR
- ACCOUNTANT

Centres:
Jamnagar

Morvi

Vapi

Vyara

Baroda

1.	CEO	PC	PC	PC	RDO
2.	PC	RDO	RDO	RDO	VLM

3.	RDO	ARDO	ARDO	ARDO
4.	ARDO	VLW(3)	VLW(4)	VLW(6)

CEO ● Chief Executive Officer
RDO ● Rural Dev. Officer
VLW ● Village Level Worker

PC ● Project Coordinator
ARDO ● Asst. Rural Dev. Officer

PROJECT JOURNEY

Phases and Turning Points

In 1979, ANARDE took over the rural development work started by the Chandaria family. They focus on implementing the government's integrated rural development programme in 5 districts in Gujarat. Jamnagar Centre worked with 25 villages with 39,000 population.

Basic Social Changes

In our overall programme of Integrated Rural Development the main emphasis is on economic uplift of the rural people living below the poverty line.

Some of the main activities associated with the programme are as follows:

1. *Agriculture.* Farmers are educated to use improved methods of cultivation thereby increasing production. Jamnagar Centre has a farm at which demonstrations of different varieties of crops and crop husbandry are carried out to show practically the benefit of modern technology.
2. *Lift irrigation.* Farmers are encouraged to dig wells and install diesel engines and electric motors for lift irrigation schemes which will bring more acreage under irrigation and increase production. Some of the villages in Morvi area are located on both sides of the Machhu River and a programme for organising Lift Irrigation Societies to use the river water will help rehabilitate the flood affected farmlands.
3. *Afforestation.* In order to encourage rural people to accept the tree plantation programme which will balance the ecology of the area, an intensive programme of Social Forestry has been established and has made significant progress in the villages of Jamnagar and Varoda.
4. *Animal Husbandry.* To provide additional income to farmers and landless labourers a programme of animal husbandry, dairy and sheep rearing is established at Jamnagar and Morvi Centres. Jamnagar centre has a dairy unit of purebred Gir cows which has improved cattle breeding.
5. *Small Cottage Industries.* Efforts are being made to organise Training Cum Production Centres at each project location so that unemployed people receive training and eventually put up a small unit of Cottage Industries for self-employment. Jamnagar Centre has received a sanction from the Gujarat government to construct a Training Cum Production Centre for woolen carpet weaving for the benefit of the target group in the area.
6. *Education.* For the improvement of the educational level in the rural areas, more stress has been given to pre-primary and primary education. As there were no other agencies to take up Balwadi (pre-primary) education, the Foundation started Balwadis in the adopted villages. Uttar Buniyadi School of Rawalsar provides facilities for orienting the primary teachers in different subjects. Pre-primary education has been developed with the help of the social welfare office of district government.
7. *Youth Activities.* Youth of the village can play a very important role in the developmental work. Youth Clubs have been organised in the villages where social and cultural activities are conducted. Our efforts are to create local leadership by organising youth to ultimately take responsibility for the Integrated Rural Development programme launched by ANARDE.
8. *Women's Activities.* Women constitute practically 50% of the population and therefore, cannot be ignored at any stage of development. The Mahila Mandals are organised on a village level for cultural and economic programmes.
9. *Health and Medical.* Beautification and village cleanliness ('Gram Safai') are the regular features of our programmes. Good habits, hygiene, epidemic prevention methods, etc. are implemented on a massive scale. Community vaccination programmes, regular medical checkups, medical camps, distribution of medicines to the needy and, most important of all, the follow up action are implemented in collaboration with the local medical practitioners, consultants, and health departments. M.P. Shah Medical College, Jamnagar, and the interns are taking special interest in our Medical Programmes. Assistance is provided by Rotary and Lions Clubs.

Agent's Role

The growth of business houses has been due to managerial resources and expertise developed over a period of time. This managerial expertise can be provided by business houses as the most crucial input into the total task of rural development, thus harnessing all the available material, managerial and human resources, and putting it to the most productive use. The Foundation is playing a catalytic role by coordinating various programmes of government, banks and voluntary agencies in the area. With the backing of the managerial expertise available, with ACIL and financial resources, ANARDE would be providing the missing link in financial allocation for the various programmes from the governments and banks.

Future Images

ANARDE Foundation has adopted 124 villages for their Integrated Rural Development programme with a total outlay of Rs 590 lakhs for the next 5-7 years.

Centre	Villages	Outlay(lakhs)	Reason of Adoption
Jamnagar	25	83	Drought prone area
Morvi-Malia	33	238	Flood affected area
Vapi	32	164	Tribals predominate
Vyara	37	105	Tribals predominate
Baroda	7		- Backward area

Totals 124 590

Of the total outlay of Rs 590 lakhs, the contribution envisaged from Government, banks, local participation, ANARDE, etc. has been quantified separately for economic and infrastructural programmes. (Details given in Exhibit).

In order to facilitate better implementation of the programme in these villages, a team of experts conducted the detailed socio-economic survey of each centre. Both the programme and the beneficiaries have been identified for the respective areas, with a focus on the needs and the resources of the targeted group of rural poor.

OPERATIONAL MODES

Research and Planning

ANARDE begins work in a village with a house-to-house survey and establishing a pre-school. Workers then meet parents, youth, and local government workers to plan development of the village. Women's and youth organisations are established. ANARDE contributes RS-1,000 to each village as a symbol of commitment. One village worker is assigned to cover 5 villages. ANARDE is concerned to optimise the use of local resources, to use business to provide managerial skills and monetary resources, and to coordinate and manage the development services of the government, banks, businesses, voluntary organisations, and professionals with village users.

Implementation

1. Jamnagar:

- A Campus at Jamnagar- Uttar Buniyadi High School and other activities -Production Cum Training Centre. Uttar Buniyadi High School located at village Rawalsar near Jamnagar with the agriculture base importing training in self-help, etc.
- B A Production cum Training Centre for Woolen Carpet Industry is being established at Rawalsar Campus. This will enable us to generate self-employment in the area.

2. Morvi:

Two big projects have been created in association with the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB). One is in dairy development whereby destitute and flood affected women are rehabilitated. Another project is setting up Balwadis (Pre Primary Schools) in about 20 villages.

3. Vapi:

The landless labourers have been provided with huts.

4. Vyara:

Under the Food-For-Work Programme a large scale *Kyari Making* for paddy cultivation has begun. This has generated employment for farmers during the off season.

5. Baroda:

An Afforestation programme was launched with irrigation as a

demonstration unit of Social Forestry.

Participation

Collaboration with the Bank

The Bank of Baroda has taken a leading role with the Foundation in the planning and implementation of rural economic programmes. The bank has opened Gram Vikas Kendras at Vapi, Morvi, and Jamnagar to accelerate bank financing. Through the vigorous efforts of its enthusiastic officers and staff with fullest co-operation, support and monitoring by ANARDE officers, it has made a deep impact in these areas in a short time. Bank loans have been extended for buffaloes, bullock carts, irrigation pipes, hand carts and small business.

Decentralisation

An approach of decentralisation was adopted to give field staff sufficient flexibility to make relevant decisions in their area of operation.

ACIL and ANARDE Foundation are proud and happy to play a humble role in the gigantic task of transformation of rural India and hope that more persons from business, industry and managerial ranks will come forward to lend their support, experience and money to play this vital catalytic role.

Inputs

Programme Outlay and Contribution of Government, Bank, and ANARDE:

Exhibit

(Rs in lakhs)

Centre	Name of Programmes	TOTAL COST	Contribution by		
			Gov. subsidy	Bank Invest	Village Participation/ANARDE
Jamnagar					
	Economic Infrastructure	49.62 32.95	14.23 23.46	14.62 8.80	20.77 .69
	Sub-tot.	82.57	37.69	23.42	21.46
Vapi					
	Economic Infrastructure	151.17 12.38	46.66 7.11	100.71 -	3.80 5.27
	Sub-tot.	163.55	53.77	100.71	9.07
Morvi					
	Economic Infrastructure	51.10 187.02	24.61 39.08	14.10 -	12.30 148.54*
	Sub-tot.	238.03	63.69	14.10	160.84
Vayra					
	Economic Infrastructure	68.42 36.62	37.27 23.40	29.84 -	1.31 13.22
	Sub-tot.	105.04	60.67	29.84	14.53

(reduce by 142)

*Rs. 142 lakhs contributed by other agencies for house construction, etc.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches That Work

The Central International Event Site Visit Team identified the following approaches during their site visit 8-11 February, 1984.

Two approaches were identified as contributing to an enlightened community commitment.

Unifying Social Programmes

- Preschool mothers promotional network;
- Women's social associations;
- Youth service groups;
- Community cultural participation programme.

Upgrading Educational Capabilities

- Preschooling facilities and programme;
- Demonstration boarding highschool;
- Permeating communities with trained students;
- Quarterly teacher's training camps.

Two approaches were identified as insuring village stability.

Delivering Government Services

- Bank loans for community subgroups;
- New School construction;
- Health programmes in villages;
- Village veterinarian visits;
- National patriotic celebrations.

Promoting Income Growth

- Production tool loans;
- New business formation;
- Tree nursery for wood production;
- Purebred breeding bull;
- Wasteland reclamation demonstration.

One approach was viewed as implementing the guiding philosophy of ANARDE.

Field Worker Staff

- ANARDE presentation meetings;
- Bank loan one to one counseling;
- Assuring 100% loan repayments.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Animal Husbandry Programmes

Brochure.

Education Programmes

Brochure.

ACIL-Navasarjan Rural Development Foundation

Programme and Organisation Description brochure.

**ACTION FOR WELFARE AND AWAKENING IN THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT (AWARE)
(SA-21)**

Location: HYDERABAD, ANDHRA PRADESH STATE

PROJECT PROFILE**Geo-Social Setting**

Andhra Pradesh is divided into three regions: (Coastal Andhra) Rayalseema (fairly prosperous) and Telangana (formerly a princely state under the Nizam of Hyderabad and consequently the poorest of the three). AWARE is working with 100,000 people in 14 projects spread across ten districts of Andhra Pradesh and one of Orissa within 600 km of Hyderabad.

Target Population

Tribal peoples and Harijans are the target groups of AWARE's activities. Tribal peoples (or Girijans or Adivasis) live in isolation. To a large extent, tribal peoples can be defined as a group of people generally of a common language, claiming a common ancestry, living in a particular geographic area and having social structure based on kinship. As they maintain a separate culture and identity, they live far away from the main roads of so-called civilisation.

Presuppositions

AWARE's conviction is that the depressed classes still lack the moral courage and tone to enter into the mainstream of development and fight against exploitation. Therefore, social education and motivation are taken as important and primary steps for rural development, proceeding economic assistance.

Issues and Strategies

In the face of encroachment on their territory over the past centuries the tribal peoples escaped to forested hills where they could lead their own life without interference. Their cultivation methods are primitive, sowing without weeding, so that the yield is quite low. They have had to contend with having their fields ravaged by birds and wild animals, and they lack many working animals and agricultural implements. Torrential monsoon rains wash away much of the soil.

Health problems, epidemics, and death in childbirth and infancy are common in these remote areas. They are abjectly in fear of witchcraft and the black magic of the spirits of the evils, disease and death. Added to this is a general feeling of insecurity, hurt pride, and impotent anger in the face of the contempt, ridicule and oppression by the 'superior classes.' Formal education is for the most part lacking, as is knowledge of the laws pertaining to their situation or of how to use the legal system. They have fallen prey to some irresponsible agitations of communal and political agencies and occasionally have been roused to violence. Their economic development has been held back by their simple view of work, low level of aspirations and their fatalistic philosophy.

The isolation of the 'Harijan' is a different sort, as they live on the border and in the corners of larger villages and are isolated within society. Harijans are also called Children of God or Scheduled Castes. They are from the lowest rung of the caste ladder and are considered economically and culturally backward. They are kept at a distance and treated as untouchable by the upper caste people. They are barred from entering the village common temples, and are prevented from taking drinking water from the common wells. Moreover, various groups among the 'Harijans' treat each other as untouchables. They at times are pitted against each other by some of the upper castes in village feuds. They are exploited in many ways by landlords, money-lenders and other middlemen. They are often paid their low wages for agricultural labour partly in kind e.g. in alcohol (toddy). For small loans, they are charged interest rates ranging from 60% to 640% per year.

Because of the impossibility of poor labourers repaying such high interest, whole families became bonded labourers for generations. Others have lost not only their own lands but also the lands given to them as 'Inams' by Nizams (Muslim rulers when the area was a princely state) due to their illiteracy and alcoholism. Education and health facilities are almost completely denied to them. Prevailing customs and superstitions give support to their untouchability, and the Harijans accept the situation as inevitable, taking solace in drink. They are unaware of the constitutional protections and laws to assist their situation. Village elders even describe the exploitation that flows from some of the Government welfare programmes—for example, how middlemen would often ask for up to half of a loan for their assistance in obtaining it.

AGENT DESCRIPTION

Purpose and Objectives

The birth of AWARE was an accident. An anthropological enquiry into the development of tribal peoples with regard to the relevance of Government Schemes by Mr. P.K.S. Madhavan made him realise that simple material inputs are not enough for the development of a community. The inner qualities of tribal people had largely been ignored in the thirty years of planning for tribal areas. Investment in a man is much more important than mere investment in goods. Sound investment in human beings specially among tribal peoples would bring greater sense of mass participations enthusiasm and initiative, essential for the economic growth of these areas.

The objectives are:

1. More production for human existence;
2. Even distribution for co-existence and social justice; and
3. Social upliftment of the depressed class to the mainstream of existence.

History

AWARE is an *experiment* just as its birth was an accident. It was never built on a particular theory or on the influence of a great man on any prevailing 'ism'.

Organisational Structure

AWARE is a non-political, secular, social service organisation whose aims and objectives have been based on love of humanity and universal brotherhood. The organisation, structure and training of the staff is further described below under **Participation**.

PROJECT JOURNEY

Basic Social Changes

The social and economic impact of AWARE points to the basic changes taking place through the project.

Social Impact

1. Development of local leadership through experience in the village Associations and Mahila Mandals.
2. Strong sense of unity, self-respect and self-confidence due to involvement in village associations, Mahasabhas and motivational training camps.
3. Awareness of the developmental activities of the Government and the Banks, and the capacity to approach the appropriate structures on their own (for example, provision of house sites, subsidies and loans, distribution of surplus lands, etc.)
4. Effort to get back their lost lands. For this, they are repaying any original loans taken from money-lenders or landlords and fighting court cases with the assistance of AWARE.
5. Decline in habit of alcoholism in project villages and neighbouring villages, resulting in a change in spending patterns, fewer family quarrels, restored family peace, and new food habits (vegetables, milk and milk products, tea and coffee). In most Harijan villages, alcoholism has been 100% abolished.
6. Unity among the tribal peoples and Harijans and determination to achieve common goals. Previously Harijans had been kept at a distance as the tribal peoples felt superior to them.
7. More children being sent to school.
8. Near abolition of untouchability.
9. Change in the attitudes of some government officials and others toward Harijans and tribal peoples, resulting in both respect and participation on some government schemes.
10. Courage among the women resulting in faster action on land issues and liquor eradication.

Economic Impact

1. Nearly doubled wage rates over the past three years for agricultural labourers, bidi leaf workers and forest workers. Also wage rates have become uniform project-wise.
2. Reduction of hours worked per day.
3. Ability to judge the terms of agricultural labour contracts, e.g. how they can measure the land involved, etc.
4. Landed Harijans and tribal peoples are now cultivating their own plots, as well as doing some labour work.
5. Cultivation of more commercial crops, such as chilies, groundnuts and tobacco, yielding more profit.
6. Increase in the number of family members who are working and therefore not dependents. Subsidiary income sources include goats and sheep, gun collection, leaf-plate making and women's handicrafts.

7. Shift of borrowing from landlords and money-lenders to banking facilities and AWARE. These loans are for digging wells, purchase of plough bullocks or milch cattle, land release and purchase of seeds and fertilisers, all benefiting particularly the landed families, and obtaining sheep or goats for landless families.

8. Loan recovery rate has been 90%.

9. Establishment of marketing centres to avoid middlemen and to release the produce into the market when the price is good, resulting in higher profits for the farmers.

OPERATIONAL MODES

Research and Planning

When the reality of the situation was exposed; several like-minded educated urban youth began to think their response, resulting in the formation of an organisation based on action for welfare and awakening oppressed groups of the general population. While educating the poor, their experience increased and further rethinking occurred. AWARE's approach is not static.

Implementation

Its activities are for the upliftment of tribal peoples and rural people irrespective of race, community, religion, caste or creed. The main activities are concentrated on the development of social education, motivational training, legal assistance, agriculture and irrigation, animal husbandry, marketing justice, community health and rural reconstruction based on equality, social justice, self-help and community action.

Participation

Aware presently has about 500 workers and over 3000 volunteers rooted in villages and supported by village associations. AWARE is actually a movement of people working to eradicate the poverty, inequality and injustice that impede the growth and potential of over 80% of our country's population to enable these rural peoples to participate as equals in today's society.

The General Body of AWARE consists of both educated people and Harijans and tribal peoples from the target area. This Government Body consists of its members. Any person not involved in political activities can become a member of the General Body by paying a membership fee of Rs25.

People's participation in project planning is structured into the organisation's functioning. Every year, the budget of each project is discussed in detail, based on the information and budget suggested by grassroot workers and project staff. The whole budget is planned with the knowledge and consent of the field staff who have been involved in these conversations. Once the budget formulation is completed, it is again referred to the people in their respective project for ratification and approval by the Presidents and Secretaries of the village Associations and Mahila Mandals.

70% of AWARE's staff come from the grassroots level. These men and women are working as:

- Chief organisers—experienced organisers who coordinate the work of the field staff in their zones. Receive Rs200/month.
- Organisers—responsible for a cluster of villages varying from eight to ten; participate in village association meetings and look after socio-economic activities. Receive Rs150/month.
- Barefoot legal workers—work with roughly 20 villages, functioning as social investigators. They locate and process land and other legal cases.
- Barefoot health workers—local people trained to detect disease and disseminate health information in some project areas. Receive Rs50/month.
- Community Education Organisers—from most villages these watch over the Community Education Centres and partake in development activities. Receive Rs60/month.

Initial training of these workers is a 30-day programme in the ideology and methods of working, including how to organise village structures, what can be discussed in village meetings productively, how to start revolving funds, what the government machinery is and so on.

Legal training includes both laws and procedures. These grassroots workers work under a team supervisor. A senior officer prepares detailed weekly, monthly and quarterly reports of the situation in their villages and of their work.

Reorientation Camps are held once in six months in order for workers in various areas to share their experience and methods of working and to reorient their work on the basis of their evaluation and reflection on failures and successes of their work. Great value is placed upon learning from experience. In addition, workers may participate in classes led by experts in various development issues and strategies, ranging from North-South relations to India's six-year plan, from the global village to Gram Panchayats (local village governing bodies). These camps also include exposure to people well-experienced in the development field but having different ideologies and approaches. The remaining 30% of AWARE's staff are people who are graduates or post-graduates, sometimes with specialisation in medicine, social work, agriculture or other fields. Following a three-month probation period, they are posted as appropriate. One noteworthy factor to be seen is the recruitment of experienced retired people to work as administrators with the newer young people in the field.

Three times a year the entire staff meets for In-service Camps and training seminars.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches That Work

The objective of AWARE's approaches is the elimination of dependency.

Village Associations and Societies

The prevailing situation in the villages is to look outside for help and assistance, so that the villagers' own potentials are not realised, nor is their passion tapped for their own development in order to eliminate this dependency. AWARE has a strong conviction that it will not involve itself in a particular area for more than a period of five to eight years. All the village associations join together in *service societies* project-wise, which are trained simultaneously to take over the responsibilities of the entire community. So far AWARE has already withdrawn from 30 villages from Amangal Project and another 70 by October 1983, and the people themselves are planning and executing the project.

Internal Credit System

The financial assistance given to the Harijans and Tribal peoples directly by AWARE is collected back after a certain period of time, depending upon the purpose of the loan. This amount is again used for development in the same project under a *revolving fund*. *In due course of time the service society that sprouted up in that project area handles the money.*

Outreach Project Cores

In order to stop the unwieldy growth of the AWARE organisation itself, a programme has been introduced to train up the All India Cadre for Nation-Building programme, known as CORE (Community Organisers for Rural Development). After two years under salary from AWARE, the trained young people spread out all over the country and work with the same methodology and objectives, but independent of AWARE's administration.

A. First Year: 30% theory and 70% work in existing projects. Trainees also learned how to write project proposals, to do accounting and to do administration. Because of the tough examination, this process leaves the most committed ones with the project.

B. Second Year: Trainees are free to choose any area of the whole country where they start with a village survey and building up rapport with people. Once the people are ready (after a village association, Mahasabhas and training camps have been organised), a project is prepared by the trainee and submitted to AWARE. A donor is located, and in the future the new project works directly with the donor.

Presently, such young men are located in outreach projects in the states of Orissa, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Models

AWARE stands for action as well as welfare. Therefore two main strategies are employed—awakening activities and economic activities. It is AWARE's belief that unless social consciousness is with the people, welfare activities will have no import.

Training Camps

The most significant and pioneering approach of AWARE towards the solution of social backwardness is mobile training camps, especially for village farmers, women and youth. They have made education and knowledge meaningful and functional to groups of people who have lost centuries of time and hundreds of milestones of development in society, as we understand it. These training camps are conducted neither in training institutions nor in different situations but right in the village itself. So far, about 5000 people have been trained.

These camps have four objectives:

- to disseminate information regarding the developmental infrastructure set by the Government for the benefit of the Harijans and tribal peoples.
- to pass on modern methods of agriculture and other knowledge for economic

development;

- to inculcate critical thinking about real problems they face; and
- to create an urge for development.

Village Associations and 'Mahila Mandals' (Women's Associations)

In each AWARE village these two associations are functioning. The President, Secretary and Directors are chosen by consensus rather than election so as to create a sense of unity right from the beginning. Any villager can become a member by investing Rs11 toward a revolving village fund. The Mahila Mandal ensures the active participation of the women in community issues and the emergence of women leaders as well as male leaders. These associations serve several functions:

- to arrange frequent meetings to discuss local problems;
- to evolve plans to develop their community as a whole;
- to recommend cases of their members to AWARE for financial or legal assistance;
- to supervise loan utilisation and stand responsible for loan recovery;
- to obtain co-operatively money for fertilisers, distribute among their members, and repay the loan;
- to act as a watchdog to check on alcoholism among their members (particularly in Harijan areas), and
- to ensure smooth functioning of Community Education Centres.

'Mahasabhas' (Huge Meetings)

In order to conquer fear and establish self-respect, Mahasabhas are organised, bringing thousands of people together for free communication among themselves. They discuss their situation, common problems and successes and victories they have had. 'Unity, courage and patience' is the slogan they raise in these Mahasabhas. The objectives of the Mahasabhas are:

- Creating a climate favourable to unity;
- Standing together against injustice in a non-violent yet forceable manner;
- Seeking practical results, such as achieving the minimum wages for agricultural workers and release of bonded labourers; and
- Creating awareness in the hearts of any exploiters of the growing movement and of the unity of the Harijans and tribal peoples.

Community Education Centres

The weaker sections have not only been physically remote from the urban settlement but also have an entirely different cultural pattern which makes them a unique part of the Indian population. To break this 'culture of silence,' classroom adult education or the much publicised non-formal education is not enough. Community Education Centres are a meeting ground of the villages, irrespective of age where debates are organised on daily issues: conversations about land or water, caste system atrocities against women, child nutrition, government programmes or whatever creates interest among people to know more and talk more. Many a time, these illiterate people sit along with their children or grandchildren to learn alphabets and arithmetic. Discussions continue at the grass field, at harvest platform and in the kitchen gardens.

An Illustration: Mrs. Rajamma and her husband of Komatlagudem Village in

Khammam District belong to the Koya tribe community. They owned five and one-half acres of land which was taken away by a money-lender in exchange for some tobacco leaves. An AWARE barefoot legal worker probed into the matter and discovered that the land was in two pieces, i.e. three and one-half and two acres. Although he was in clear violation of Government law regarding tribal lands, the money-lender could not be convinced that he was not the legal owner.

With the help of the village association, the couple filed a petition to the police, who took no action because of the money-lender's bribes. The people were furious at this attitude and burned the crop the money-lender had raised on the land. This time the police immediately rushed to the spot and arrested eight men and women. Immediately, thousands of people gathered together, and the members of the village association released the arrested members. From the police station the eight people marched to the land rather than going back to their homes. Right in the field, a Mahasabha took place where the eight people were garlanded in recognition of their courage. With the guidance of the legal workers, Rajamma and her husband got legal title to their three and one-half acre plot. The remaining two acres are still under dispute in the court and are being followed up.

Learnings

Loan Programmes

For a successful loan programme with good recovery, the following dimensions are necessary: an urge to develop, an understanding of the utility of the assistance being given, the receipt of the entire loan (rather than giving a huge share to a middleman) and full accountability to other villagers such as themselves.

Planning

Planning by the people themselves, rather than by the change agent with advice from the people, releases their whole-hearted involvement and willingness to take any risks necessary to see their vision become reality.

Women's Participation

When women are considered as part of the whole community development effort, rather than as a separate identity, they get confidence to voice their feelings and experience and participate in successful implementation of community decisions.

Catalytic Agent

The people themselves should be the leaders, not the change agent. For example, it was found most helpful for the AWARE people to discuss an up-coming bank or government visit but not to lead or even go along with the villagers.

Awareness

It is necessary to train people as a whole, so as to check any tendency of the trained cadre to become elitist or exploiters and to force Government servants to adhere to scheme criteria.

Adversity

Adversity, or difficult struggles, test the strength of the people to stand behind their decisions and forge group unity.

Sustaining the Commitment.

Retaining Cultural Values

AWARE's participation with the tribal peoples and Harijans is not to be counted in the number of wells dug or milch animals distributed, but in its vision for the tribal peoples and the Harijans of today and tomorrow who will no longer belong to a special group classified as 'the weaker sections' but rather a productive part of what we call universal brotherhood. The development and peace of the world is based on Awakening and Welfare. That means *AWARE-ness*, hence

AWARE.'

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

AWARE Newsletters

Profiles in Development; by P.K.S. Madhavan, for AWARE, 1981.

AWARE in the Press; AWARE, 1982.

AWARE; Descriptive Brochure.

Progress Report of AWARE's Three-Year Programme with NOVIB's Assistance; 1980- 1981.

Perspective Plan of AWARE for Rural Development (1983-1985)

Harijan Uplift Programme of AWARE in Khammam District of Andhra Pradesh: A Study Report; Council for Social Development, Hyderabad, December 1982.

AGRINDUS PROJECT OF BANWASI SEVA ASHRAM (SA-02)

Location: GOVINDPUR VILLAGE, DISTRICT MIRZAPUR, UTTAR PRADESH STATE

PROJECT PROFILE**Geo-Social Setting**

Mirzapur district is the largest in Uttar Pradesh and the fourth largest in the country. Most of the district is a plateau unlike the gigantic plains which characterise much of Uttar Pradesh. The area served by the Ashram is referred to as *Son Par* and lies south of the River Son which cuts across the district from west to east.

The area first attracted attention during the famine of 1952 when food had to be dropped by helicopters due to the absence of roads and communications. The area was again struck by severe famine in 1965-67, which was more widespread than before. The Ashram (see below), having been established earlier, was able to play an important role in relief as many more workers came to join the Ashram.

The project area of AGRINDUS consists of all the three Community Development Blocks in Dudhi Tahsil of Dudhi, Mirpur and Babhani and one Community Development Block of Chopan in Robertsganj Tahsil. There are nearly 400 villages in the area with a population over 260,000 persons in a geographic area of over 640,000 acres. Under cultivation when the project began were 253,000 acres or about 40%. About 35% was under forests and 16% was wasteland.

Target Population

This AGRINDUS Project organised by Banwasi Seva Ashram Project, serves these four development blocks with a focus on weak and tribal people. Community action forms the basis of development and social justice.

Presuppositions

After the famine of 1965-67 the workers decided to introduce programmes of an enduring and self-generating nature which would prevent occurrence of such famines. A total development and extension work was conceived for the area for mass employment, jungle clearance, land reclamation, and construction of earthen reservoirs for irrigation.

The actual project known today as AGRINDUS (Agro-Industrial) was established in July 1967 by the Sarva Seva Sangh, Uttar Pradesh Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and War on Want, England, under the auspices of the Ashram as an Agro-Industrial Project to give permanent relief to drought and other calamities through basic socio-economic development.

Issues and Strategies

The most significant issue is of course the undeveloped potential of the Tribal People's to do their own development. The physical conditions bear mentioning here as well. When the project began irrigation was almost totally non-existent covering only 0.8% of the land. The land in much of the area is highly undulated, rocky and heavily eroded. The soil is of low fertility, sandy and has a low water retention capacity. The average rainfall is 1031 mm (40") with 80% occurring in a four month period. Farmers tend to relate to the conditions and drought prone nature of the area by planning only short duration and drought resistant millets with very low yields. Some 95% of the land-owning families were not self-sufficient when the project began.

The primary strategies of the project include:

- Develop awareness of situation and potential of development;
- Economic development and full employment;
- Self-sufficiency in basic requirements;
- Self-government of village to tackle local problems;
- Development which includes social justice.

AGENT DESCRIPTION**Purpose and Objectives**

When the area attracted attention during the famine of 1952, as a response, the Ashram was proposed as a permanent relief centre to serve the Adivasis (Tribal Peoples) in the area.

History

The Banwasi Seva Ashram was established in 1954 and registered as a society under the Societies Act of 1860 in 1956. It was located on a 250 acre uninhabited forest land site in Govindpur village. It is situated in a very backward and predominantly tribal area deep in Kaimur ranges of the Vindhyan system. It is almost a hundred miles away from the district headquarters in Mirzapur.

The Ashram started work with five workers living in huts and using an old well which could irrigate only a few acres. They provided a modest programme of providing drinking water wells, village sanitation and village industries.

Organisational Structure

The executive authority of the Ashram is vested in a governing body consisting of a set of officers and members. Their activities are organised under five basic arenas:

1. Agricultural Demonstration;
2. Village Industries;
3. Education, Literacy and Training
4. Health and Family Planning
5. Rural Development through Gram Swarajya

Staffing

The Gram Swarajya is described below under the category of Participation. The Gram Swarajya leader provided by the Ashram is at the level of 15 to 30 villages called pockets and is referred to as the pocket-in-charge. He is assisted by an accountant, literacy supervisor, health assistant, etc., and one or more general assistants. The Ashram also provides teachers, managers, instructors, etc. for schools, cottage industries, and Khadi depots.

The headquarters of the Ashram is at Govindpur. Approximately 200 persons are employed by the Ashram to serve the total project area of 250 villages and is viewed by the AGRINDUS project as a secretariat and servant to the People's Organisation which forms the basic structure of the project.

PROJECT JOURNEY

Basic Social Changes

Achievements through June 1983

As of June 1983, the project had drawn together the following list of achievements:

1. Bhoodan—4700 acres distributed to 1340 landless families;
2. Gramdan—Whole Dudhi Tahsil was declared as Gramdan;
3. Antyodaya—3000 families helped to go over the poverty line through agriculture and village industries development;
4. Employment—800 fulltime and 5000 to 10000 seasonal (100 days a year) workers on earth work and village industries;
5. Village Industries—Cotton-khadi, silk-khadi, woolen-khadi, leather-making, ban-making, Gur-making, sericulture, bee-keeping, soap, medicinal herbs and plants;
6. Dairy—25 Cross-bred cows producing 10 to 20 litres per day; 85 cross-bred cows given to farmers; 6 bulls secured for cross-breeding purposes;
7. Irrigation—7000 acres brought under irrigation; 950 earthen dams constructed; 200 wells with Rahats (pumps); 150 lift irrigation schemes constructed;
8. Land Reclamation—6000 acres of ravineous land leveled and banded;
9. Agricultural Demonstration—1000-2000 demonstration plots per year;
10. Afforestation—225000 fruit and timber trees planted;
11. Drinking Water—100 tubewells with handpumps; 1000 dug wells;
12. Literacy—43000 adults achieved literacy; 100 to 300 literacy centres organised per year;
13. Mobile Rural Libraries—50 to 100 libraries established per year; 5000 to 7000 readers per year;
14. Non-formal Schools—35 schools teaching 1500 drop-outs;
15. Basic Schools—8 schools providing free education to 1500 poor children;
16. Vocational Training—1200 trained as tailors, cobblers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, spinners, and weavers;
17. Health Services—One clinic and 9 health outposts; 20000 families from 25 villages benefited;
18. Family Planning—Small family norm accepted by 90% of project families which is about 5000 families;
19. People's Organisation (Three Tier)—
 - Village Level—25 Gramswarajya Sabhas;
 - Cluster Level—10 Kshetriya-Gramswarajya Sabhas of 20 to 30 villages;
 - Central Level—1 Kendriya Gramswarajya Sabha constitute of representatives from Village and Cluster levels responsible for planning and implementing programmes;
20. Gramkosh (Revolving Fund)—Village revolving fund for the 250 villages to provide low interest credit; 100,000 to 150,000 rupees per year extended in loans;

21. Social Justice—510 bonded labourers and 1000 acres of mortgaged land released from money-lenders; 600 to 800 legal aid cases for the poor settled per year; Two writs filed in the supreme court for public interest litigation.

OPERATIONAL MODES

Implementation

AGRINDUS draws much of its inspiration from the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Its activities reflect this inspiration:

In order to develop self-sustaining growth, a local self-government committee is basic to development efforts.

In order to strengthen the economic base, weavers, spinners, carpenters, masons, tailors, and cobblers are trained.

In order to promote health, to resolve disputes, and to provide additional education, training is provided for village doctors, literacy teachers, and village lawyers.

In order to secure social cultural, legal, and economic entitlements the rural entitlement and legal programmes are organised to negotiate cases with appropriate departments.

Participation

People are engaged at every stage of the work through local self-government committees and village funds. The principal mode of participation is known as the three tier system which forms the basic structure for project planning and implementation.

People's Organisation (Three Tier)

Village Level—250 Gram Swarajya Sabhas;

The Village Self-Governing Assembly consisting of all family heads in each village;

Cluster Level—10 Kshetriya-Gram Swarajya Sabhas of 20 to 30 villages; Each consists of the Chairmen and Secretaries of the Village Assemblies;

Central Level—1 Kendriya Gram Swarajya Samiti

Consists of representatives from Village and Cluster levels responsible for planning and implementing programmes.

Village Assembly elects a Chairman, General Secretary and functional Secretaries for irrigation, etc.

Village Assembly employs persons who receive job-orientated training for operations of pumpsets and other needed services.

Ashram organisation acts as a Secretariat and renders required functional and technical services.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches

AGRINDUS represented a new approach to Integrated Rural Development which was oriented in its implementation towards the poor with an acceleration of many existing and soundly conceived programmes which could benefit the poor the most. It further was concerned to bridge the gap in the qualitative delivery of technologies, materials and funds.

AGRINDUS therefore developed the following approaches and emphasis:

Involvement of the local people in every stage of planning and implementation of any programme.

Creation of a sense of self-reliance in the communities by:

- establishing village loan funds and making individuals and communities accept the responsibility to repay all material assistance received by them for the creation of capital assets and pay for the services received by them;
- making them self-dependent for the implementation of the schemes and activities included in the programme through a programme of job-oriented training of local persons in the various skills required for rendering such services as surveying, planning, designing, or civil (particularly irrigation) work, operating, maintaining, and repairing machines, keeping accounts, budgeting etc.

Simultaneous implementation of sound education, health and economic programmes;

Generation of a multiplier effect through combinations of such approaches so that the pace of development is rapid.

Models

AGRINDUS has developed models in the following programme arenas:

1. Health;
2. Literacy and Conscientisation;
3. Mobile Village Libraries;
4. Gram Swarajya Sabhas (organisation) and Social Action;
5. Community Revolving Fund (Gramkosh), credit services for seed, fertiliser, Bullocks etc.;
6. Debt Redemption and Legal Aid;
7. Agricultural demonstration on Farmers Fields;
8. Whole village development programme in 5 villages;
9. 100 village development programme in 6 pockets;
10. Assistance for well digging, tubewell, drilling, soil reclamation, dams.

The current major programme activities are as follows:

- Development in agriculture, animal husbandry and rural industries;
- Functional education of children, adolescents and adults;
- Health improvements such as potable water;
- Village leadership building;
- Skills training;
- Legal support and organising people to secure their entitlements.

PROJECT SIGNIFICANCE

Accomplishments

The project feels that there is a new preparedness to accept challenges and a movement developing for social justice. It has emphasised small technologies and simple solutions to common rural problems which are manifested in things like a chain of tiny irrigation schemes and simple drought proofing techniques taught to the project participants. Employment opportunities have been increased through cottage industries and improved agricultural techniques and innovations such as cross-bred cattle and expanded dairy herds and production. The basic contradiction in access to low-interest credit which can relieve dependency on money-lenders and loss of property and freedoms through bonded labour and unpayable mortgages, has been alleviated through a Village revolving fund which serves the 250 villages in the project.

Such training, education, and opportunities for self-sufficiency have been essential to the development of self-confidence. This is reflected in an increasing demand for educational programmes that provide both literacy and skills. The obvious emerging potential of this geographic area has attracted bank and block loans for development activities which have been accepted by the project.

With the increase in self-sufficiency and self-confidence, the village community is taking more leadership in solving its own social problems.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Whole Village Development Programme; An Evaluation Report by the Agricultural Finance Corporation Ltd.

AHMEDABAD STUDY ACTION GROUP (ASAG): POVERTY PROGRAMME, DHOLKA (SA-01)

Location: AHMEDABAD, GUJARAT STATE

PROJECT PROFILE

ASAG became involved with the poor of Dholka taluka in 1978 during a housing programme for 2000 landless, homeless agricultural labourers in 30 villages. This programme also involved an intensive, innovative low-cost housing design process in participation with the beneficiary families, so that the whole experience became an initiator of further development action in the area and among the beneficiaries by themselves.

In 1981 we decided to change our focus and concentrate our energies on anti-poverty measures for the very poorest families in a block of 60 villages. During a year of surveys, discussions and village meetings we drew up in consultation with each village a list of 3,500 of the poorest families. Simultaneously we began a process to identify economic activities that could be stimulated in the area to benefit these families.

AGENT DESCRIPTION**Purposes and Objectives**

ASAG has some eleven major objectives which are summarised as follows:

To promote housing activity in the development context using housing as a starting point for overall community development and organising people through the housing activity to strengthen community solidarity and build motivation and initiative.

To reduce the cost of housing for the urban and rural poor; cutting administrative costs, maximising overheads and eliminating intermediaries; developing alternative organisational forms for delivery of housing by involving the client groups in the design and construction activities; evolving design and technical innovations which tap the skills, materials, resources and organisations of the client group.

To enhance the institutional capacity for meeting the housing and development requirements of the urban and rural poor so that investments and policies are effectively channeled to those in need. This involves building decentralised networks of voluntary action agencies, community organisations, government bodies, and financial institutions and the creation/fostering of new work relationships.

To link the investment in housing to the other development objectives by dovetailing educational, motivational, social, economic and environmental inputs with those of construction.

To educate the community in new health practices by improving environmental conditions and by introducing new elements into their daily living patterns (toilet, bath areas, smokeless chulahs, gober gas plants, compost systems, etc).

To facilitate the community's efforts to obtain the necessary inputs and services from the government and other sources for improving the quality of life.

To solicit active community participation for identifying felt needs, defining priorities, designing strategies, and organising collective action which may help prepare people to meet their needs.

To sustain the tempo of growth, change, and development initiated through external intervention by helping to build social solidarity which may, in turn, foster collective action in obtaining (on a continuing basis) necessary development inputs.

To extend technical and resource support for creating job opportunities and gainful employment in order to ensure the economic viability of the housing programme and the on-going improvement of the living conditions of the client families.

To advocate for policies, projects and approaches which benefit the client communities in ASAG's role as an interface between the people and the government.

To channel feedback on experimental pilot activities to others undertaking similar efforts recognising that a 'learning by doing' approach provides a pragmatic foundation for policy and decision making and repeatable efforts.

History

For the past ten years, the Ahmedabad Study Action Group (ASAG) has been engaged in low cost housing and community development activities in Gujarat State. ASAG's exclusive concern has been the urban and rural poor—slum dwellers, landless agricultural labourers, village artisans, small/marginal farmers, and disaster victims.

ASAG is a voluntary, no-profit-no-loss organisation of concerned professionals committed to utilising their skills and training for the benefit of society—particularly the disadvantaged sections. Professionals from various fields—design, planning, social sciences, architecture, engineering, education, economics, medicine, community work and rural rural studies—have joined their energies in an interdisciplinary team to promote housing and development activities where they are needed most.

The original inspiration for forming ASAG came from a small group of young architect students who questioned their future role in society. They recognised that their training, like that of all professionals, was confined to serving the privileged few. Traditional professional practice revolved around the wealth and aspirations of the urban elite while the survival needs of the great majority in the villages and disadvantaged settlements in the cities remained unattended. Given an opportunity, they wanted to use their skills and training to serve society.

Organisational Structure

From this search for an alternative client, and a new professionalism relevant to society's real needs came a second recognition that a substantial departure had to be made in the method of working. With poor communities as the new client, a comprehensive involvement was necessary. The sectorial approach became invalid because 'poverty' was the issue not housing, education or health. Therefore, professional commitment would have to extend beyond the narrow bounds of conventionally defined specialisations. The single-disciplined professional had to be replaced by a multi-disciplinary team. As professionals traditionally did not work together, it was necessary to create a new ethos and work culture in which an integrated strategy for development could be cultivated. Hence, the concept of the *GROUP* became all important.

The philosophy of creating a vehicle for professional involvement in addressing the most pressing needs of society took final shape as a no-profit- no-loss public charitable trust in 1981.

Staffing

The composition of the Group is ever diversifying and expanding to address the specific issues taken up for study and action. Both the Board of Trustees and the various Project Teams are comprised of individuals with diverse training and experience.

ASAG's Board of Trustees is composed of professionals with expertise in planning, architecture and design, engineering, sociology, economics, medicine, social work, and construction. All of them are reputed professionals who hold professional positions or who have their own consultancy practice. Most trustees devote their time voluntarily without any financial reward. The men and women who make up the various Project Teams are predominantly young and represent a cross-section of backgrounds, interests, and training. These teams include trained villagers as well as professionals from many fields.

PROJECT JOURNEY

Agent's Role

Work Methodology

The Group is endeavouring to evolve an appropriate work methodology which combines the stages of problem statement, research, action, evaluation and communication in addressing the complex issues of development.

1. Create Projects

The Group does not 'accept' projects but creates projects through being continuously sensitive to problems and issues which need to be addressed, but on which no action is being taken.

2. Formulate Plans

Recognising a specific problem to be within its scope of competence, the Group undertakes investigative studies to define the problems, hypotheses and solutions and develops an action plan.

3. Direct Action

Projects and experimental pilot activities undertaken to validate premises of the proposed action plan.

4. Resource Organisation

The Group does not depend on donations or grants but rather organises existing resources from the people and government which distinguishes development from charity and sets an example for subsequent action by affected communities and responsible authorities.

5. Continuous Monitoring

Through continuous monitoring, information is channeled back to the project to improve implementation and gauge effectiveness.

6. Post-project Evaluation

Post-project Evaluation informs subsequent action.

7. Public Impact

Monitoring and evaluation findings and lessons are communicated to policy makers, administrators, funding agencies, non-governmental organisations, research institutes, other client communities and the public at large. In this way action may lead to other actions or new policies and the value of the effort multiplied many times.

Each step in the above sequence is considered crucial and is undertaken corporately by the interdisciplinary Group rather than specialised agencies separately.

Facilitator Role

ASAG endeavours to work as a facilitator—a catalyst—in the development process. It attempts to muster active, fresh forces to confront development issues, and to evoke interest and action from concerned communities and organisations with greater financial resources, political power and relevant skills.

ASAG believes voluntary agencies to be influential agents of change. It views the voluntary sector as a genuine vehicle for strengthening democratic institutions and ideals and places heavy emphasis on its role as an interface between people and power—between needs and resources.

Future Images

After more than ten years of work, ASAG is still engaged in the endless search for social relevance in professional work as social needs and capacities to address them are continuously changing. ASAG's role must be dynamic and continuously revised in order to be effective.

Basic Directions

ASAG sees two basic directions for the future to meet development needs. One is to continue to undertake in-depth involvements in specific communities and to expand these efforts horizontally. The requirements of such intensive working, by implication, limit the area of development impact and number of communities the Group can reach. The second equally important direction for the future is to play a larger role in creating public awareness of development issues, to promote new groups to take create action programmes, to spread ideas and insights for application on a wider scale, to influence policy formulation, and to cultivate solidarity among concerned organisations for forming a development movement. But to play such a role exclusively would take ASAG away from the people—its ultimate concern and strength.

ASAG sees that an either/or choice is probably neither possible nor desirable but a dynamic/flexible role which satisfies both development needs is the challenge to which it is responding.

While ASAG intends to maintain its concern for the poor and to continue to bridge the gap between traditional rural systems and formal development systems, some particular projections have been identified as follows:

Specific Projections

1. Entrepreneurial Systems

ASAG has seen the need to create systems on an area level which multiply small-scale entrepreneurial ability, reducing the logistics for supply of inputs, production and delivery of outputs. A substantial number of poor families will be benefited, and products for local markets will be emphasised as much as possible, such as the production of tooth powder from activated charcoal from a locally available plant. On a much larger-scale, a decentralised group of rural textile artisans will produce warm acrylic clothing competitive in the village market.

2. Village Industrial Associations and Workspaces

Since 80 to 90% of the lowest 10% income villagers have no future in land-based operations, ASAG is working on an alternative. Five acres of land with suitable locational advantages per 1000 village population could be set aside to provide an appropriate place for village industrial activities. Along with facilitating village industrial development, a significant transfer of resources could be made to landless labourers in the form of currently insignificant land which would appreciate in value. One or two villages are experimenting with such associations.

3. Village Planning

To give some direction to work in a village, the people will be involved in a process of assessing their current growth potential and identifying particular strategies.

4. Low-cost Drinking Water

Since available water in the West Zone of the taluka is salty, ASAG will look at how to integrate community water storage, treatment and distribution. Just as rural people have learned to judge the fat content of milk, they could learn to analyse the problems and uses of saline water so as not to ruin their land with irrigation water with a high sodium ion content.

5. Health Delivery

A further project may be taken up to design and construct the physical infrastructure for health delivery systems across a state.

OPERATIONAL MODES

Implementation

ASAG implements its efforts on both a Village and Area Level Approach as seen in the following description of activities beginning in 1981:

1. Village Level

Kavitha Bhoodan Tenants Cooperative

A project to settle 45 landless labourers on a 100 acre plot of previously undercultivated farm land bought by the Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal out of Bhoodan funds. This project commenced farming operations in 1981.

Rupal Vibhag Carpet Producer's Cooperative Society

A cooperative of 70 children who were trained in hand-knotted carpet weaving. This cooperative is working since November 1982. The cooperative members have earned about Rs60,000 since its inception until December 31, 1983.

Sathal Women's Embroidery Production Cooperative

A cooperative of 60 women in village Sathal was registered in 1983. Marketing efforts have commenced vigorously. Training and production on a full-scale await necessary funds.

Jawaraj Leather Tanners Cooperative

A cooperative of 30 tanners was registered on 10th May 1983 with the object of setting up a village tannery based on modern tanning chemistry and intermediate technology at Jawaraj. A project proposal for financial purposes has been prepared. Drawings and engineering estimates for the tannery have been completed.

Simej Brick Producers Training Kiln

This is an attempt to organize brick-making labourers into production cooperatives, give them training at Simaj village at a kiln, where bricks are made for landless labourers housing, and then subsequently help them to obtain bank finance for making bricks where they are needed. The first batch began work this 1983 season, after one year of preparation.

Koth Cobbler's Training Centre

This Centre trains rural cobblers to make leather products like chappals, shoes and bags prior to helping them obtain a Rs4,000 capital finance package (including a leather sewing machine) and linking them up with village tanneries for raw materials and marketing.

Koth Carpet Training Centre

A Carpet Weaving Training Centre that formerly functioned in Rupal. Every year it trains 50 very poor, illiterate children mostly from Scheduled Castes in carpet weaving. Simultaneously an effort at community development has been initiated so that a cooperative can be formed and other economic activities organised with the children and their parents.

2. Area Level Activities

Landless Labourer's Housing

Using finance given by the Government, we help groups of 30-50 landless, homeless poor to build their houses. Until recently these houses of 300 square feet plinth area used to be built for about Rs3,500. The Government has now increased the finance to Rs5,000. Recently we have helped 32 families in Kalyangadh village to build their homes working on a community basis. We now plan to help four other villages to house their poor.

Handloom Weaver's Mobilisation

We are trying to organise the 2000 handloom weaver families in 51 villages of the taluka to protect their livelihoods in the race of increasing competition from powerlooms being set up by outsiders. A taluka-level cooperative has been formed and some village level cooperatives are under registration.

Acrylic Fibre Rural Applications Development

Warm clothing is a necessity that has not reached at least 25 million people in rural areas of the severe cold regions of our country. The problem is an increasing shortage of wool caused by low production and exports of woollen products like carpets, blankets and hosiery. Acrylic fibre is the only tonnage substitute available. But it is not being directed towards rural warm clothing.

We have taken up some pioneering work of spinning acrylic yarns on charkhas, weaving it on handlooms and teaching the decentralised rural artisans to use Acrylic fibres and yarns in 7 villages of Dholka.

A 55 page report has been prepared on AFRAD and the conclusions on our trials. There is a considerable promise in this activity, but it is currently short of funds.

Milch Animals Capital Financing Project

Out of 3,500 families, 1500 requested milch animals when we interviewed them in December 1981. Subsequently between January and April, 1982 we conducted a survey of the economics of animal husbandry by low-income families and the individual viability of applicant families as assessed by their villages. A list of 825 viable families was ultimately compiled.

From August 1982 we began a process in collaboration with the Bank of Baroda and the Ahmedabad District Rural Development Agency for helping these families obtain loans and purchase animals. Until December 1983 we had assisted 277 families to acquire an animal.

We now wish to form all the families into an Association—named Dohak (a Gujarati word meaning 'milker') so that the process of acquiring loans, subsidies and animals can be expedited and improved upon by the people themselves.

Cobbler's Capital Financing Project

When we examined the reasons for the poverty of six chamars the traditional leather working caste—we concluded that:

- Traditional tanning technology was too slow;
- Rural cobblers preparing shoes by hand were too slow.

So we undertook to:

- Set up a tannery with modern tanning chemistry at Jawaraj Village
- Help rural cobblers to obtain sewing machines to speed up productive activity.

We feel that the tanneries which prepare semi-finished tanned hides because they cannot afford costly machines like staking machines, slitting machine and pressing machines, might be able to market their products if rural cobblers were to provide sales outlets for the finished product. Then slowly, by mutually reinforcing each other they could develop into a productive force.

For example, a rural cobbler in the outlying village could supply flayed hides to the tannery, take back tanned leather and other accessory materials and give back surplus finished shoes and chappals for external marketing. We now propose to equip 150 village cobblers from 60 villages to make shoes and chappals with leather sewing machines under a Rs4,000 package scheme. The first batch of 20 cobblers are training.

Guava Growers Project

About 18 villages of Dholka have 150 orchards of guavas many of them as much as 80 years old.

This horticultural activity produces approximately 20,000 tonnes of guavas per annum and gives employment to the extent of 3,000 man-years. Because marketing is unorganised, the economics of guava production are failing to keep pace with other organised crops such as sugar cane and bananas.

In order to help the tenants who rent the orchards, we have recently undertaken a census of orchards and a study of production and marketing economics.

We have also undertaken test production and marketing of guava cheese, jams and jelly on village-scale. According to preliminary estimates, an initial capital investment of Rs30,000 can employ 10 people for three months and give them each a profit-cum-wage of Rs1,000 per month, which is a very high remuneration for the area. We hope to develop a package scheme for financing ten units at the village level in 1985.

We are helping farmers obtain term loans for the raising of new orchards of guavas, lemons, chikoos, coconuts, eucalyptus etc.

Forest Nurseries

We are helping primary schools to raise forest nurseries to supply saplings to the Forest Department.

Last year out of ten such schools, two schools had outstanding success rates. This year we plan to help about 20 schools, farmers and individuals to raise one million saplings in 20 villages, for supply to the Forest Department.

Entrepreneurial Systems Approach to Area Development

We are trying to stimulate the generation of ideas for small-capital economic ventures by supporting people to develop what seem to be promising ideas to a level which a bank would accept for financing.

Then if the venture can be multiplied in other villages we shall try to do so. Thus an idea requiring a Rs5000 capital investment can become a Rs3 lakh area-level program in 60 villages.

Dholka Child Development Programme

When we started the Carpet Training Centre at Rupal Village we asked the Primary Health Training Centre at Bavla to have our children medically examined.

We suspected from these statistics that long-term malnutrition was a major problem in the area.

Then in 1982 the crop failed and when the children stopped bringing lunches we opened a small nutrition programmes. It had a miraculous effect on some minor ailments.

Dr. H.J. Nanavaty inspired us to take up some larger scale work on this subject. We have so far gone to 51 villages, visited all the LID families in their homes and physically checked approximately 1015 children for their physical condition. We now plan to help these families and their children to improve their physical condition systematically.

Creating Village-Level Economic Workspaces

In many villages of Gujarat mechanisation of farming operations by rich farmers has preceded the introduction of widespread irrigation.

The result is that agricultural operations are desorbing labour and there are no other avenues for economic activity.

One of the major reasons why industrial activity is so difficult to sustain in a village is the lack of collective workspaces.

We believe that every village should be required to set aside land at the rate of five acres per 1000 population for the purposes of economic industrial and agro-industrial activities.

Three villages have come forward to adopt this idea and prepare Gram Audyogik Sahakari Mandals as institutional bodies to hold title to these estates. Each Mandal will have members from each family in the village.

Gram Ayojan

Most villages are not planning their futures in any coordinated sense of the term. Yet many of the primary variables, such as population growth, agricultural productivity, demand for education and medical services, are easily forecastable. We have been talking to villages about the need to evolve a consensus towards the integrated development of their villages.

If we are able to raise the resources, we shall put together a package of techniques and procedures evolved together with villages on the conduct of village planning exercises.

ASAG does not bring a package of developmental activities to an area and try to enlist support. The Group solicits opinions from many people before considering an activity. It tries to provide a structural way to listen to people's ideas and then show them how to do what they want, reinforced with an appropriately focussed area programme. For example, the rural market has become quite difficult for cobblers because plastic sandals are cheaper than hand-made leather ones. Yet if they had a leather sewing machine they could compete favourably.

Based on extensive conversations in a number of villages, an area scheme was created for upgrading the skills of some 300 cobblers and providing them with a tested machine and a packet of good tools, all for a loan-cum-subsidy of Rs4,000 which can easily be repaid in three years.

Working with Clusters of Five to Ten Villages

This enables problems common to an area smaller than an ecological zone or the entire project area to become an activity focus. Within the cluster villages, the family lists serve as a lens to further focus actions. When data is collected about villages, clusters provide a base for comparison, tending to minimise observer bias and to encourage cross-checking of any discrepancies that arise. In practice, field staff work with village cluster. When village leaders are concerned with more than their own village, they tend to broaden their thinking about their own village as well. Many economic activities are not viable at the village level but are at cluster or cross-cluster levels.

Systems Creation

ASAG has had to shift to making long-term projects economically workable by adopting more of a systems approach. Many available schemes truncate the whole economic system by focussing on one relatively manageable part. ASAG has moved to integrate a government programme into a taluka level system. For example, in order for poorer families to be actively involved in a forestry programme, finance must be available over a lead time of five years from seedling to tree, so that a real profit can be made by the families involved.

Use of Revolving Funds and Establishment of Economic Entities

After observing distressingly poor results of individual effort in buffalo purchase, ASAG got involved in helping groups of loanees to purchase animals. Banks assume sellers will extend credit to the buyer until the formalities are completed and then they pay the amount directly to the seller. Since the purchase must take place in another taluka or district, no seller will extend credit to low income buyers from far away villages. So the buyer usually takes a short-term loan from a money lender in his village at an exorbitant interest rate. Therefore, ASAG created a revolving fund of 'bridge finance' capital which could be employed in effecting cash purchases of animals. The Bank of Baroda loans and paid directly to ASAG on production of a sale certificate. Now a taluka level organisation is being created to perform this function as a permanent basis. ASAG played a similar role in extending operating capital in housing projects and in the Davitah Bhoodan Tenants Association for their first year crop inputs.

Cooperation with Other Organisations

ASAG works with other groups and institutions wherever possible. For instance, the Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal has been a major partner in providing land for the Tenants Association. Ahmedabad Jaycees have become involved in the villages through ASAG's efforts. In the Handloom Project the Scheduled Caste Education Society became involved in the weavers' problems.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches That Work

Interventions to mesh formal and informal development systems

The typical Dholka village, situated in the middle of its 800 to 2,000 acres of land, possesses only the most tenuous links with the formal development system: taluka panchayat, cooperative associations, banks or milk cooperative unions. Its social tradition goes back at least 80 to 100 years and it has developed its own ways of dealing with the various problems of life. But village systems function only on the internal resources available and hence often cannot be operated at high efficiencies or to large capacities.

For example, for animal husbandry activities to be economically viable, a buffalo must be impregnated every 14-15 months in order to remain in milk. Since a new-born calf takes about 45 months to reach lactation, whenever a cow has two female calves in succession, the farmer will give the older calf to a poor man to rear in partnership. He tells the poor men that on maturity a village committee will determine the value of the animal, and whoever wishes to keep the calf can then pay off the partner's share. But the value of the animal tends to settle at a price where the poor man cannot afford to pay the rich man his third.

When ASAG stumbled into this system, it seemed a tremendous opportunity for an outside intervention. The formal system of buffalo financing is inherently uneconomic, given the high proportion of loan to equity, the high interest rate and the economic valuation of buffaloes only as milk producers. But using the indigenous system, a loan of one-third of the value of the asset, making the financing pattern inherently economical. However, to bring the two systems into harmony will require a new synthesis of policies and procedures. ASAG is in a position to support such financing on a trial basis to evolve a methodology that could be adopted by other institutions. Similarly, ASAG is trying to intervene in growing guavas and production of guava cheese, and in other local systems.

Economic Systems Approach

Broadly speaking, a development agency can adopt two major strategy options in encouraging income generations. One is the 'broad front' approach where individual initiative, wherever it is found, is supported to the hilt. Bankers normally have to take this approach. The second is the 'economic systems' approach which emphasises completing all the links which bind consumers of a particular need with the producers of various components through the creation of producing units as well as markets. As is clear from this report ASAG is experimenting with the second approach. In their experience carpet-weaving becomes more viable as markets emerge for designs, woolen yarn, cotton yarn, loom parts, etc. All these little submarkets greatly contribute to the viability of the system. In dairying markets are needed for purchase of buffaloes, for sale of unwanted male buffalo calves for slaughter and for ageing female animals.

Once established a self-sustaining growth process is visible. The broad-front approach usually yields significantly lower success rates because individual units rarely have the strength to take on neighbouring economic systems in competition.

In addition, it is important to develop the relationships village-based economic systems can have with any major cities in the area. An expanded handloom industry using locally grown and ginned cotton will not necessarily be competitive with the huge textile mill industry of Ahmedabad. A low-cost milk marketing system could serve both rural and urban consumers more efficiently than the more expansive 'Anand Pattern.'

Collective Self-Employment

This approach is a consequence of ASAG's concentration on systems. Today in most villages, even the richest farmer finds it difficult to employ six full-time labourers. The development of village industrial activity, however, normally requires that at least 80 to 100 people cooperate closely to produce a given product. At this scale, organisational problems are enormous, and most rural people become vulnerable to outside industrialists who can employ them at low wages, because they have developed the skills of organising large bodies of people toward specific goals. In most villages a different pattern exists; people tend toward partnerships of varying kinds, as when a watchman or a harvester is paid with a share of the produce. The transition from partnerships to employment is a radical one.

Therefore, ASAG is trying to work on a concept of collective self-employment. This requires a core group of six to eight people who team to divide their activities to emerge as a functional management team that can employ many more people. The leadership of such an industry themselves come from the poorest families, and learn over two or three years to trust each other and to make group decisions. The Rural Carpet-Weaving Cooperative is one such experiment in collective self-employment.

Methodology for Village-Planning

ASAG has found that it is not possible for poor people to plan in isolation, but that their problems are part of a larger problem being solved, so that it is necessary to enlist many people's participation in the process. The village needs to be conscious of their real situation and to know what they could be doing for their people. Someone like a concerned teacher can be instrumental in pulling together a base of information:

- How many men, women and children are here now, and what are they doing?
- How is this situation likely to change in five years, in ten years?
- How is village space used now? How should the village grow?
- How much surplus labour is there now?
- Unless more people are absorbed in the village economy, how many will have to migrate to the cities in five years?

Such a concrete database provides the basis for a real conversation about future plans, involving the whole village. Most villages will not acknowledge the high female infant and mother mortality rate, without clear data from their experience in front of them. In many villages, the articulateness of a few people substitutes for a more reasoned approach involving the participation of many people in evolving directions for the whole village. ASAG has found that after several activities have involved some of the poorest people they, and others, are ready to participate actively in such a process. The planning method will be systematised in the next one or two years.

Use of Surveys in Staff Training

Field staff are originally hired to work with ASAG for a pilot period on a survey. Building on previous work, a team would design and do a survey to get specific information needed for a new project, like the Integrated Child Development Scheme or the Weaver's Project. The team works closely together to: develop a trial questionnaire; test it in several villages, doing extensive discussions every evening on the day's activities; structure the format and procedures; do the survey for six or eight months; and write up the results in a summary with an action plan.

Through this process new staff who may not have been beyond their village come to know their area. They also get to know the organisation and ASAG gets to know them. In many cases they get committed to implementing a response to the obvious need. Villagers get frustrated with surveys and push the workers for action. In addition, the survey structures the work of a worker when he's doing something exploratory, and would otherwise experience isolation, lack of direction and pressure for results. It gives him a reason to talk to people and build up the relationships that will enable him to be effective in implementation. Further, analysing an issue from many directions helps the worker to build perspective on the root causes of village problems and possible responses. The survey also helps to keep ASAG free of local politics by providing objective lists of people who are to benefit from new schemes. Surveys are expensive in both time and money, but ASAG has found them to yield more than their cost in the benefits to implementation and staff training.

Stimulating Local-based Innovation

Village people themselves can develop the techniques that will improve crop or milk yields or drinking water quality or traditional craft. Assimilation of imported technologies and creation of indigenous technologies require the introduction of formal development systems under which a scientific attitude can shelter and grow among the people. Rather than depending on controlled experimentation, field survey research-cum-action techniques could lead to improved dairy herds or crop yields on the basis of results observed directly in the field.

For example, primary school projects could record milk yields from a sample of village animals, correlate these yields, introduce policies for insemination by bulls of high-yielding mothers, study the impact of different grain and feed formulas on milk yield and develop simple predictive models for determining the value of an animal by its physical attributes while it is still young and immature. A teacher or other person with a basic scientific understanding and a degree of enthusiasm could be supported with a very small grant and a structure that allowed him to meet similar enthusiasts and exchange information.

This approach has been piloted in a social forestry project, and resulted in using high-density eucalyptus plantations which yields timber, but nothing of field value, to stake high-protein winged beans, improving not only the food yield but the quality of the soil itself.

Housing

Housing has been ASAG's entry point to more comprehensive development. They have found that any housing project involves two stages. Although their extensive experience is deeply noted in the Gujarati situation, it can easily be adapted.

Stage One: Operating capital plus housing finance. Since in India bank loans and government subsidies are normally given out on the progress of materials delivery and construction, operating capital must be found. The estimate should include about a 20% loss to cover materials cost inflation, though some can possibly be recovered with a large investment of energy. No project should begin until all documents are signed by local government (Panchayat) officials regarding the subsidies and the land.

Stage Two: Construction. ASAG's experience indicates a number of areas to be considered:

- Group processes—It is easiest to do housing by caste or other social groupings, but it is far more useful in the long run to enable a more mixed living community. Whole community meetings plus an intercaste committee for purchasing raw materials or guiding the construction process or bringing electricity or water facilitate this process. Well-built row houses are cheaper but require a lot of cooperation.
- Community centre—Allot some of the land for a community centre and people will easily contribute energy and resources during the construction process.
- Design—evolve a common basic design by involving future residents with meetings, drawings, models. This determines the net raw materials to be purchased per building, including the amount of materials to be used in the foundation, wall thickness, etc.
- Critical raw materials purchases—Buy roofing materials first, then if a cost problem arises, compromises can be made on the bricks or stone.
- Cost-cutting—Substantial money can be saved by making bricks in the village before the monsoon. Timber can be seasoned and treated for white ants. Examination of sources for mud mortar can raise the quality substantially. Lime-sand mortar is best in low lying areas which tend to flood. This materials preparation can be done while applications are being processed. If everything is ready before the monsoon then the voluntary labour (shramdan) component can be significantly increased in the slack season later on.

Learnings

Role of a Voluntary Organisation

A. **Maintaining Objectivity:** In a village, much activity gets stuck because of local relationships, political issues, etc. It is important for any intervention not to get caught up in such division if it is to have maximum impact in a short time frame. A tool such as an objective list of identified families, built with village input, permits the agency to remain an outsider, yet closely in contact with all parties.

B. **Government Scheme Implementation:** Several constraints are involved in implementing government policy. ASAG's experience has been that of building projects with official panchayat-identified lists of eligibles has resulted in less than 50% occupancy of whom only 10% were poverty level. Now ASAG tries to create its own view of the total economic system related to any government scheme or of the people who should be involved. Such activity begins one to two years before the scheme implementation starts.

C. **Choice of Village Partners:** Village people recognise many different leaders for different purposes. Once a change agent has selected particular partners in a village, options for flexibility have been reduced.

Target Population

A. **Involving the Whole Village:** Wherever the higher castes dominate a village, there is a crisis of leadership. In this kind of situation the lower castes have no way to participate in community decisions and the higher castes have lost their vision and ability to marshal the whole community resources while strengthening the position of the weaker sections, a voluntary organisation is in a unique position to broaden village leadership and to help them to regain a vision of what could happen in the village.

B. **Homogeneous Social Groupings:** In India, where castes have traditionally been identified with particular occupations, ASAG has found it extremely helpful to focus artisan or skill training on traditional groups but to work strongly on participation of other people in the economic activities. ASAG has found that this adds a 'yeast' factor to any economic effort.

Economic Development

A. **Components of Poverty:** Of the two components, of not enough work and not enough wages, ASAG has found availability of work to be at least twice as important a component in raising income of the poorest families. Therefore a constructive approach has been found necessary to employment creation, structural linkages and systems for collective self-employment.

B. **Employment Systems:** To generate substantial economic activity at the village level requires a whole supportive systems. Therefore ASAG only responds to individual needs when a programme base can be built from them that would benefit a large number of families and make the logistics economical.

C. **Pyramid Effect:** Economic impacts have tended to pyramid in some villages where a variety of activities are already going on in a village, creating more of an atmosphere of development. In Rupal some families in the new housing project have a child earning from the carpet centre as well as new buffaloes.

D. **Social Components:** A local industry needs to focus beyond economic development to include tactics critical to building both the future of the enterprise and the community. The two carpet cooperatives (children and parents) took a three day trip together. Ultimately they will have to run their cooperative and such indirect experiences contribute to context team-building and leadership.

Planning

Development of Conceptual Clarity: ASAG has experienced that the key to both effective schemes and to motivation is objective information. They have found observer bias easier to minimise than that arising from preconceived intentions or ideological perspectives. Therefore project staff are assigned to work with local people to develop a total understanding of raw-materials sources, production alternatives and marketing options before finalising project plans. For example, the Jawaraj Tannery and Cobblers' Training Project took seven months to design, although there was an existing model government scheme. The new project suits the actual needs of the villages and people involved and is proceeding at a rapid pace.

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ANAND NIKETAN ASHRAM (SA-23)

Location: RANGPUR, VADODARA DISTRICT, GUJARAT STATE

PROJECT PROFILE**Geo-Social Setting**

125 kilometres east of Baroda lies the tribal region of Fenai Pradesh. The hills were covered with thick forests full of wild animals and criss-crossed by streams. In 1947 when the states became a part of the Indian Union, the feudal lords were permitted to do whatever they wanted with estate lands until the date of the transfer of power; thus the forests were sold away to contractors. For a decade the trees were cut and sold, resulting in a fall in water level and delayed, scanty rainfall (reduced from 152 to 102 cm/year).

Target Population

In other ways the victory of national independence, then later of land reforms, community development and tribal welfare, barely touched the lives of the Adivasi people of the area.

Issues and Constraints

They farmed by simply scattering the seeds and waiting for the results. Most people owned land in name, but most of it was mortgaged to money-lenders for usurious debts. Those who were tenants often paid more than half of their marginal harvest to absentee landlords. They often were exploited and harassed by money-lenders, police, revenue officers and forest officials. Completely illiterate, they were prey to witchdoctors who took advantage of their superstitious beliefs. They were masters of the bow and arrow, and not a week passed without two or three murders, provoking other revenge murders in an evil chain. Excessive drinking led to other crimes as well. They lived in almost total isolation from non-tribal villages as well as towns, and had learned from experience to distrust any urban or educated people they might meet.

Strategies

Anand Niketan literally means 'abode of joy.' The basic strategies of their work are:

1. Create and implement a form of mass education that meets the real needs of the people;
2. To encourage the Adivasis to develop their own villages and to work together effectively;
3. To mobilise people's strength by involving them in decision making, development planning and action against exploitation and corruption and;
4. To improve the quality of life by raising the food production and controlling the population growth.

AGENT DESCRIPTION**History**

Shri Harivallabh Parikh was born into a family of ministers and advisors to the princely states of Saurashtra and Rajasthan. Rather than go to England, he abandoned his auspicious boyhood and completed his education in Gandhi's Sevagram Ashram. There he says he learned three things: simplicity, self-reliance and the dignity of labour. In 1942 he went underground to fight in the Quit India movement. When India became independent, the political aims of the Gandhian movement had been substantially attained, but many social and economic evils remained. Therefore, hundreds of Gandhian workers took up programmes for the social and economic reconstruction of villages across the country.

After considerable touring in Gujarat, he and his wife and colleagues found the isolated tribal area of Rangpur, settled under a neem tree and began to work. He asked that people call him only 'Bhai', brother. As he walked and talked with people in many villages, he heard the same stories of ignorance, exploitation and injustice, of how money-lenders had become landlords through their lending, or how disputes often ended in fights and murders. He decided to play the 'go-between', finding a tree at equal distance from the homes of both disputants, where they sat and discussed the problem with all present until an amicable settlement could be reached. This practice grew into the Open Court. Adult education and other activities were started and developed in many directions, until now they cover over 1,000 villages in 5 talukas of Baroda District, one taluka of Broach District, one taluka of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and in two districts in Orissa, altogether well over a million people.

Organisational Structure and Staff

Anand Niketan Ashram now has about 150 to 160 full-time staff working in different arenas of village development. Most of the staff come from surrounding villages and many were trained at the Life Education School. About half live at the Ashram and half live in various centres and villages across the area. Organisers and field workers are constantly on the lookout for potential workers, who attend training programmes during the monsoon season. Most of the staff work with Anand Niketan for many years, though a fair number leave for jobs outside. Salaries range from Rs200 to Rs.1,000. Although all staff are involved in planning, a nine-member Executive Committee meets quarterly to assess the total situation. This includes the Secretary, Vice-President, President and heads of the various departments: Irrigation, Schools, Co-operatives, Dairy, Women's Programmes, Office, and Project Planning. The entire Committee is responsible for any decisions taken, though implementation happens through the departments. About 20% direct project funding comes from Indian trusts and companies, and the remaining 80% from international funding agencies.

PROJECT JOURNEY

Phases and Turning Points

Major emphases during the 34 years of Anand Niketan's work was put into chart form. Important turning points were experienced in 1960, when a sufficient number of people had given up alcohol that the question arose of their fuller employment in agriculture; in 1969 when the banks were nationalised and began to focus on serving the rural population; in 1975, when the Gujarat Government tribal sub-plan schemes became available; and in 1979 when the work began to expand to other states through flood relief and legal support work.

Phase I (1949-1970): Forming a Base

This phase included mass education, movement for giving up alcohol, first cooperatives, the gramdan movement, irrigation projects, cooperative societies, life education schools, and land.

Phase II (1970-1980): Consolidating the Work

This phase involved freeing the land from money-lenders, bank credit, 'Satyagrahas', government schemes under tribal sub-plan and women's awareness.

Phase III (1980-1983): Expansion

This Phase included projects like farm, forestry, gober gas, legal support and expansion. There was an open court for settling disputes from 1949-1960. During the period 1960-1975 there was an open court as well as non-violent protest. And from 1975 to 1983 Gram Sabhas began to take over village disputes while the open court continued.

Basic Social Changes

Such extensive work over 34 years in a culturally homogeneous area is bound to have substantial impact. There is a marked economic and social contrast between villages which have been substantially involved in Anand Niketan's programmes and those which have not:

- Irrigation - Some 100,000 acres now yield two or three crops a year
- Even if there is no rain because of a complete monsoon failure, the villages are guaranteed against famine.
- Land has been recovered from money-lenders and landlords.
- Interest rates of loans from money-lenders are down from 200-300 percent a year to 25 per cent.
- Villagers have learned to use nationalised banks and government schemes available to them.
- Many villagers are actively involved in cooperative societies, Gram Sabhas in which they have learned to speak openly and make decisions co-operatively.
- Increased standard of living: houses are being reconstructed with bricks and good roofs, additional clothes and kitchen utensils are brought and milk cattle are purchased.
- The succession of nonviolent struggles that have emerged in the open court has brought people together and taught them to fight against socio-economic injustices collectively and nonviolently.
- The villages have the benefit of the newly educated class, who have gained skills in the Life Education School that are needed in the villages.
- Cooperatives take the initiative not only in agricultural and economic matters but also in organising social and cultural events, organising village reconstruction jobs and in removing

- social evils like untouchability, dowry and child marriage.
- New values and customs have emerged, such as a widow continuing to live in her husband's house and to farm their land.
- Officers and politicians understand that they can be held accountable by the people.
- A decline in the crime rate has been attributed to irrigation because the percentage of hard drinking, violence and thieving used to be markedly higher during the seasons when farmers had no work in the fields.
- Many people have given up liquor and new forms of entertainment are available through the Bhajan Mandals and the periodic tribal fairs.
- Many of the problems in the villages are dealt with directly in the Gram Sabha now so that the open court handles primarily cases between villages or with outside villages.

Example of Vantha Village

Perhaps the impact of the work of Anand Niketan can best be seen by looking at the results in a particular village. In 1970, Vanta installed its first irrigation scheme, covering 20 percent of the families and 14 percent of the village land. Community Aid Abroad, an Australian donor agency, contributed 80 percent of the cost, which was repaid into a revolving fund for other villages. C.A.A. discovered the following impact:

1. Agricultural income increased by 230 percent;
2. Debts totally refunded, while other village families still had average debts of Rs. 2,000 each;
3. Employment increased in their own fields, plus 2,000 extra person days of work was created;
4. Availability of food—while 30-40 percent of families used to have very little food during the dry summer months, now food supply is a problem for no one. Also increase in quantity of food and year round availability of vegetables;
5. Population—infant mortality down, all couples with 2-3 children have accepted family planning;
6. Voluntary assistance providing seeds and bullocks and ploughs when 25 landless families received 50 acres of government wasteland; provision of sharecropping facilities to 8 other families;
7. Education—contribution to new school building, sending both boys and girls to school to learn to read and keep family accounts;
8. Gobar gas plant and toilet built;
9. High level of general social and political consciousness.

Since that time three other schemes have been built to irrigate the land of other village families.

Agent's Role

The Ashram does not directly do development work in the area. Rather they assist people in such a way that they can continue on their own. They image their work as providing temporary support timbers, allowing the concrete on a building to harden and stand by itself.

Future Images

Anand Niketan Ashram intends to focus now on the fight against alleged corruption. With the increase in Government subsidies and schemes available, various officials tend to try to get their cut. As young tribal people get educated and get jobs in Government services they also sometimes choose that path. The Ashram intends to use both the legal system and social and moral pressure to work with the persons who take bribes and the persons who give them.

Further, systematic effort will be made in the next few years to extend the kind of activities which have been going on in the more developed villages. This will be done by systematically training one or two young people from each village to work for the good of the whole village, and by building a good organisation of such people.

Current projects, like farm forestry, gohar gas and irrigation will be expanded to cover more villages. The Ashram intends to expand its activity quickly in several as yet undeveloped tribal areas, particularly on the Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh borders. The work in other states will also be intensified through the All India Khet Mazdoor Kisan Parishad.

OPERATIONAL MODES

Programme Areas

1. Open Court

2. Legal support for the rural poor
3. Collective struggle for justice
4. Bhoodan and Gramdan land to landless and collective land ownership
5. Irrigation
6. Agricultural Extension Service
7. Cooperatives - Agricultural (Industrial-Neera and Gramodyog)
8. Dairy development
9. Antyodaya Kosh (loan advance system) 2 lakhs revolving fund
10. Workshop Training Centre
11. Life Education School
12. Adult Education
13. Aktheshuran Rural Technical Training Centre
14. Paramedical services and kindergarten
15. All India Farmers and Farm Labourers Organisation.

Planning and Evaluation

Bhai and the Ashram workers have built up very close relationships with the villages over the years and are in close contact both at the Ashram and in the field. Particular problems or proposals are continually being brought up, to be dealt with as soon as possible. Meetings of village heads and leaders are held at the Ashram three or four times a year, focusing on specific programmes or issues but also discussing the whole range of the development effort. The executive committee decides on large-scale projects in consultation with village leaders, and arranges for funding.

Participation and Implementation

People's participation is at the heart of the Ashram's mode of working. A long series of events focusing around the Open Court has given rise to a sense that problems can be solved. Various education classes and the work of the Swathaya Sevikas. Direct development work is built on this foundation. Local people are involved through village meetings from the start, they donate their energy and labour and are trained in running the project. Therefore, if an irrigation pipe needs to be repaired, the village person sees it as their responsibility to do whatever is necessary. New technologies like gohar gas or farming methods are introduced first at the Ashram in a very visible way so that many people will see it in operation, then with a few close people who are willing to try it, and then more broadly as others can see the results.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Models

Life Education

To consolidate the development effort, villages need qualified workers and dedicated leaders. As soon as he came to the area, Bhai and his wife started adult literacy classes and then a residential school for children. In 1962, it took its present form; nowadays it counts 100 boys and four teachers from five talukas. Over 500 students have been trained there.

There are several fundamental assumptions of this approach:

- Flexible curriculum and timetable makes education accessible to people of all areas;
- Correlating education with the social life, natural environment and basic work of a community prepares people to pursue their own vocations more profitably in the context of their society;
- Securing community participation at every stage makes school programmes more effective;
- Individuals develop wholesome personalities through the cultivation of values such as the dignity of labour, co-operative growth, non-violence, non-exploitation, and self-reliance and responsibility.

Jeevan Shala (Life Education School): Living and Studying in the Ashram

Students live and study in the Ashram, sharing in all activities and learning from them: In Open Court meetings they can reflect on their customs; in the fields they learn modern agricultural practices. They also have their own tasks: to clean the premises and latrines, to feed the gohar gas plant, to sweep the dairy shed, to cook and wash their clothes and dishes. Such self-help teaches them to be responsible, independent and self-sufficient.

A. Classes I to V receive basic general education in Hindi, Gujarati, English, maths and sciences, along with a half day of practical work.

B. Classes VI to VII learn a variety of skills: social service, maintenance and repair of engines and pumps, management of co-operatives, better farming, driving, office work and accounting, carpentry, and tailoring.

Secondary Education Workshop

The Workshop provides a kind of secondary education in which students continue for two more years to develop a speciality, such as the techniques of irrigation and scientific farming, manufacture of cement pipes, repair of agricultural tools and machines etc. Students also execute community projects like road construction and participate in various activities to demand socio-economic justice. They are exposed to a wide range of people.

Basic Medical Education

Since 1977 girls are being trained as Swasthya Sevikas in a two year programme on basic medical diagnosis and treatment, preschool teaching and organising women's activities.

Ad Hoc Courses

Ad Hoc Courses are organised when people are free from agricultural work in technical skills: production of cement pipes, erection of gobar gas plants, carpentry, modern farming methods, literacy for illiterates, semi-literates and new literates; training in village planning and social work; knowledge of democracy and Sarvodaya movement.

Refresher Courses

Refresher courses are held periodically for organisers, social workers, legal aid workers and Anand Niketan personnel. The curriculum is decided by the participants and the trainers together and consists of talks and discussions on a variety of subjects related to their concerns and work.

Although Class VII students take the state examination, they do not receive a certificate, since the school's aim is to build up village workers. A UNESCO Institute of Education study revealed that by 1975 only one student had left the villages for a job in the city. Surrounding villages have well-trained leaders on whom they can rely for efficient help in development work and in the fight against injustices and exploitation. These graduates continue to farm as well as work on other village jobs to supplement their income. Although the school is recognised by the government, the Ashram provides the financial support in order to avoid outside influence in its decision making process.

The Open Court (Lok Adalat)

The tribals had one main handicap in their struggle for restoration of their rights and overall development and justice. Conflicts among them, both big and small, created discord which often ended in murder. The tribals were often dragged to court in such conflicts. They were often unable to meet the expenses of the courts and administrative offices and were obliged to incur heavy debts. Much time, energy and money was wasted. The harmony and affinity of tribal culture were often replaced by deep bitterness which sapped collective efforts. The Anand Niketan Ashram evolved a unique institution based on the tribal ways of deciding quarrels through the village leaders (panchas). The Open Court has gone through three stages in its growth as an institution.

Stage One included a *Mobile Open Court* from 1950-1955:

- in the villages;
- Chairman played the role of arbitrator to bring out a rapprochement between the two factions;
- informal.

Stage Two included a *Central Open Court* from 1956-1965:

- in Rangpur;
- maintained records;
- collective action against arbitrary injustice of some forestry officials.

Stage Three included a *Central Open Court* at Rangpur and Gram Sabha as mini open court from 1966 to present:

- chairman's leadership recognised by all disputants;
- secretary and jury and assembly of the people;
- extension to villages.

The Open Court is community-oriented rather than individual-oriented, working toward justice through a consensus process as follows:

- Registration of a complaint by the secretary at any time;
- Issuance of an invitation to the opposite party to attend a session with witnesses and friends in order to settle the dispute;
- The collective hearing process through questioning concerning all aspects and circumstances of the dispute—anyone may ask questions, but no party is allowed to interfere in the explanations;
- Summation of the dispute by the chairman;
- Nomination of two independent 'Pak Shakaras' by each party;
- Elevation of the pak shakaras into the role of 'Panchas' to impartially consider the case for someone under a distant tree;

- Deliberation and proclamation of decision;
- Approval of the decision by the Assembly of the people with a chant;
- Preparation of a written statement of the 'Karar Khat';
- Distribution of brown sugar (gui) as a symbolic act to symbolise the restoration of normal tensions and the lack of ill will toward each other in the future.

This system has evolved as a speedy inexpensive form of justice intelligible because of its truthfulness, liveliness and morality. The continuity of hearing in one session is an important factor. The people of the area trust its integrity and capacity to do justice. Because of the jury and the people it is more democratic than many law courts. People feel social and moral pressure to participate. There is very little chance of corruption or distorting evidence because of the presence of the community.

The Open Court has been one of the primary approaches of the Ashram bringing about a socio-economic transformation in the area. Its decisions always aim at the future well-being and happiness of the disputants and are not revengeful or burdensome. Some outcomes of the Open Court include:

- Many reunited homes and families, stabilised by the increased economic opportunity due to the Ashram's work;
- Strong decline in the frequency of murders;
- Creation of a sound forum of social and political education for the masses, helping to replace their superstitions with a new angle of vision and with changed attitudes, and a spirit of 'give and take' and 'forgive and forget';
- Evolving of a procedure for resolving misunderstandings and enabling disputants to appreciate each others' viewpoints;
- To a certain extent, it has stimulated a process of emotional integration among the different castes and communities in the area and lessened the hold of the caste leader;
- It has succeeded in giving property inheritance rights to widows, contrary to customary law;
- In resolving land disputes promptly through its decisions and non-violent resistance, it has brought prosperity to many families previously exploited by money-lenders and landowners;
- A sort of understanding has been created between money-lenders and the people by resolving their disputes in an impartial and unbiased manner; they have understood they cannot avoid the influence of the open court and their own interests are better served if they maintain proper accounts and lower interest rates;
- Improvement in working methods of forest officials as well;
- Generation of 'Lok Shakti' (people's power), a feeling of fearlessness and strength, because the poor realise they can secure justice if only they remain united; the mass demonstrations and the popular movements organised by the Open Court have become legends in the area; the case of the poor has been placed before the highest authorities as well as the people, political leaders and the intelligentsia of the state.

Although the chairman has played a central role, now there is a conscious attempt to eliminate the charismatic element by decentralising the Open Court to create grassroots leadership through the Gram Sabhas (village councils) to enable them to handle many disputes in their own and neighbouring villages. The system is built somewhat on the cultural uniqueness of an Adivasi (tribal) area and would have to function with a somewhat different style to be appropriate in urban or non-tribal areas.

Legal Support Scheme for the Poor

As a response to the domination that the poor experience in alienation of land, injustices to women, exorbitant money-lending interests, and bonded labour, legal support is very important if the poor are to get beyond these injustices. Since 1977 the All India Khet Mazdoor Kisan Parishad (Union of Agricultural Labourers) has had legal support as an integral activity. Today nine units are functioning in four states—Gujarat, Orissa, U.P., and M.P. These programmes are conducted through 78 trained paralegal workers under the guidance of 19 legal experts and social workers engaged directly by the Parishad (as well as 14 office staff). Up to June 1982, 1,697 cases had been solved and another 1,223 were on balance.

When possible they try to resolve disputes through an Open Court to arrive at an amicable settlement between the concerned parties. If they fail to arrive at an agreement, mediation and social persuasions are attempted. If all these prove futile, project authorities take the case to the local law courts on behalf of the poor who cannot on their own afford the course of law. Arrangements have been made regarding appeals in Civil Courts/Tribunals which are almost completely unavailable to most tribal people.

The Scheme is financed through voluntary donations received from lawyers and social workers and through OXFAM. Professional lawyers and social workers have given of their time and guidance over and above their normal professional work. The scope for legal aid through voluntary agencies has clearly been demonstrated.

Learnings

The Importance of Exposure

Importance of exposure comes when the local people work side by side with people from the outside, changing the images of both. For many years these tribal peoples had experienced the outsiders who came into the area (officials, money-lenders, teachers, etc.) as exploiters, while those people tended to see the tribal peoples as somewhat less than human beings. When National Service Scheme (NSS) workcamps brought students and teachers to work with the local people for a few days, the impact was far greater than that of any lecture or book. These future officials and professionals gain the confidence of local people, and the tribal peoples saw the significance of their work and developed a broader experience of the world.

The Development of Leadership

Development of leadership occurs when some people start taking leadership right from childhood. But new leadership is born and nurtured in the struggle against one's own ignorance and against unjust situations. Staff always take villagers with them when they go to another area. People come back and talk of what they saw. Sometimes leadership can be cultivated when a person takes on a new role of some importance in the community, as when a man from a very poor family becomes an irrigation project holder.

Community Entertainment and Celebrations

It is fundamental for a rural development effort to be involved in all aspects of the life of a people—their happiness and sadness. In this way people gain faith in each other and in the project.

Introduction of New Technology

Done first in a central institution or gathering point, this gets people to see it and talk about it and the results. Then do it with people who are closely involved with the project and get them to train others.

Training Community Workers

Anand Niketan has found the most effective training to be through thinking about examples and specific incidents rather than a more theoretical approach.

Compromise

In ordinary living and in the change process, people work closely together, and many conflicts arise. When both have a chance to state their views and see the consequences of various possible courses of action, a healing of the rifts is possible. People can see the results of past decisions. Because they have to continue to live in society, they can listen to others. The Open Court has given an objective structure to this process.

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Lok Adalat: A Probe into its Organisation and Working Processes; by Dr. Awadh Prasad with Gopi Nath Gupta and P.K. Sawani; for the Indian Council of Social Science Research; Published by the Kumarappa Institute of Gram Swaraj, Jaipur 302 004.

PROJECT PROFILE**Geo-Social Setting**

The Asian Institute for Rural Development (AIR) has facilities located in Bangalore and in the surrounding countryside. Several factors influenced the selection of Bangalore for the Institute's headquarters. In selecting India as the 'host' nation, India's large number of villages and rural poor made this an appropriate site. The experience of the nation of India in rural development efforts for the past thirty years was seen as a valuable resource. That several of AIR's original sponsors were from Bangalore aided the selection of the locale as did the temperate climate of this area compared to much of the region—a human factor consideration. Finally, the diversity of India in languages, cultural heritage and political persuasions was seen as a microcosm of the region itself.

Target Population

The poorest of the poor, who are often landless labourers, are the target population of AIR. To reach the target population the Institute has worked primarily with non-Government organisations, and some governmental agencies of the member nations, to provide training, and an interchange of resources and information among agencies. More recently AIR has begun field work with villages of the Bangalore area.

Presuppositions

The major presuppositions of AIR are related to the involvement of non-government organisations and their role in the rural development process. The first assumption is that non-government organisations provide the necessary link between the funding agency (government or other) and the target population to ensure delivery of benefits. Non-government organisations can play the critical roles of organiser and motivators of the poor to elicit their enthusiastic and genuine participation in the particular programmes. There is no need for confrontation between non-government organisations and government. Indeed AIR seeks to establish good working relationships between governments and NGOs and sees a role for NGOs in implementation of government programmes. In direct village work the assumption is that the entire village population is to be involved in any project. Cooperation between Afro-Asian nations can be built through exchanges between NGOs from the nations.

Issues and Strategies

The issues to be addressed are (1) the psychological hiatus between the common people and the officialdom, (2) who should be the somebody that can fill in the hiatus and establish a proper link, (3) disbursement of benefits to undeserving people, (4) the prevalence of graft and similar unhealthy practices, (5) an ignorance of the available benefits and a misunderstanding of the implications of the available benefits, and (6) the active intervention of influential individuals and institutions, preventing benefits from reaching the poor.

AIR deals with these issues through four strategic types of programme activity: human resources (training), technology transfer, action projects and research. These will be elaborated on in later sections.

AGENT DESCRIPTION**Purpose**

The definition that the Asian Institute for Rural Development gives of its purpose is related in the following five points:

1. To catalogue, analyse and evaluate scientifically the plans, programmes and projects undertaken by both governmental agencies and NGOs for the benefit of the rural poor;
2. To cooperate with national and international organisations which are already engaged in rural development;
3. To promote and stimulate the engagement of rural youth and rural women in integrated rural development;
4. To arrange for the training and education of rural development workers of various types and to organise orientation programmes for the specialists and high level persons in the field of public administration, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, agro-industries etc.;
5. To sponsor, organise or support national, regional and international meetings, conferences, seminars, workshops, etc. that relate to integrated rural development.

History

In December 1976, the founding trustees registered in Bangalore the Asian Institute for Rural Development as a public charitable trust under the Indian Trust Act of 1882. The founding trustees were, Dr. K.C. Naik, Mr. M.V. Rajasekharan, and Mr. M.S. Ramiah. These were among the persons who met and called for the establishment of the Institute early in 1976. AIRD is now governed by a Board of Trustees having 15 members mostly from Asian Countries and one each from Europe and U.S.A.

Organisational Structure

AIRD is viewed as a Regional Institute which means that all agencies of rural development of South and South-East Asian countries are potential affiliates.

The main focus of AIRD is 'human resource development' accomplished through four training programmes. These are 1) the Asian Rural Service Corps, a three-month training for rural animators from Asia and Africa, 2) Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, a 3 week course for management personnel of government and non-government organisations in South Asia, 3) The Training in Skills Workshops, one month programmes for NGOs in India, and 4) Rural Youth Training Programme for residents of the cluster villages in Bangalore South Taluk. The second focus of AIRD is in the arena of technology transfer, especially regarding sericulture (silk production). The third programme arena is the Field or Action Projects. This was launched in 1981 with 20 villages of Bangalore South Taluk. The programme has been intensified in eight villages through two government-sponsored programmes, 'Lab to Land' and 'Training Youth in Self-Employment.' The fourth arena is operational research into appropriate technology for rural development.

Staffing

There are 43 salaried staff and up to 20 daily wage earners employed by AIRD. The following chart shows the breakdown of the staff (in 1982) into programme areas:

Programme Arena	Number
Administrators	2
Administrative Division	8
Finance and Accounts Division	8
Training Division	8
Science and Technology Division	1
Sericulture Technical Transfer (20-day labourers)	4
Field Projects Division:	
- Project Officer	1
- Extension Officers	3
- Tailoring Instructors	6

Some of the senior level expert staff are persons retired from government and university positions. This benefits AIRD in bringing people with vast experience to the staff and in making possible the payment of below market rate salaries because these staff are drawing pensions from their former occupations.

PROJECT JOURNEY

Basic Social Changes

In the arena of socio-economic change, AIRD is involved in several fields. Regarding the relationships of various social class groups within a village, the indicator of change is villagers of all groups and castes participating in various 'new' social programmes such as Mahila Mandals (Women's Associations) and Youth Clubs.

The *Village Social Audit* is an informal social control for the economic inputs of the numerous economic programmes. The audit is meant to ensure the optimal utilisation of the inputs by preventive and corrective feedback from the villagers on the proposed and implemented distribution of goods. The feedback is directed to AIRD's field staff who are responsible for final decisions on this matter. The significant change in the area of economic development is the willingness of the villagers to accept today's new technology in agriculture and sericulture. In agriculture, the villagers are trying a two-crop versus single-crop per year system in this dry land farming area. Villagers have understood that higher costing inputs can yield proportionate increases in income. This is occurring in sericulture where the demand for high-yielding cross-breed silkworms outstrips the supply. The result of these shifts in attitude is the advancement of the affected families to a point where they are no longer below the poverty line.

Another social change is the shift in awareness that is happening as a result of the international and national visitors and guests. Different sectors of the village population are becoming increasingly aware of, and willing to exert, their influence. For the youth of one village, the change in their understanding of their power is seen in the process where they moved from giving public performances of plays, to their purchasing and renting out a public address system, to their becoming an influential group in local politics. The women of the villages have shed many social inhibitions as is witnessed by their readiness to speak with outsiders, by their forming of the Mahila Mandals and by their requesting services from institutions and agencies. The women are also becoming more active in their family and village economic situation. Training has been provided in tailoring, sewing, leather working, food processing and preserving. Some village women have started training other peers.

Future Images

AIRD plans to continue its training programmes that have an impact on the development of human resources and its sericulture technology transfer activities. The field work programme will be expanded in regard to the geographic area served. For the current 300 families involved in the Lab-to-Land programme the provision of free or subsidised inputs was terminated in June 1984. A review and consolidation of existing programmes was undertaken in this programme year. An expansion of activity in certain programme categories was begun. The promotion of Rural Industries oriented to local and inter-village needs and to outside sales for income generation became a new programme arena.

OPERATIONAL MODES

Inputs

Financial

AIRD has received financial support and assistance in the form of grants, membership fees, donations and gifts from various individuals and national and international private, public and governmental agencies and institutions. A partial list follows:

1. Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), INGO Division, Canada.
2. Agro-Action, West Germany.
3. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, USA.
4. Tibetan Refugee Aid Society, Canada.
5. International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers (IFPAAW), Geneva, Switzerland.
6. National Centre for Cooperation and Development, Belgium.
7. B.H. Misereor, Germany.
8. Asian Cultural Forum on Development, Bangkok, Thailand.
9. UNESCO, Paris.
10. Yayasan Pendidikan Island Tellung Pacco 'E', Indonesia.
11. NOVIB, Netherlands.
12. European Committee on Refugee Campaign.
13. All India Handicrafts Board, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, New Delhi, India.
14. National Labour Institute, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, New Delhi, India.
15. Government of Karnataka, India.
16. Mr. M.S. Ramiah, Trustee AIRD, Bangalore, India.
17. Mr. K.L. Srihari, Bangalore, India.
18. MYRADA, Bangalore, India.

Technical

Technical advice and training has been given for the various training programmes and action projects. Some of the agencies and organisations so involved are listed below:

1. National Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore.
2. All India Handicrafts Board, Ministry of Commerce, Government of India.
3. Jasmine Textiles, Kopay, Jaffva, Sri Lanka.
4. Large Scale Sheep Breeding Farm, Chalkakere, Chitradurga District, Karnataka.
5. University of Agriculture and Science, Bangalore.

The major areas for which technical advice have been provided are: 1) Horticulture, 2) Agriculture, 3) Animal Husbandry, 4) Dairy Farming, 5) Sericulture, 6) Rural Industries, and 7) Mushroom Production.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches

Five approaches of AIRD to their local programme are particularly noteworthy in terms of approach.

Technology Transfer

AIRD has done extensive work in technology transfer both on a wide scale in sericulture and in a number of areas in the field project; i.e. the selected villages in Bangalore South Taluk. In both cases, new techniques and/or new activities have been introduced to upgrade the income of below-poverty line target families and, indirectly, of all the village residents. With an activity such as pig-rearing or horticulture, the process begins with discussion with families that both establish the credibility of the AIRD staff as resource persons and provide a database. What activity is appropriate will be decided through surveys and discussion with families. During this process visits to scientific institutions or other local residents who already employ the technique or activity will be made. Training in the necessary techniques is given. For the first demonstration trial, maximum support and, potentially, free inputs such as seed or young animals may be provided. A few villagers who take up the new activity will act as a demonstration for the surrounding area. This process has been used especially with the three hundred target families in the eight Bangalore South Taluk villages. Inputs come from government programmes and social organisations as well as AIRD. Similar work is now going on with another 300 families in Kanakapura Taluk.

Social Audit System

A 'Social Audit System' is used to ensure village control and participation in the programmes as well as to safeguard the appropriate use of inputs in a social rather than legalistic manner. AIRD, in its approach to the villages, begins with a house-to-house survey and public meetings (village assemblies). Each family together with AIRD makes an economic improvement plan. These plans are then discussed at a village level so that the whole village participates in deciding who needs, and can effectively utilise, which inputs. The project officer from AIRD, and two male and one female extension officers of AIRD who reside in the cluster of villages, work with an informal 'council' of residents to determine the original inputs and also to decide what actions should be taken to deal with any misuse of inputs should such occur.

External Human Resources

AIRD uses the presence of outsiders from a variety of sources as a catalytic influence and to promote mutual learning in the village setting. Groups of students from the National Service Corps participate in work camps of several days, living and working with a host village. Trainees and volunteers from other nations as well as all parts of India who attend the AIRD courses spend time in the cluster villages as visitors and workers. Expert help from local institutions is a major source of technical skill transfer. The exchange provided by outside presence is a valuable aspect of the AIRD approach which could be replicated by other groups.

Total Village Benefit

AIRD is concerned that programmes benefit the whole village, especially the most needy, without restriction based on social or caste groups. This is ensured by the subtle but real condition that AIRD services are intended for the benefit of the whole village and that the services could be withdrawn unless the villagers are ready to operate under this condition. AIRD field staff use community social events as a time for contact. Additionally the staff create opportunities for discussion through film showings, community assemblies and informal gatherings.

Women's Participation

AIRD is focusing on women's participation through encouraging women's associations, through programmes especially aimed at women which are led by AIRD female staff, and through encouraging them to join in economic training programmes aimed at all residents. Tailoring, soft doll making, leather crafts, food processing and preservation have been taught as income-generating activities particularly for women. Special training events, such as the three-day course for the women from the project area, are also conducted. Other organisations, such as banks, now find that women from the villages are requesting their services.

Models

Training

The involvement of AIRD in the development of human resources—the training of rural animators or community organisers—has always been part of its self-acclaimed mandate. This training extends to both other NGOs and government personnel whose degree of involvement in rural development varies considerably. There are four primary training programmes:

1. Asian Rural Service Corps—training for experienced rural animators from voluntary organisations in integrated approaches to rural development. This is a three-month course including theory, project placements, skills introduction and institutional visits. By the end of 1984 ten courses had been completed. 145 men and 19 women from 11 African and Asian countries have completed this training.

2. Agrarian Reform and Rural Development—a 3-week course for South Asian Countries. The first course was held in 1984. Eleven persons from India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka participated. It was formerly a 15 day course for India only. Eighteen courses were completed through 1984 with 318 participants: 115 from government organisations and 203 from non-government organisations.

3. Training in Skills—This is meant to provide background for community workers in an economic skill as an entry point into communities (conducted for NGOs from India). To date programmes of 30 days in length have been conducted in Animal Husbandry for Cattle and Buffaloes (3 programmes) and Sheep and Goats (2 programmes), Inland Fisheries (2 programmes), and Sericulture (15 programmes).

4. Rural Youth Training Programme—a three-day residential training for 20 to 45 year olds from the cluster villages of Bangalore South Taluk. Two programmes for men with a total of 71 participants and one for women with 40 participants have been held. The focus for the men's training is technology transfer in income generating activities. The women's programme centres on income generating activities, health, child-care and consumer awareness.

Sericulture

Sericulture as an income-generating activity is a special focus of AIRD. As a labour intensive activity which is not dependent on physical strength. It provides a large return from small monetary investments, and is suited to dealing with rural unemployment and underemployment. AIRD is providing transfer of technology in tropical sericulture in Karnataka, where sericulture is an established rural activity, through technical advice, provision of cross-breed layings (silk worm eggs) and training. AIRD has also introduced this type of sericulture to Indonesia and has a request to train interested persons in Zimbabwe. A sericulture training course for women from five nations was held in co-operation with the United Nations agency, the Economic and Social Council for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP).

Cross-Sectorial Seminars

AIRD hosts workshops and seminars which bring together representatives of different involved institutions and groups. Here participants discuss aspects of rural development across the traditional limitations of points of view within one sector. For example, the Land Reform and Rural Development seminars include three involved sectors: government, non-government organisations, and social scientists. Beginning on 7th November 1983, a five-day 'Asian Regional Seminar on the Role of Grassroots Organisations in the Development Process of Asian Countries' was hosted by AIRD. Since then, it has hosted three seminars. The first was the Myrada Capitalisation Seminar with support from IRED (Development Innovations and Networks) in Geneva, Marga in Sri Lanka, and the Swiss Development Cooperation. The second was the Environmental Challenges to Rural Development seminar with support from the Frederick Neuman Foundation in Germany (FRG). The third was the Social and Religious Bases of Environmental policies with cooperation from Frederick Neuman Foundation in Germany (FRG).

Publications

AIRD produces numerous free and priced publications which provide technical information as well as the proceedings from their workshops and seminars. The AIRD monthly newsletter includes briefs on appropriate technical developments which are reported in the press or numerous technical publications.

International Exchange

AIRD, its staff, and trustees, participate in the exchange of ideas on development issued at a broad international level. Recent examples of this cooperation are the hosting of agricultural experts from the People's Republic of China and the subsequent visit of Mr. Rajasekharan and another Indian expert to China, and the consultations with IRED (Development Innovations and Networks) based in Geneva.

PROJECT SIGNIFICANCE

This cluster comprises Uttari, Badekatte, Dinnepalya, Banjarapalya and Bairasandra villages.

The topography is undulating in terrain, most of the soil is red sandy or red loam with patches of gravelly and stony soils. The average rainfall is 750 mm.

The entire agriculture is based on this rainfall though a few patches of land, which are irrigated by tank and well, can be seen here and there. Ragi and Huruli are the main crops sustaining the population though some people grow tomatoes and other vegetable crops where the soil is retentive or some irrigation facility exists to supplement the rain water in times of need. These villages are located 25 kms away from Bangalore city—3 km interior from the Bangalore Kanakapura main road.

There is a primary school at Uttari, primary health centre, veterinary hospital, commercial bank, and middle school. Panchayat office facilities are available at Kaggalipura situated at a distance of 3 km. Electricity is made available in each of these villages. Potable water is available. Other details are as follows:

Particulars	Uttari	Bade-katte	Dinne-palya	Banajara-palya	Byrasan-dra	Total
Population	568	150	150	420	350	948
Households	48	29	28	50	40	195
Families adopted	39	16	23	44	33	155
Families of land-less labourers	4	2	3	8	7	24
SC/ST families	1	1	-	10	18	30
Families having lands in H:						
Below 0.5	1	-	8	6	10	25
0.5 to 1.0	12	4	4	14	9	43
1.0 to 1.5	14	3	4	6	1	28
1.5 to 2.0	8	7	4	10	6	35
Adopted families dry land	35	14	20	36	26	131
Adopted families irrigated land	-	-	-	-	-	-
Literacy level %	15	30	10	12	6	-
Primary school	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tailoring centre (TRYSEM)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Young farm club	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mahila Mandals	1	1	1	1	1	1

Objectives

The main thrust is to motivate the weaker sections of the village residents in order to enable them to raise about the poverty line and join the main socio-economic stream of the village community as a whole.

This is being achieved by assigning a major role to village institutions themselves such as village councils, young farmers' clubs and mahila mandals who are being constantly motivated, educated, encouraged and even goaded, to operate as implementers of all the socio-economic programme.

Mode of Execution

The technical staff working in these villages will discuss with the farmers individually and through the village institutions all of the problems and proposals presented by the farmers individually or in groups. The action plan is prepared by the village council and finally executed with the assistance, cooperation and involvement of the young farmers' clubs and mahila mandals in particular.

Lab-land Programme

Taking advantage of the Lab-land programme sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, 155 families from the weaker sections from these five villages have been selected for transfer of technology since October 1982. These families are being regularly motivated to adopt appropriate income-generating projects, individually and collectively. In all these cases incentive in the shape of training, skill development, technology and critical inputs of proven quality are supplied free of cost at the doors of these selected beneficiaries at appropriate times.

Training

The revised training in appropriate skills to be achieved by the beneficiaries in order to manage the selected projects like mushroom cultivation, silk rearing, agriculture, pisciculture, sericulture, horticulture, agriculture, pig, duck, sheep and cow rearing, etc., are being imparted to individuals and groups at the village level by the technical staff.

To expose the youth and women for more technical and sophisticated skills 3-day training sessions are being given at AIRD Training Centre by the faculty members with the co-operation of competent persons from other agencies like Universities, Government departments etc. Thus training is a continuous process to our beneficiaries and an important component of the programme. The pattern of income generating projects taken up by these beneficiaries will be in numbers of families as follows:

Name of Project under L & P	Uttari	Bade- katte	Dinne- palya	Banajara- palya	Byrasan- dra	Total
Agriculture	35	14	20	36	260	131
Horticulture	28	13	14	20	19	94
Apiculture	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sericulture	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mushrooms	2	1	1	8	2	14
Sheep	32	13	7	12	21	85
Duck	4	-	10	11	6	31
Pigs	1	2	8	10	4	25
Implements	27	8	4	22	24	85
Tree planting	37	3	4	8	4	56
Sheep (TRASS)	8	-	-	-	-	8
Sheep (Mys Bulk with DRDS)	6	2	2	2	9	21
Cow with '	8	-	8	-	-	16
Goat with '	1	-	2	4	2	9

General agriculture

It is only through this profession that their staple food and fodder for cattle is obtained. Naturally all the families having land, numbering 131 families, have taken to agriculture. Since this is entirely rain-fed cultivation, all the dryland cultivation techniques like conservation of moisture, control of erosion, etc. have been introduced. Improved varieties of tur, cow-pea and ragi have been introduced. All these farmers are trained in the technology of dry land techniques, soil management, super-imposed compost preparation, seed treatment, nursery growing, use of fertilisers, planned protection, rat control and storage practices.

The quality inputs are supplied freely at their doors at appropriate times. Thus confidence in the use of improved inputs and technology is being created. This helps to harvest much more in the coming years on the same piece of land.

Horticulture

94 families have taken initiative on this aspect. In view of the potential of Bangalore market these beneficiaries are encouraged to grow tomatoes, vegetables like bandi, etc. Inputs like seeds, fertilisers, PP chemicals, training and technology are supplied at their doors in time. They have more confidence now in the new technology and are taking every opportunity to produce more horticulture products.

Planting perennial plants like mangos, coconut, lime, etc., has been encouraged to build their assets and to have assured income from the land. The quality saplings are supplied with fertilizers. In this way, they are motivated to plant perennial plants.

Mushroom cultivation

This has been initiated as a nutrition project through 14 families. If more families come forward and take this on as an income project, it will be encouraged.

New agricultural practices

Just to assess the potential and to expose the farmers to new practices, only one family is motivated to adopt a new practice. If sustained interest is seen further programmes will be developed.

Sericulture

This is a remunerative project. Only one family has shown interest and they are encouraged. Depending on the progress of exploitation of ground-water resources proposed, the sericulture programme will be intensified.

Duck farming

Khaki-Campbell ducks were introduced to 31 families under the guidance of the Director of the Central Duck Farm and Animal Husbandry Dept. In two cases the ducks are laying and eggs are being sold and used. Depending on the acceptability of this new project further programmes will be initiated.

Sheep rearing

For a dry area like this sheep rearing is a suitable enterprise. 85 families having come forward to take up this venture. Neelagiri-Merino cross-breeds have been supplied to these people to improve the quality of mutton and wool. If these new breeds become acceptable there will be a breakthrough in having improved sheep with quality wool and mutton.

Pig rearing

Although pig rearing is accepted only by 25 beneficiaries the potential for cycling the village waste in a profitable way is great. Quality Yorkshire piglets have been supplied. By the time these people absorb the technology of pig rearing, it is proposed to recognise them as registered pedigree breeders so that they can get a good rate from the pedigree stock produced.

Hand implements

The beneficiaries were struggling hard with worn out tools in doing their daily work. 85 families have been provided with implements for daily use, thereby increasing their efficiency and earning capacity.

Rural Industries

AIRD launched its Rural Industries scheme in Kanakapura Taluk. AIRD designed it to be a people's programme with AIRD only acting as a facilitator. For this purpose consultation meetings were held in 6 large villages which were each the centre of a cluster of 25-30 villages. At these meetings people decided to establish a Rural Development Institute as a grassroots organisation in each cluster. They elected autonomous boards for each Institute consisting of 8 persons representing small and marginal farmers, landless agricultural labourers, village artisans and women. In each cluster an advisory committee of 12 members of local elders and knowledgeable persons was also elected. The boards and advisory committee jointly run the Institutes. The decisions of the board are final in all matters. The Institutes have been registered to help them get financial assistance. They have identified 51 cottage and rural industries which could be established and operated by using local material and human resources. A representative of AIRD acts as Secretary of the Board and maintains liaison between the Institutes and AIRD.

Adult Education

In 1983, AIRD launched a programme of Adult Education and opened 30 centres for this purpose in 18 villages in the project area. Each centre catered to 30 adult learners and by the end of 1984 it succeeded in enabling 900 persons to become literate. These centres were also used for motivation in regard to its other rural development programmes. This is an ongoing programme.

Miscellaneous

Under the TRASS scheme 8 families of Uttari village have been provided with 10 sheep and one ram each, at a concessional interest rate. Under the TRYSEM scheme one building has been constructed and 7 tailoring machines have been purchased and the training of women is being encouraged.

AVAILABLE INFORMATION

AIRD at the Service of the Rural Poor, Pamphlet and Brochure

AIRD News; Volume 1, Number 7, October, 1983

Asian Rural Service Corps, Rural Animators' Dialogue—An Afro-Asian Experience; Outline for eight courses.

Land Reform and Rural Development; Course Outline

Prospectus for Training Programmes in Animal Husbandry; 1) Sheep and Goats; 2) Cattle and Buffaloes

Training in Inland Fisheries; Syllabus

Mulberry Cultivation and Silkworm Rearing; priced publication of Regional Rural Communication Centre, AIRD

Benchmark Survey Proforma for Farm Families under Lab-to-Land Programme

Short Note, Village Visit—Uttari Cluster

Short Note, Gulakamale Village

Short Note, Obichoodshalli Village

PROJECT DESCRIPTION LABORATORY TEAM

M.V. Rajasekharan, Executive Trustee and Coordinator, AIRD

M.K. Subba Rao, Project Director (Documentation), AIRD

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Mary Hampton, Institute of Cultural Affairs:India

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Kevin Grady, Institute of Cultural Affairs Consultant

CHIKHALE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CLUSTER: BANKING CREDIT SCHEME (SA-28)

Location: KHANDALA BLOCK, PUNE DISTRICT, MAHARASHTRA STATE

PROJECT PROFILE

The Chikhale Cluster is located in the Panvel Block in Maharashtra where most villagers live below the average rural income level. The farmers in these villages normally make their living from one crop of rice per year. Five years ago Human Development work began with the Chikhale Human Development Project through a project initiated by the Institute of Cultural Affairs, India. At this time the villagers could not imagine themselves taking bank loans because they were paralysed by a demoralising record of bank loan defaults and loan applications being granted at the wrong time for planting. Agricultural production suffered from the unpredictable weather, fatalistic farm policies and traditional farming techniques. This resulted in low crop production of single crops and avoidance of capital risk.

PROJECT JOURNEY*Phase I (1977-1979): Launching the Credit Society*

After launching the Chikhale HDP in 1977, one of the most pressing needs was to catalyse a process of finance interaction between the village and the bank institutions. The first step was to establish a surety base for loan credibility. It took more than a year for the village farmers to establish a Credit Society, which needed special permission from the government because the semi-governmental Credit Society of the taluka (country) covers the same area. Indian Hotel Ltd. (Taj Intercontinental Hotel) gave a surety for the first loan, and they also decided to buy the crop and manage the repayment to the bank. They assumed the crop would be big enough to make the deal financially viable. The final arrangements were made before the monsoon was due in 1978. Fifteen days before the monsoon the Chikhale Credit Society got registered. One week before the monsoon the loan was granted by the Chembur branch of Canara Bank, which transferred the money directly to a fertiliser and seed company which delivered just before the monsoon started. The loan was given to 81 farmers in Chikhale at a total amount of Rs28,882 (\$3,209). After harvesting, the crop available for delivery was not big enough to be of interest to Indian Hotels Ltd. so they did not take over the crop. The Chikhale farmers sold the crop on their own, and repaid over 50% of the loan by themselves.

Phase II (1979-1980): Bank Sees the Possibility

This caught the attention of the bank because without any approach from the bank they had paid back Rs14,994.50 (\$1,666) by the middle of June, 1979. The new bank manager, Mr. G. Rao, was impressed with this repayment rate, considering the actual circumstances and he decided in January, 1980 to visit the village. This first visit was followed by many more and finally it became a pattern in the village. The bank manager's concern was first, to enable the repayment of the 1978 loan and second to maintain the bank's relationship with the Chikhale farmers so they could remain customers of the bank.

In June, 1980, 38 Chikhale farmers still had an outstanding debt of Rs9,700 (\$1,078). At this stage the bank manager classified the borrowers into three groups: 'A' paid promptly, 'B' paid after repeated requests, and 'C' still outstanding. The bank's objectives for this classification were to:

1. create confidence in the people that if they repaid they could be given new credit;
2. to support the group 'A' farmers so that others would follow their example. To symbolise this, the bank gave certificates to those of group 'A' to build up self-confidence and honesty and create the awareness of how to use the assistance from outside.

Phase III (1980-1983): Economic Take-off

The bank gave group 'A' farmers loans of Rs500 (\$56) each and to group 'B' farmers loans of Rs300 (\$33) each in 1980. These loans were given to 53 farmers in Chikhale who were organized into 8 teams that received a total of Rs13,430 (\$1492) in short-term loans. The loans were not paid to the individual but granted to the teams of 3-10 farmers which built the surety base for the bank. So the farmers in the teams held each other accountable for the whole loan. In 1981 the repayment rate rose to 97.83%. The remaining 2.17% was related to six debtors from 1978 with an outstanding total of only Rs1,340 (\$149) and one debtor from 1980 with an outstanding total of Rs540 (\$60). From June, 1981 to April, 1982 Canara Bank granted the cluster villages Rs21,61,058 (\$240,117) on long and short term loans which enabled the economic take-off of the whole Chikhale Cluster.

Basic Social Change

Today farmers in the Chikhale Human Development Cluster harvest two crops per year (rice and vegetables) and their production has increased five to six times. The Canara Bank has so much confidence in these villagers that in the last nine months it granted 117 loans totalling Rs21,61,058 (\$240,117) to the farmers in that cluster. These include 582 long-term loans totalling Rs16,45,350 (\$182,817) and 535 short term loans at a total of Rs5,15,708 (\$57,300). The short-term loans are given for fertiliser and seed. Applications and repayments of short-term loans are based on the harvest rhythm. The long-term loans are given for substantial investment items like Dairy Buffaloes (14), Pumps (6), Well repair (7), Bullocks and carts (300), Poultry (1), Tonga horses (1), Goats (231), Brick making (4).

Agent's Role

The Institute of Cultural Affairs: India is voluntary and self-supporting with about 15 persons at each of its project sites. The staff is primarily Indian with a few foreign volunteers, mostly from Commonwealth and EEC countries. They work from a corporate discipline and assignment model. They assist the village in doing its own development in a variety of ways:

- Facilitator of planning and implementation processes;
- Training in methods for self-help and corporate team development;
- Collaboration with other agencies for technical skills provision;
- Demonstration of corporate style through being resident staff in the village;
- Promoting multi-sectored approach to replication of project activities in surrounding villages;
- Emphasising honouring of all people and castes and encouraging comprehensive participation by all at all levels of planning and activity;
- Developing a global consciousness of the significance of this culture, community and its activities to global needs and development task;
- Regional integration of rural and urban development cooperation;
- Promoting self-help—offers no funds or handouts;
- Demonstration of commitment as key, not skills, status, and power.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches

Borrowers Classification

The Bank's interest is to do business with the villagers. To enable this the bank manager, Mr. G. Rao, decided to go into the villages of the Chikhale Cluster. He participated in the meetings and guided them in the journey to loan credibility. Therefore one of his first tactics was the classification of the borrowers into three groups as mentioned before which gave motivation for regulated repayment and even the opening of savings accounts. Repayment of the previous loan became the first requirement for receiving another loan. Those who repaid loans on time received certificates of reliability from the Bank in a special village ceremony. Another means towards surety for the bank was the group guarantee whereby a group of farmers applied for the loan as a team. Each individual in the team is fully responsible for the whole loan and holds the whole team accountable.

Family Participation

The bank also relies on the family structure for repayment surety. Mr. G. Rao says that the village women are the ones who are the major work force and are earning the money so they take care of the financial affairs of the whole family. If the women of the family are acquainted with the complete picture of financial commitment, they will adjust the budget so that the loan can be repaid on time. When the men have their meetings on finances, the women also need to meet and talk about the same thing. Both rural farmer and urban bank institutions require new patterns of economic behaviour in relating to one another. The bank has to decide to be available to the villagers where they live. The village farmer needs to learn how to handle his finances so that the bank can count on his repayment.

Villager/Banker Relations

The personnel of the Canara Bank, in particular their manager Mr. G. Rao, go into the villages of the cluster, meet with the people on a regular basis, depending on the time of year. In those visits and meetings the banker trains and assists the villagers in their financial affairs. For example, a farmer applies for a loan of Rs1000 (\$111) and wants to repay the loan after a certain time all at once. But the banker, out of his experience questions the realism of this plan and suggests the repayment of the loan in small instalments. In another case a woman keeps all the family money including back-up savings in a bamboo box. The banker makes it clear to her that the money is more secure in a bank and there is also more control over its release. The result is that the woman opens a savings account.

Learnings

There are several significant learnings from this demonstration of viable village banking.

Village Based Banking

A bank working in the rural operates effectively when it is grounded in the village and its way of life. It requires a new type of 'barefoot' banker who is present in village meetings and visits the villages regularly.

Trust Villagers' Corporate Integrity

The bank can trust the integrity of the villagers, but it has to build on the structures of the village community such as the family structures where the women are acquainted with the banking conditions and surety structures like farmer teams for group guarantee to avoid defaults.

Consider Seasonal Rhythms

Loan applications, loan granting and repayment days have to be based on the seasonal rhythms like harvesting of the crops, to ensure and enable regularity and punctuality in repayment.

Create a Strategic Repayment System

In the Chikhale Cluster the Canara Bank experienced an astonishing repayment of nearly 100%, because the repayment has been tactically insisted on and was supported by a strategic loan policy.

Honor Villagers Development Capacity

Bank loans honour the villagers' capacity to do their own development without relying on gifts trickling down from outside funding agents.

Loans can Increase Productivity in Many Ways

Bank loans inject new capital in the village, forces the increase of production capacity and develops new economic ventures, like brick making in the villages. For example, bullocks and carts, aside from being a status symbol for the farmer are a multi-purpose capital investment employed for transportation, ploughing and lift irrigation. The farmer does not have to wait until the bullocks of the neighbouring farmer are free for him to rent to do his work in his field. With rented bullocks the farmer is usually late with his work relative to the seasons of planting and harvesting. This cuts down productivity. A Rs500 (\$56) seed loan is an enormous amount for most of the village farmers who live an average monthly income of Rs100 or Rs200 (\$11 to \$22). The loan enables them to use fertiliser and quality seeds which increases their production enormously and begins to create a real self-sufficiency basis for rural development.

Sectorial Linkage and Information Interchange

The villagers are as capable of repaying loans as anybody in an urban situation. But it is necessary to build the bridge for sectorial linkage and information interchange between the bank and the village. People trust the bank if the bank comes out to the village and guides the village towards financial responsibility. The Canara Bank is planning to open a branch office in the Chikhale Cluster soon.

COMPREHENSIVE RURAL HEALTH PROJECT (CRHP) (SA-04)

Location: JAMKHED, MAHARASHTRA STATE

PROJECT PROFILE**Geo-Social Setting**

In the outgoing 20th century mankind experiences the development of miraculous high technological achievements but there are also still millions of people who are deprived of basic human needs such as food, water, shelter and clothing. Deprivation of these basic needs is the major factor responsible for ill health of people, particularly those living in rural areas.

Today large amounts of money are spent in providing facilities for the few well-to-do elite, neglecting the rural poor.

Furthermore, training of health professionals is oriented on a developed urban life-style. Medical trainees learn very little about the health problems of rural areas, which is causing a lack of communication and understanding abilities as well as exploitation and insufficient care for the rural poor by the medical profession.

Target Population

The Comprehensive Rural Health Project (CRHP) serves the whole of Jamkhed Taluka and the neighbouring Karjot Taluka, with a total population of about 300,000 in 200 villages of which 175 are related to the CRHP as project villages. The main centre of the CRHP is located one kilometre South of Jamkhed in the extreme east part of Ahmednagar District, Maharashtra State (approximately 260 km east of Bombay).

The Jamkhed and Karjot Talukas are in relatively remote and typically rural drought prone areas of the Deccan Plateau with an annual rainfall of 18 to 22 inches. Much of the area is now rocky with very little top-soil, caused by deforestation in the past. The underground water found in the region today is mostly trapped in basal pockets. In this area, 88% of the people depend on agriculture to earn their livelihood. The main crops of the area are jowar, bajra and wheat.

Presuppositions

Jamkhed village was selected for the location of the CRHP because of the invitation extended to the project staff. This created a precedent that the Project only expands to other villages by invitation. Furthermore, appropriate primary health care is by the village, for the village and that the whole village can be responsible for preventing health problems. Finally, village health programmes can only be implemented as part of an integrated socio- economic development effort.

Issues and Strategies

The health pattern prior to the initiation of the project conformed to the national picture. The under-five year olds were most susceptible to various diseases such as diarrhoea, fever and malnutrition-related diseases. Infant mortality was 110 deaths per 1000 live births. Most mothers did not receive adequate professional care during pregnancy and childbirth. Family planning was accepted by only one per cent to ten per cent of childbearing couples in the area.

AGENT DESCRIPTION**Purpose and Objectives**

The CRHP has always intended to improve the quality of life of the rural poor through the provision of comprehensive appropriate health services. The intent was to demonstrate in Jamkhed village a primary health programme suited to the needs and resources of local people that could be implemented at the multiple-village and block level.

The CRHP advisory committee, Jamkhed village leaders and the Project Directors named the following priorities to give direction to CRHP:

1. Primary health care available in every village at all times;
2. Family planning advice and supplies available in the village;
3. Mother and child care through nutrition and immunisation programmes;
4. Rehabilitation of handicapped, such as leprosy patients, in the village;
5. Accessible emergency facilities available;
6. Prevention of blindness.

Organisational Structure and Staffing

Dr. and Dr. Mrs. Arole, with an 18 member team, arrived in September 1970 to initiate health care service in Jamkhed and the surrounding rural area. In the beginning an ancient veterinary dispensary served as the ward of the new health centre. The team had to live in a one room, three walled 'house.' But within two years, thanks to land donated by the Jamkhed community, and grants from agencies, the construction of a health service centre could be initiated which was to later become fourteen building complexes including a 30 bed hospital, operating theatre and homes for the 40-member team.

PROJECT JOURNEY

Phases and Turning Points

Development through cooperation and interaction in unity. The journey of the Comprehensive Rural Health Project Jamkhed.

Phase I (1970-1972): Sowing the Seeds

This was the initial phase of introducing one another and learning to understand each other. The first six months focused on providing curative services and establishing relationships between the health centre and the people of Jamkhed and neighbouring villages. Meetings about the farmers' concerns and interests were held and the Farmers' Clubs were initiated and soon became an undergirding structure for the comprehensive health care. From the beginning it was realised that the preventative aspect of health care has to have the major focus. A highlight of this period was the provision of safe drinking water through the first tube well handpumps.

Phase II (1973-1976): Sprouting to a Plant

The second phase was a time of change, confidence and cooperation. In 1973 a village proposed to train one of their own women, and thus the role of the village health worker (VHW) was conceived and established in more and more villages around Jamkhed, replacing the ineffective Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANM) in delivery of primary health care.

In 1975 preventative approaches such as immunisations and leprosy and TB detection were executed through the Farmers' Clubs, and reached the targeted coverage of 80-96%. To keep the interest of the active members going, the Farmers Clubs organised seminars for agricultural and social development.

They then worked together on irrigation and cooperative farming by helping each other to labour the land, begin social forestation and build Nala Bunding and community halls.

The womens club (Mahila Vikas Mandal) became the supportive structure of the women in the village and the Village Health Worker. Members of the Mahila Vikas Mandal learned health care from the VHW and became able to substitute for her when she was not available.

Finally, the people developed not only confidence in the work of the health project but also they began to change their attitudes and behaviour previously blocking progress in development, such as keeping their village clean, working corporately against corrupt money-lenders, conducting marriages without a dowry, eliminating superstition about snake and dog bites, and having all castes use the same water source.

Phase III (1977-1981): Growing to a Tree

The third phase was a time of women's advancement, organisation and expansion of the project.

After establishing the supporting structures in the neighbouring villages of Jamkhed, the message of the Service Centre spread to other villages in the Jamkhed and Karjot Talukas.

The Mahila Vikas Mandals grew to a respectable maturity and overcame old taboos. For example, women began to meet together in the village squares, formed a Co-operative Society and took significant leadership roles in the village. Muslim women began to participate in those community structures and function as Village Health Workers for the whole village.

As the Farmers Clubs expanded they established veterinary services in their villages through the training of members as Veterinary Health Workers. At the same time, the use of appropriate technology such as Gobar Gas plants became accepted, and Ghodegaon Village tested the first all-village compost pit.

In 1981 Ghodegaon Farmers' Club set up similar clubs in four other villages. Attitude and behaviour change evolved to a further stage when a village arranged a marriage with a leprosy patient, built and helped set up a house for the couple. Also intercaste marriages were arranged at the same time.

Phase IV (1982-1983): Harvesting the Fruits and Spreading the New Seed

The fourth phase is the now established CRHP. The health service began a regular ongoing structure with a rhythm of the Three-Tier Operating Mode. After ten years of work, the professional staff of the project has not increased but the service of health cases, project villages and training courses has multiplied. This expansion is possible because of the village participation which has enabled the concept of primary health care to be implemented by the Three-Tier System. As well as health care, CRHP sees further priorities of programmatic work in the areas of environment, agriculture, economic and social life across Jamkhed and Karjot Talukas.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches

The Village Health Worker (VHW)

The issue addressed by this approach is unqualified personnel to deal with health problems at the village level. These problems include malnutrition, unsafe drinking water, poor sanitation, unhealthy traditions and taboos. In the absence of suitable available health care staff, these simple health problems become complicated and contribute to mortality; e.g. simple diarrhoea if neglected leads to dehydration and electrolyte imbalance.

The steps taken to deal with this issue were to recognise these deficiencies at village meetings, and after considerable dialogue it was decided to train local village women to deal with health problems at the grassroots.

A VHW is a middle-aged woman who belongs to the village and is recognised for her proven social leadership. She is married and has experienced childbearing and childrearing. She acquires skills in preventive health teaching and treatment and in carrying out certain health procedures such as delivering a baby, first aid to snake bite victims and treating minor illnesses.

The most important aspect of her training is changing her attitudes towards herself and to the poor needy people. This includes self-respect, sensitivity to others' needs, overcoming caste barriers and courage to change harmful traditions relating to health. The social and technical training is imparted both at the Health Centre and in her own village setting, through lectures, audio-visual aids, demonstrations, songs and dramas.

Continuous in-service training to impart new skills, supportive supervision by the mobile team and a good referral system to the Centre ensures technical and moral support of the VHW by health professionals.

The VHW deals with health problems of pregnant and lactating mothers, new-born and preschool children, family planning, early diagnosis of TB, leprosy and malaria, prevention of blindness and rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. She participates in producing appropriate health teaching materials such as flash cards, skits and songs, and maintains accurate medical records.

The VHW's motivation is kept high by continuous in-service training, upgrading of skills, job satisfaction and a sense of fulfillment. The confidence gained in the health field helps her to take leadership roles in other areas of development, such as non-formal education, social-economic uplift, dealing with social evils like the dowry system and corruption. Gradually she becomes an agent of change for the entire community.

The strong educational component of the CRHP spearheaded by the VHW helps the local people to be self-reliant. It also demonstrates the futility of investing large funds in city hospitals, when 80 per cent of rural health problems can be managed by the village volunteers.

Appropriate Health Technology

The issue addressed by this approach is that medical services are unavailable, complex and expensive for the villagers. The steps taken to deal with this issue were implemented in three ways, as follows:

Firstly, the VHW is central to the delivery of appropriate health services. These include guidance in dietary and sanitary (soak pits) practices, use of a delivery kit costing only 75NP per delivery. Post-natal care is enabled by the use of a bar weigh-scale, simple growth curve recording system and locally prepared oral rehydration solution. The village health worker's credibility is maintained by the use of the same modern drugs and home remedies as administered by the mobile health team and the hospital.

Secondly, in the project centre hospital, appropriate surgical technology keeps capital and operational costs low, and creates a less threatening environment for the villagers. This technology includes a locally made, shadowless operating lamp (for Rs60), 'open drop' anaesthesia and low-power (15- 30mA) X-ray.

Thirdly, rehabilitation of leprosy patients and amputees can be done entirely in the village. Crafting and training in the use of artificial limbs is done by local carpenters and VHWs. The dignity and income of leprosy patients is raised by distribution of goat units, 'repaid' with the goat progeny.

The people who implemented these steps are the VHW, the mobile health team and hospital staff, and most importantly, the whole village.

The technique which made this approach successful was to bring primary health care into the villages. The de-mystification of medical services was done by putting the village health worker on par with the mobile health team and hospital in status, by rationalising the side-by-side use of home remedies and modern drugs and humanising the hospital environment.

Community Involvement

The issue addressed by this approach is the lack of co-operative effort of the local community with technical assistance from health professionals. Unfortunately health professionals have overlooked the role of the community in maintaining its own health.

The steps taken to deal with this issue were active community involvement in decision-making on what problems to tackle, in what fashion and by what methods. Organising the weaker sections including women and lower castes is the next step. The organisers need credibility. A history of competent technical service is a prerequisite for those who want to organise these groups. People will take joint action only if they are convinced that this action serves their self interest and fits into their busy daily schedule.

The organiser's (CRHP) credibility was established by providing good curative health services. Communities were thus organised and well informed about health and other development programmes and responded in a mature fashion. Specifically in terms of health programmes, communities have been involved in making primary health care an ongoing movement of the village people. The communities deal with the problem of malnutrition by establishing corporate kitchens where food is collected, cooked and distributed to malnourished children every day.

Local communities take responsibility for sanitation by constructing soak pits, compost pits, monitoring drinking water and organising mass immunisations. They ensure family planning practices by identifying eligible couples, dispelling fears about different contraceptive measures and applying peer group pressure to enable the success of family welfare programmes.

Through songs, dramas and other groups activities the villagers participate in removing unhealthy traditions and taboos. Well informed community groups are aware of health problems, and suggest plans of action which include rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, and arrange eye and sterilisation camps.

To ensure community involvement, the health professionals need to share their knowledge and the power that flows from it.

Agro and Socio-Economic Development

The issue addressed by this approach is that marginal farmers lack the basic essentials of food, water, cooking fuel, shelter and a secure source of income. Health is secondary to the felt need of economic uplift but was originally seen by the CRHP as the first priority. The villagers lacked the buying power to acquire the right kinds of food for good health.

The step taken to address this issue by the Young Farmers Clubs and the Mahila Vikas Mandals were to form the backbone of agricultural and economic development in the villages. Men and women from minority communities were organised to become members of these groups.

'Food for Work' (FFW) programmes are organised to increase productivity of land by preventing soil erosion and ensuring water supply. Digging of open wells, building check dams, land levelling and terracing are some of the activities undertaken by the Young Farmers Clubs (YFC).

Through regular workshops and seminars, new methods of agriculture are demonstrated to the poor farmers. Adequate quantities of seeds, fertilisers and insecticides are ensured at the beginning of each of the three harvest seasons of the year.

The YFC collects money from its members to purchase farm equipment for common use. This includes ploughs, seed drills, and spray pumps. The YFC members share their bullocks and other implements with each other.

The YFC's also provide a platform for people from different caste backgrounds to come together, shed caste differences and work together. Exploitation of one group by another is replaced by co-operation. Bank lending at excessive interest rates is replaced by a common pool of YFC funds and equipment to be shared according to the needs of the members.

Competition for power and resulting classes and enmity are replaced by working together for the common good. A member of each YFC has been selected for training as a Veterinary Health Worker. He serves animals the same way the village health worker (VHW) serves the people.

These groups cultivate fallow lands and are actively engaged in afforestation. There are villages where the YFC's have planted over 100,000 trees. They actively campaign against social evils such as alcoholism, gambling, dowry and communal prejudices.

The women are organised around economic activities such as chit-funds. Members of the Mahila Vikas Mandal (MVM) collect money on a weekly basis and provide funds to its members in rotation. They improve their skills in sewing, crafts and start small self-employment schemes with the help of bank loans. These schemes include vegetable marketing, dry fish marketing, bangle business, sisal fibre, rope making, poultry and goat rearing and leasing fruit trees. The MVMs apply peer pressure to ensure the repayment of bank loans.

Catalysing Attitudinal Change

Health care and the development of an area are dependent to a large extent on attitudes: attitudes of a professional to the masses, attitudes of the people to each other, and especially attitudes towards women and weaker sections.

In a hierarchical, fragmented society that exists in rural areas, some of these attitudes are hardened and become impediments to the process of development; rigid caste-system, bureaucratic behaviour of public sector workers, and exploitation by professionals all need correction.

A right kind of value system is needed to correct imbalances and the exploitation of the masses. CRHP entered the area with a certain set of values. These values are sensitivity to people's needs, sense of justice towards weaker sections, respect for every individual in society and love and concern for the well-being of others.

Development agencies cannot just be providers of care, they must also consciously try to share their knowledge and expertise with the masses and try to transfer positive values to the target groups for whom they work.

The attitudes of people will change with intrinsic change in their own behaviour. Sometimes one has to change the environment in order to bring about desired changes in attitudes. Rigid caste-system made some high caste communities object to Harijans drawing water from a common well. However, if the need arises they would not mind drawing water from a Harijan well. CRHP, knowing this background, instructed a water-diviner to divine water only in the areas belonging to the lower-caste groups. Thus tubewells sunk in the Harijan section of the village provided safe drinking water to those who needed it most. Caste segregation is often practised even by children in the nutrition programme, where Harijan children are made to sit apart. Caste barriers have been broken down by requiring that every child (regardless of caste) to bring a glass of water to pour into the common cooking-pot. The meal was cooked and distributed by a Harijan.

Over 150 Village Health Workers at CRHP belong to all castes. An atmosphere is created whereby they cook and eat together, and sleep under the same large covering.

By demonstrating that all caste groups have the same red blood and organs such as heart, in fluoroscope, this helped to discard some of the irrationality inherent in the caste system. Attitudes to menstruation, pregnancy and snake bite are similarly changed by education and demonstration.

Certain superstitions are related to witchcraft, solar and lunar eclipses, and can be dealt with by demonstrating the scientific explanation which demystified many happenings. Attitudes toward women are changing by teaching them new skills and assigning them to leadership roles.

A local witchdoctor was persuaded to give up fooling people and now accompanies CRHP staff exposing so-called 'miracles' of 'God-men,' and protects people from exploitation.

Models

The village communities need continuous, comprehensive health care which is relevant, simple and inexpensive and available at all times.

In spite of false claims made by the vested interests, it is possible to make the fruits of modern medicine available at the doorstep of poor people without concentrating on curative centres.

It is possible to look upon a village community as a centre and revolve relevant health care around these communities, rather than transplanting entire communities to curative hospitals for every minor illness.

The step taken to deal with this issue was to form the 'Three-Tier System' of CRHP.

The Village Health Worker (VHW), is the first tier.

A mobile health team (MHT), which visits the VHW at regular intervals forms the second tier. This team gives continuous training, supportive supervision and graded skill-care. This team helps the VHW to deal with health problems beyond her competence e.g. the health team may perform the technical task of immunising mothers and children, examining blood, urine or sputum with a microscope, confirming a diagnoses of leprosy, malaria etc.

Health Centre The mobile team may take a patient to the Health Centre, which is the third tier. At the Health Centre higher technical skills are available e.g. tubectomy operation, X-ray diagnoses and other laboratory investigations as well as medical and surgical procedures. The Health Centre is staffed with professions capable of diagnostic tests, emergency care such as fracture, snake bite, and caesarian section for obstructed labour.

In addition to technical services, the Health Centre provides training to the VHWs and paramedical workers. It also co-ordinates various activities related to health. In this Three-Tier System there is no 'one-way traffic.' There is constant dialogue and referral in either direction. Similarly, in emergency operations the first tier may contact the third tier directly.

The Three-Tier System integrates promotion, prevention, care and rehabilitation, and all the services provided in the village. Care is continuous and the patient is removed from his house only occasionally, for a short period, to provide sophisticated hospital care. All health workers involved work as a team. Horizontal relationships have replaced vertical hierarchy. Occasionally the Health Centre may need to refer patients beyond to the district or state capital for special treatment such as cancer, heart, plastic surgery, etc.

The principles of the Three-Tier system are also applied to programmes of veterinary care, agriculture, non-formal education and similar development activities at the CRHP.

Learnings

Local People are Self-Reliant

The experience of the project has shown that there is a lot of talent and wisdom in the village. Local people are capable of taking care of themselves if they are taught appropriate skills.

Appropriate Health Technology

To execute effective primary health care in the villages, high technology is not necessary because its application is not suited to the average case in the rural situation.

The Three-Tier System

The rural way of life requires a village-based approach of health service with its strength in a harmoniously functioning Three-Tier System. This consists of the resident village health worker (VHW), the mobile health team and the health centre hospital.

Health Centre-Village Dialogue

In order to respond to the real needs of the project, the Health Centre has to be in constant dialogue with the villagers which enables the health centre to respond to the particular needs and time design of the people.

Village Health Worker Network

The VHW network is the strongest link in the health service chain but it needs the support of the village and the appropriate professional back-up system.

Investment in Training

To provide primary health care in the villages the highest capital investment is in the training of human resources. Therefore, the professional staff spend 10-15 per cent of their time teaching the para-professions. This training enables the experienced VHWs to be involved in teaching the Farmers and Womens Clubs.

Environment Change Enables Attitude Change

To enable new health awareness among the people a conscious effort has been made to change negative images like casteism and reduced roles for women, and eliminate unhealthy customs. These changes help people to replace their fatalistic despair with a sign of hope.

PROJECT SIGNIFICANCE

The Field Visit Team from the Central International Event identified 8 significant arenas related to the approaches and models used by CRHP.

Building a Comprehensive Plan

A rural development programme should be need-based and flexible. The CRHP has demonstrated this by implementing programmes such as provision for health needs, the improvement of economic productivity and the breakdown of social barriers. The people are aware of their needs and involved in finding the solutions. People were encouraged to initiate their own plans rather than have plans imposed on them. The project has not allowed illiteracy to be an obstacle to full participation.

Establishing Catalysis

For change to happen, an event has to occur which changes the course of the community and awakens people to their own potential and possibility. This may come from outside or within. Dr. Arole coming into the district, giving curative health care, encouraging local participation and showing what could happen through that was an outside agent. Now people from within the farmer's club are going to other villages to tell them what is possible. The catalytic agent can be an outsider, a neighbour, or a field demonstration.

Better Environment and Living Conditions

Improving living conditions, health, sanitation, water, and the environment can be done through local trained leaders who elicit participation from others. Thousands of people are now involved in the activities in CRHP because they understand through their own trained people the value and effects of these activities on their lives.

Broadening Effective Local Participation

Local people know best how development can be locally implemented. The transfer of responsibility and decision to local people encourages leadership with equal and responsible involvement of men and women, in the process of planning for their village. Through proper training local people can provide 'professional quality' services in health and other fields, even if illiterate.

Improving Community Linkages

It is important to build effective cooperation among the various sectors of society and keep all levels of government informed about local needs. A voluntary agency can spark real improvements in a community effort, but for the full potential to be realised the private and government sectors must be involved.

Establishing Economic Viability

Steps to make full use of all economic resources will accelerate community development. These are not only money but government schemes as well, and investment in equipment, appropriate technology, etc. with the monies available. The formation of structures such as cooperatives further enables this.

Training in Appropriate Skills

Education models must be suited to the community in the most practical terms designed on the basis of need. These include income-generating skills, health, environment control and improvement, etc.

Implementing Comprehensive Education

Both formal and non-formal education provided in a community, enable greater awareness and participation in all aspects of project planning, implementation, and evaluation and the long-term potential for self-sufficiency.

PROJECT PROFILE**Geo-Social Setting**

Activities of CROSS are spread over 200 villages in four talukas—Bhongir, Alir, Mothkur and Ramannapet in Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. The district has an area of 14,000 sq km with a population of 25 lakhs comprising 13 lakhs males and 12 lakhs females according to a 1981 census count. The density of population in the district is 130 persons per sq km.

With a strength of about 300 villages about 25% of the total population of the district live in all these four talukas. The climate of this area is generally dry and very hot in summer. The average annual rainfall is about 30 inches. There are no big forests and hills in this area. The Musi and Alir rivers flow water in. The sources of irrigation in these talukas are mainly wells and tanks.

Target Population

Nalgonda is one of the backward districts in the state where illiteracy is very high. In this area only about 18 percent of the population are literates. Among male population 25% are literate and among women 8% are literates. This area is served by 350 primary schools, 40 middle schools, 30 high schools and 4 colleges.

Even though exact figures on the land distribution patterns are not available, it is observed that the distribution is highly disproportionate. This is corroborated by different village studies conducted by CROSS. According to our studies about 50% of the land is in the hands of 10% of the families whereas about 60% of the families hold only 20% of the total land. This uneven distribution of the land speaks for itself about the possible structures of under development.

Jowar, Paddy, Caster, Bajra, Chilies, Tobacco are the main crops grown in this area. According to the statistics the available target area was under Jowar (30%) followed by caster (22%) Bajra (19%) and Paddy (14%) of the total area, net area sown was 40%. This area has also proportionately more pasture and grazing land than the district as a whole.

The share-cropping and tenancy or fixed rent are prevalent in land transaction practices in the villages. The credit is controlled by big land owners and its availability is tied up with the expected returns from agriculture. The rate of interest on crop loans is two percent per month.

Agricultural labourers form a major chunk of the total labour force. Among the workers in the rural areas about 70 percent work in the agriculture sector, followed by household industry, livestock, etc.

Only about 30% of the total villages are electrified and about 50% are served by postal facility while about 20% of the villages are connected by pucca roads. Public medical facilities available in the area are two taluka hospitals, three primary health centres.

Three decades ago peasants in the area resorted to armed struggle to break the feudal structure then existing. As a consequence of their united action they took a good amount of land into their possession from the rich landlords. This struggle has an impact on the social lives of the people in this area. Untouchability and bonded labour prevalent in the area prior to that struggle, have diminished to a large extent in the past years of struggle.

Issues

In the economic area, social subjugation and political control by the elite complicate the situation. The peasants armed struggle in pre-Independence years had seen the disappearance of the rich landlords in the area. Many have changed their area of activity to the nearest urban centres or have left the country. The initiators of that movement, the middle classes, have occupied the seats of the power, even though the main benefits were cornered by the middle class of the upper caste sections.

Concentration of such a political power in the hands of a few families in the village strengthened the dependency of the poorer sections on the affluent. As a result of this the developmental programmes taken up by the government are not being communicated to the target group, let alone implemented. Many programmes are being utilised by the powerful sections in the name of the weaker sections. It is not irrelevant to mention that acts like the Minimum Wage Act promulgated by the government, are not known by the agricultural labourers, even though such tasks are entrusted to the village officials.

As is already discussed this area is economically backward. Lack of irrigation facilities and periodical failure of seasonal rains make the area perennially drought-prone. Even though a majority own the land they fail to cultivate the lands because of a lack of supporting facilities. This often results in an enormous increase in the quantity of agriculture labourers. This means heavy pressure on the land. Such a situation eventually results in a slump-in-wage situation. In the off seasons the wages go as low as Rs3 a day for men and Rs1 for women. Even at this rate the majority cannot get work, so they have to migrate to the nearest towns to sell their labour.

To mitigate the situation the government implements a variety of developmental programmes. But in the majority of situations, with the collusion of the bureaucracy, powerful sections corner such benefits. Often, corrupted bureaucracy adds fuel to the fire. In this prevailing situation poorer sections have to struggle for their bare existence which often provides opportunity for the rich to continue their political and social control over the poor.

Strategies

After fully acquainting themselves with the historical background of the region CROSS group started its activities in 1975 in five villages in Bhongir and Mothkur Blocks in Nalagonda District. Before the initiation of its actual operation, systematic survey of the village situation was attempted so as to help the group to effect comprehensive development of the village.

Realising the necessity of addressing the poor separately in the village, the target group was encouraged to form a 'sangham' (association) in each village. It was thought necessary to implement all the developmental programmes through such a people's association which gives an opportunity to the oppressed to involve themselves in the decision making, planning and implementation process which was hitherto denied to them.

At the outset, adult education centres were formed which helped the illiterate, disunited poor to sit together daily to deliberate on their problems. At the same time, agriculture, health and economic programmes were initiated to infuse dynamism in the village sangham. Even though the sanghams were initiated through the Harijans, systematic attempts were made to bring the poor from other castes into the fold of sangham.

After being involved with the people for a couple of years CROSS realised the need to address the women separately on the same lines as men. This necessitated forming an exclusive women's sangham in each village. Apart from qualitatively improving the activities, the size of the target area was also increased. By the end of the first phase, that is by 1979, CROSS was operating in 30 villages at Bhongir.

AGENT DESCRIPTION

Purpose

The purpose of CROSS is to fight against causes of poverty in the specific context of the culture of the people, with their full and conscious participation.

History

CROSS started its work eight years ago with the specific purpose of consolidating the gains of the Telangana people's struggle during 1947-51.

In the year 1974-75 CROSS began its village work in about six villages of different Talukas. Chairman Mr. Joji and Director Mr. Kurian along with other people were involved in these six villages. In the same year staff training was provided and sanghams were established in each village.

In 1976 a training centre in Bhongir Taluka was constructed in order to train more staff to expand CROSS activities and programmes. CROSS kept expanding its programmes and activities further. In 1977 it established Mahila Sangham in ten different villages and at the same time a Government Adult Education programme was taken up in 30 villages. By the end of 1979 CROSS began to work in about 60 villages of Bhongir taluka and 60 villages of Mothkur taluka with adult education, Sanghams and other programmes. In 1979 CROSS had 120 staff members to work in these villages.

In the process of project expansion the CROSS project has expanded from six villages to 180 villages both in Bhongir and Mothkur talukas with various programmes and activity such as health, education, economic and men's and women's sangham up to 1983.

Organisational Structure

CROSS was registered as a charitable society for uplifting the poor through various welfare measures and with joint action of the poor in 1975. CROSS has two representatives from each sangham it works in its general body. At present there are about 600 members elected from the project's villages in the CROSS general body. The members of the general body are elected. The village sangham can recall the representative and has the right to depute a substitute. The women have special rights to depute their own members. (See Sangham Structure below).

Staffing

The CROSS governing body is elected from among the general body for a period of three years. The governing body can delegate its powers to the executive staff. All the major decisions have to be taken in the general body, who will have to consult the village sanghams to arrive at these decisions. The general body must meet at least once a year but it is recommended to meet twice a year. The CROSS staff committee with its deputed power should meet once a week. Weekly plans and weekly accomplishments must be discussed in the meeting.

The Governing Body Members of Cross

Cross Staff

President
Vice President
Secretary
Nine Treasurers
Seven Other Members

Director
Finance Co-ordinator
Programme Co-ordinator
Cluster Workers
Administrative Staff
Mechanical Staff
Health Staff

PROJECT JOURNEY

Phases and Turning Points

Phase I (1975-1979): Sangham Constitutional Form Established

During this initial period the constitutional form of the village sangham was established in six villages. These sanghams began and continue to be village-level, or grassroots formal organisations. They were originally established exclusively for the Harijan population in the six villages. In the period from 1977-79 there was significant expansion of the programme in the geographic area. By the end of 1979 there was a total of 120 village-level sanghams, 60 villages were organised in each of the talukas—Bhongir and Mothkur.

During 1977-1978 ten women's sanghams were begun. These sanghams were established to meet the specific needs of the women in the rural village. The initiation of women's sanghams required the recruitment and training of women multi-purpose workers to join the CROSS staff.

By the end of the first phase the sangham had emerged as the pivotal institution around which all developmental programmes revolved. This means that the sangham is the basic implementing agency for all developmental programmes whether adult education, agriculture, community organisation, women's rights protection, health, animal husbandry, or any other programme initiated from time to time.

Phase II (1980-1981): Cluster Level Sanghams Established

With the expansion of sanghams over a wide geographical area and over a large number of villages, it was the experience of the project workers that inter-village linkage was necessary to achieve the objectives of the village sanghams. For this purpose cluster-level sanghams were established.

A cluster-level sangham is a formal association of 9 to 10 village sanghams to carry out the activities of a cluster. A cluster committee is formed. For further information see the 'Project Approach' section of this report.

In addition, a formal steering committee was established for the open decision-making body of the project. The Steering Committee is formed of cluster representatives, cluster workers, and office staff programme coordinators and other administrative staff. This is a policy-making body which formulates policies for operating various programmes in light of the requirements and regulations stipulated by governmental and donor agencies.

By the end of 1979 there emerged a basic set of inter-related and coordinated planning, decision-making and implementing structures: the village sangham, the cluster-sangham, the cluster committee and the steering committee. These bodies manage the development pro the cluster-level meetings to take the shape of a cluster report. Such cluster reports from the different clusters are discussed again in the steering committee. The decisions taken at the steering committee are reported to the Cluster Committee which in turn informs the appropriate village sanghams.

The village sanghams meet to discuss educational activities, economic programmes, and general problems in separate meetings. This is done to help the members to discuss the specific operat the cluster-level meetings to take the shape of a cluster report. Such cluster reports from the different clusters are discussed again in the steering committee. The decisions taken at the steering committee are reported to the Cluster Committee which in turn informs the appropriate village sanghams.

The village sanghams meet to discuss educational activities, economic programmes, and general problems in separate meetings. This is done to help the members to discuss the specific operational problems more systematically. An internal evaluation of the performance of the multi-purpose workers and staff has been done. This was the first time that systematic evaluations were conducted.

Management of the sanghams has been partially turned over to the sanghams by creating a village accounts wing. Village accounts systems were drawn up and the village multi-purpose worker and sangham leaders were given orientation to manage the finances. The education programmes were further streamlined. More literacy is achieved and the village level workers were given new educational inputs. A 'Charts Programme' along with the guidebook for the multi-purpose worker were made available. In order to give the management of education programmes to the sanghams, literacy committees were formed in each sangham and they are given leadership training. This is the phase in which the formation of new action groups were encouraged in the surrounding areas. These are independent groups which received training assistance and educational materials from CROSS.

In this phase programmes directed towards self-sufficiency of the sanghams were started, such as creating a sangham fund generated from loan repayments and also granting a fixed capital investment fund with interest. Capital is used to maintain the village worker's salary.

Basic Social Changes

Over the course of the project work, the objective of the development programmes and sanghams has been to promote economic self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and a positive collective image among the rural poor of their power to create their individual and collective future.

Basic social changes are only achieved after long and concentrated effort and constant reflection on the needed structures, methods and approaches with which to mobilise the people and to manage the development effort.

Identifying changes in the cultural, economic and political systems requires constant evaluation of measurable shifts in social patterns. These changes are observable over time, but they are not a simple listing of 'achievements.'

Below is a presentation of what CROSS believes to be the fundamental shifts in the social patterns and values which have resulted from the operation of the sanghams in rural Telangana.

Economic development

1. The poor villager has reduced his dependency upon the landlord for his livelihood. Indications of this change are the abolition of bonded labour, payment of crops or cash to the landlord, and the payment of market-rate wages by the landlord to the village people cultivating the landlord's land.

2. The poor villager can now earn a living income from cultivating his own land or by operating a small business. The indications of this change are the increased access to and application for government subsidies and bank loans for purchasing and improving agricultural assets such as milch cow, bullocks, seeds, fertilisers, agricultural implements and irrigation facilities.

Financial support is also supplemented by CROSS programmes directed towards improving agricultural skills and techniques. Programmes are also arranged on a periodic basis to inform and educate villagers about the regulations, systems and schemes concerning government-operated agricultural programmes. These programmes have resulted in an increased ability to bring government programmes into the village for economic development.

Small scale industries are operating regularly. They include handloom weaving of sarees for export through a co-operative. Poultry farms and dairy farms have been established for the export of eggs and milk. Self-employment has been established in the occupations of carpentry, blacksmithing, and leather-working. The market mechanism which exists in the larger surrounding towns provides an outlet for these goods. As a consequence, loans for raw materials are arranged through various financial institutions. The repayment of loans is approximately 80%. In addition, cooperatives channel consignment orders and raw materials to the village industry or business, pass for the finished product, and transport the products to the urban retailer.

3. There has been improved management of economic resources. The indications of this change is the regular management of the sangham budget for all development programmes, the management of the sangham loan funds, and the management of the sangham investments.

New economic ventures and approved loans for start-up capital are initiated after a thorough study of the operating and marketing plans. Repayment is expected and defaults are kept to a minimum. The sangham and cluster committees meet regularly to review the status of all the economic programmes and to recommend solutions for any problems.

Political and educational development

1. Traditional beliefs about status, untouchability, personal rights and decision-making authority have changed from dependency upon village elite to self-confidence, determination and collective action. Confidence in the importance and effectiveness of co-operative action, decision-making and planning has been achieved. Sangham members have experienced the benefits which stem from their own development efforts and co-operation. Therefore, they have developed the experience of their own power to be self-determining and can articulate the importance of their own efforts and involvement in solving communal problems.

Indications of this change in values and the patterns of planning and acting in co-operation have been observed. Traditional caste rivalries must be cast aside if the villager wishes to become a member of the sangham. The sangham strongly proscribes any attempt to reinforce caste. The regular meetings of the sanghams at all levels which are conducted in a formal matter have provided a stable forum for raising issues, planning and decision-making. Cluster-level sanghams have provided for regular interaction among the villages and have increased the level of active intervention in the village and state-level political process. Sanghams are active in their support of nominees who stand for panchayat and state legislative contests. These nominees seek the support of sanghams, which indicates the growing influence of the organised villages and clusters. The sanghams hold their newly elected government officials, in the panchayat and at the state level, accountable to address the needs of the poor. They have been active in removing corrupt government officials who are barriers to the transfer of government assistance to the villages.

2. Literacy has increased among both children and adults. An indication of this change is the number of children who regularly attend literacy classes and who are attending the public schools. Parents consider their children's education as an investment in the family's and village's future. The number of persons who use literacy skills in the day-to-day affairs of their life has increased. The literacy classes and other training programmes continue to reinforce the importance of literacy if development is to be achieved. Sangham members can articulate the benefits of literacy to their present ability to plan and act, and they realise how illiteracy has limited their ability to be self-determining.

Status of unity between men and women

In the arena of status and unity between men and women, there have been shifts in the attitude concerning the relative roles of men and women in village life. Women's and men's sanghams are created in each village. The women are members of their own sangham as they have particular development needs. They are not only among the economically disadvantaged, but they have been handicapped by inferior status by nature of their sex. The women's sanghams and special programs have been organised and operated by the women. Women are active members in cluster committees and the steering committee. As members they are expected to take leadership roles and to participate actively in the development programmes of the sangham.

Women's sanghams have successfully organised to protest for higher wages and have seen the results of their united action. The men are changing their attitudes about women's roles in village political and economic affairs.

Agent's Role

In the first phase of the CROSS programmes the work of the staff was directed to activities related to initiating sangham and organising and implementing development programmes.

In the second phase the role of the staff was oriented towards guiding the sangham in their programme implementation and in formulating policies.

In the third phase the role was reduced to maintaining the records of the sangham and supplying the necessary feedback.

Future Images

Discussions have already begun in sangham-clusters level with the Steering Committee and Staff Meetings about the future plans to be initiated beginning January, 1985.

One possibility is to create area committees out of the existing cluster committee structure to have a larger forum for decision-making, planning and organised actions. These area committees will handle the development programmes and activities concerning the problems of the poor in about six clusters.

It is also planned to cover a wider geographical area and other minority groups such as tribal peoples, Christians, Muslims and the urban poor.

OPERATIONAL MODES

Research and Planning

Research has been primarily in the form of special studies which are concerned with providing basic knowledge, background information and understanding of specific systems, institutions which the sanghams operate. For example, special studies have been conducted about the demographics of the sanghams, the bonded labour situation, financial systems and village structure analysis. These studies have assisted in formulating the strategies, approaches and action plans of CROSS.

Participation

Sangham Structure

A. Village Level Sangham

Each Village Sangham meets to decide all programmes, raise issues and make recommendations to be taken to the Cluster-level Sangham. At each meeting a recommendation report is made to be sent to the cluster level. One man and one woman then represents each village to the Cluster-level Sangham.

The Governing Body consists of:

- President
- Secretary
- Treasurer
- Multi-purpose worker
- 4 active members

B. Cluster-level Sangham

The cluster report is prepared by the Cluster-level Sangham and contains any recommendations to be taken to the cluster committee. The Cluster-level Sangham has representatives from 5-12 villages (i.e. 12 clusters in Bhongir and 9 clusters in Mothkur). They each send one man and one woman representative to the committee.

The Governing Body consists of:

- President
- Secretary
- Multi-purpose worker

C. Cluster Committee

The Cluster Committee reviews all new proposals and any particular problems requiring cluster-level action. There are 21 clusters who send representatives to the committee. The Governing Body consists of one man and one woman from each cluster.

D. Steering Committee

The Steering Committee is the primary policy-making body. It approves new proposals and discusses and suggests solutions to larger policy issues. Recommendations are sent to the cluster committee.

The Governing Body consists of:

- Two representatives from each cluster (one man and one woman)
- One cluster coordinator from each cluster
- All technical staff (programme coordinators)
- Administrative Staff
- Director

Inputs

Inter-Agency Links

CROSS has links with about 100 groups in Andhra Pradesh and other States through supplying educational material, conducting training programmes, organising exchange visits, evaluating the programmes and organising meetings of small action groups.

CROSS involves many professionals in the fields of health, agriculture, animal husbandry, bore pump mechanism etc. These individuals are drawn from universities, research institutions and government agencies. CROSS group richly benefits from interaction with these professionals.

CROSS believes in a two-way learning process. As part of this process CROSS staff visited various institutions to learn from their experience both in India and abroad; National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad, Agricultural University, Deenabandhupuram (Tamil Nadu), Voluntary Health Association, Guntur Inst. of Dry Land Farming, Medak, ICRISAT, Hyderabad and SEARSOLIN, Philippines are some of the institutions where CROSS staff underwent training. CROSS also visited the various projects in Girijana Sankshema Seema, Chatte, Andhra Pradesh.

Sponsoring Organisations

Finance comes from the following sources:

1. Donor agencies—EZE (German based), Bread for the World (German-based), ICCO (Holland-based), Christian Aid (London, England-based), and ASW (German-based).

2. Government Institutions and Financial Institutions—These provide subsidies, loans, etc. for development. Programme for the target group. According to the agreement with the donor agencies 50% of the capital for the development programmes must be received through local resources, hence the involvement of government and financial institutions.
3. Grants from Central and State Government for specific programmes such as adult education, forestry, etc.
4. Contributions from sangham members in the form of labour and capital.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Approaches That Work

The Sangham

A. The purposes of Sanghams are:

To give poor section people the ways, opportunity and structure by which they can unite themselves, make decisions about their own lives and make plans to tackle the problems of social and human rights. Not only men, but the women who have been isolated from society and dominated by men, can remove the barriers of their time to live meaningfully in a human society.

B. The Sangham supports the project in many ways:

The main aim of the project is to give poor villagers the power to meet their own requirements through sanghams and other structures. The sangham is the one basic structure which gives an opportunity to poor villagers to be united with power, make decisions about their life and livelihood and self-confidence to meet their own requirements individually and in the community as a whole. It gives people power and courage to fight for their rights at village and cluster level.

C. The important techniques and the methods of the Sangham are:

In the village level sangham there is a governing body of six people—one president, one secretary, one treasurer, one animator, two active members and the rest of the poor section people are the members of the sangham. Landlords are not allowed to be either members or take part in the sangham meetings. With the same kinds of forums there is a women's sangham. Village level sanghams meet every week to talk about the issues and problems and make further plans.

In the cluster level sangham there are two people, one man and one woman selected by president, secretary and animator of each village who are delegates to the Steering Committee. The animator or multi-purpose worker is a paid CROSS worker who is responsible for coordinating the various programmes (educational, cultural, technical, legal, health etc.) in the sangham at both the village and cluster level. He or she lives in the village and works daily on the planning and implementation of the programmes.

The weekly sangham meeting is the forum for conducting formal business of the sangham. There resolutions are made and problems are discussed and the village sangham recommendations which will be reviewed at the cluster-level sangham meetings will be decided upon. The constitution established formal basis of membership, the authority of and operating rules of the sangham.

D. Development of the Approach:

The village level sangham concept was borrowed from the Telangana armed struggle in the period from 1947-1952. The CROSS project sangham organisation was first established in 1975 in 6 villages in Bhongir Taluk and two villages in Mothkur Taluk. The constitutional form of the sangham has been relatively unchanged since 1975 even though the project has expanded to over 120 villages in four talukas.

Beginning in 1977 sanghams were established for women. The current CROSS sangham organisation which includes cluster level sangham and Steering Committee has been operating since 1979. The sangham at both village and cluster level are given direct technical and financial support through the CROSS organisation.

The CROSS staff includes field level workers, special technical coordination in charge of CROSS programmes and administrative staff. The CROSS staff have developed the educational, technical, cultural and legal programmes employed regularly by the sanghams. Financial resources are obtained through a combination of loans and subsidies from government, private institutions and schemes, funds developed by CROSS from international agencies and from revenues generated by economic activities.

The sanghams are supported by a regular series of training sessions and special seminar and camps. The sangham members participate in the educational and training programmes design by CROSS. CROSS also provides legal guidance for sanghams.

E. Usefulness of Sangham to Other Projects:

The sangham is an effective structure for organising, planning, decision-making, and implementing a development programme for a homogeneous group of people. In the village the homogenous group is the poor villages. This group shares common experiences, values, problems and development needs. The sangham form may be an effective structure for organising other homogeneous groups such as occupational groups (e.g. rickshaw drivers, pan shop owners) which have specific development needs common to the group, and common experience and values upon which organising co-operation and development programmes can be based.

CROSS Structural Approach

A. Functions of CROSS Structures:

The CROSS structures and organisation has several functions. Recommendations for new action and programmes are reviewed and drafted or rejected through formal discussion at different levels. The exchange of technical advice and the coordination of project programmes is arrived at. The control of technical and financial matters is managed through this organisation, as are programme planning and expansion. The organisation of CROSS is designed to promote grassroots decision-making and to promote the management of sangham activities by the sangham members.

B. Important Techniques and Methods of the Approach are:

The sanghams meet three times each month. One meeting regarding economic activities, the second meeting deals with general problems and the third with education matters. Fortnightly there are cluster level meetings. Emergency meetings are also conducted at this level. Once a month there is a steering committee meeting. The cluster committee provides the leadership at the cluster level meeting regarding writing resolutions and the review of minutes of previous meetings.

C. Special Committees:

In each sangham there is a literacy committee and loan repayment committee which manage the sangham loans. Approach Support to the Project: this approach makes it easier to coordinate the programmes and activities of all the sanghams. This organisation helps build and sustain collective leadership. The CROSS organisation reinforces and demonstrates the importance of grassroots participation as the basis for social development. This is a democratic system of planning, review and implementation to build a coordinated effort.

D. Expansion of the Approach:

During the second phase expansion period of 1977-1979 the Cluster-level sanghams emerged to coordinated programmes and to involve the village sangham representatives in the planning and review of programmes and loans. During the second phase the steering committee began to include the cluster sangham representatives.

E. Usefulness to Other Projects:

This approach is a practical and functional way to manage limited resources whether human, technical or financial. It is effective in coordinating large groups of people and a wide geographic area, and to build local leadership. This is bottom-up approach not a trickle-down approach.

Cultural Programme Action Approach

A. Economic and Political Change Consequence:

Cultural change takes place more or less automatically due to changes in the economic structure and/or the political system. But often the changes are accidental and varying. If the values and the attitudes of the people remain unchanged this may strangle their creativity and vitiate their lives. So an effective non-manipulated education and sincere dialogue are needed to create critical awareness among the people. Liberating education is required to break the culture of silence, to decrease the dependency, and to help a person rediscover his dignity and identity by improving his creativity. The task of our educational methods is to find a solution to the problems by only posing them and focusing the attention of the community on finding a solution.

Cultural action is the effective tool to politicise the people. It will create a common platform to discuss the problems of the people. Cultural action which poses the problems will lead to action and reflection.

CROSS uses various forms of cultural action as part of the problem-posing process:

- firstly the different types of folk songs and dances commonly performed in Telegana-Kolattam, Chirathala-Bhajana, Bhatkamma;
- secondly the traditional theatrical or opera-like forms of Telegana-Natakam (drama), Burrakatha, Geyanatakalu (song and dance routines), Gollasuddulu;
- thirdly the improved playlet, role-play and mime.

These different cultural forms will be discussed in detail later. Some, for instance, the folk songs and dances and the role play and mimes, are more suitable for mass participation. Other, burrakatha for example, requiring more technical skill and with a limited number of participants have to be presented in a slightly more formalised traditional way.

The cultural actions taken up by the villagers in CROSS's target area are an integral part of the non-formal education programme. They, along with the other components of the programme, are tools to make the night school student, the Sangham member to become more critical, to think for himself. Everybody is encouraged to participate, to become involved in such cultural actions: there are no 'actors' and there is no 'audience' separate from them: there is no demarcation line between those who silently witness and those who perform the programme.

As a part of the CROSS educational programme, cultural actions cannot be taken in isolation. A dialogue, involving all the people, both the participants and on-lookers in any cultural action, involving non-formal discussion is a necessary follow-up to that cultural action.

Very crudely the educational methodology of CROSS can be summarised and categorised into five interlinked components:

1. A cultural action which poses the problem;
2. Dialogue amongst the people;
3. Additional information provided by the teacher/animator/organiser;
4. Further discussion for rationalising and crystallising views and for deciding on possible solutions to the problem;
5. Literacy.

To take two examples:

Example 1: The issue of the lack of streetlights in the harijanwadi of a particular village is taken up. A role-play will be performed showing the hazards caused by lack of street lights, with some members of the group acting out the various roles of: Sarpanch, Panchayat Board members, block development officer, officers of the Electricity Board, etc. A discussion will then take place, in which the teacher's role is only to see that the discussion does not get too much off the point, and to provide information as to which department, and who has to be approached. After the analysis of the problem and the alternative strategies have been discussed, an appropriate strategy to solve the problem will be worked out which may be, for example, that the Sangham members would have to go to the Electricity Office en masse. During this non-formal discussion some key words arise such as 'light', 'current', 'office', etc. and some of these carefully selected word games can be played. This enables the teachers to maintain the active interest of the people to mobilise them for total participation in the solution of the problem and for acquisition of literacy skills.

Example 2: Another example could be a health problem/antenatal care. In the role play a pregnant lady with anemia comes to see the doctor. In this role play enacted entirely by women, two points will be raised: the reluctance of the family to feed the pregnant lady well (properly owing to the traditional belief that if the mother is fed too well, the baby will give trouble at delivery), and the reluctance of the mother to take anti-tetanus injections. After the role-play the ladies in the group will discuss mostly their own experiences of pregnancy and child-bearing. The teacher, already trained in the subject will provide any explanation that is required. After this the women will reach some sort of consensus on what antenatal practices should be followed. Again key words such as 'pregnant' and 'baby' will be taken up for word games and literacy work. Such cultural action is by its very nature largely spontaneous in its execution. However, there were inputs which CROSS provides.

a. Songs written by staff members, teachers and sangham members are published in the fortnightly news bulletin, 'Velugu' which is circulated to all Adult Education Centres. These songs while using traditional folk forms and tunes take up for their themes relevant subjects which will increase the social awareness of the villages.

b. The framework for some role-plays, mimes and playlets may be suggested in some cases, particularly with more technical subjects like health and agriculture, in the form of a note to the teacher/animator.

c. During the regular fortnightly training sessions of the teachers, some time is set aside and apportioned for the practice of new songs. Sometimes, this will be conducted by some of the more musically talented teachers, sometimes by a professional composer. In the youth leadership training camps the sangham members also learn new songs which they can, in turn, teach to the other villagers.

d. CROSS provides musical instruments to the Sanghams on subsidy basis. 50% of the cost being borne by the sangham and 50% of the cost by CROSS. Broadly speaking, we can categorise the presentation of cultural action undertaken in CROSS's target area into three types:

- The most common and most unimportant-looking individual items are the purely informal bits that go to make up cultural action. They consist of idiomatic expressions, thought-provoking works, songs, situations, folksongs, terms of abuse used, role plays, dances, etc. and form a normal part of the adult education activity.

- Sometimes when a sangham or adult education center has accumulated a number of such small items, it feels like getting ready a 'pucca' programme with a stage and improvised costumes for the benefit of the whole village. These items will then be added together into a programme, rehearsed a little more thoroughly and as though professionally. Such performances mean that the messages conveyed in cultural action can reach a wider audience, and also give self-confidence to those who are acting for the first time. A traditionally silent Harijan may be displaying his hidden talents to the whole village. The organisation and work required for putting up such a programme by itself serves as a good experience for the sangham.
- Occasionally for a special occasion the sangham itself in conjunction with CROSS arranges a group of professional artists to give a performance. One is usually a 'burrakatha' in a particular village. This, as CROSS has found it to be, is useful as a way of introducing CROSS's aims to the whole village particularly at the time of entering a village. Non-sangham members, in particular, often misunderstand the aims and objectives of CROSS.

Perhaps the highlight of the cultural programmes organised in 1979 was the programme arranged on October 1, 1979 in the Jubilee Hall, Hyderabad, to celebrate the first year of the National Adult Education Programme. This programme, held in the presence of the Andhra Pradesh Governor and the Education Minister, though mostly devoted to the theme of education, was an example of the second type of the cultural presentation, mentioned above. With different items each of short duration and in different style, the point that cultural programmes performed purely by the villagers and consisting of different cultural forms can be used in awareness-raising programmes was amply demonstrated. It was refreshing to note the casual manner in which the villagers conducted themselves amongst the surrounding of the Jubilee Hall, and in the presence of the V.I.P.s. They showed no stage fright and acted in a normal, spontaneous way with self-confidence.

B. Important Techniques, Methods, Tools of the Approach:

- Playlet: It serves as a mirror held to show the problem in all its aspects to the people and to point out the evils in the society. It has literacy value, music and action combined together.
- Drama in Song: This is a short duration musical drama or a duet in song in which two people, usually of the opposite sex, participate. Role-play and mimes are useful media to present the rural problems and study how the people react to them.
- Burrakatha (A Song-Cum-Action Story): The story from the history of India, Mahabharata etc. is narrated through an animated song and action is blended with tickling humour. It points out the weaknesses and evils in the society such as traditional and superstitious beliefs.
- Kolatam: It is a traditional and typical group dance technique in which time is marked by beating a pair of sticks with one another by the players holding them in their hands. It points out the weaknesses and evils in the society such as traditional and superstitious beliefs.
- Chirathalabhanjana: It is a group dance involving movement in a circle with rhythmic steps and with increasing speed as the tempo of the song rises.
- Folk Songs: Villagers working in the fields sing songs as they work. Most of the songs are purely either entertaining or devotional in their appeal.

C. Helpfulness to Other Organisations:

These cultural activities give people the clear picture of their present situations and remind them about their past. Also it gives ways to celebrate their situation and encourage them to fight for their rights. Other organisations can use these activities to achieve these aims.

Training and Education Programmes Approach

Training programmes form part and parcel of the educational activities undertaken by CROSS. All such training programmes are conducted on the conviction that training is continuous and a two-way process. Whether it is orientation in community development, health, agriculture or any other field, or training of animators, youth or sangham leaders, sight of this basic tenet is not lost. From the beginning, CROSS has given utmost importance to the training programmes as they are expected to form a basis for developing the thought process and eventual mental growth of the trainees.

Various training programmes are undertaken keeping in view the future perspective of self-sufficiency of the sanghams and other decision-making structures. To put it in other words, as CROSS desires to progressively eliminate the need of the outside agents. It wants to utilise the forum of training sessions to equip the local population to continue the use of the existing structures in the future also.

We feel that the various decision-making structures developed by CROSS like sangham, cluster and steering committee are suitable forms for training different categories of persons. The discussions at the meetings of the oppressed people help the observers immensely in learning their problems. That is why all these meetings are announced well in advance so that the staff, including the animators can participate in them.

A. Training Arenas:

The following are the areas in which periodical training is imparted:

Community organisation	Health
Agriculture	Animal Husbandry
Law	Village records maintaining
Women's issues	Village accounts
Adult education	Government programmes
Hand pump mechanism	Cultural action
Group dynamics	

B. Persons trained:

Given below are the different categories of people to whom training is imparted in the above-mentioned areas:

Animators	Cluster workers
Sangham representatives	Cluster representatives
Village youth	Literacy committee members
Farmers	Agricultural labourers
Mechanics	

C. Training of Animators:

From the beginning of the project, training programmes are conducted twice a month for the village workers in different areas of activity listed above. Also periodical shramdan (work) camps are organised in order to bring in a feeling of community living. The training programmes for the animators cover the following details:

1. Discussion on the booklet 'Pillala Pempakam';
2. Accounts relating to animal husbandry;
3. Forestry;
4. Child labour;
5. Review of panchayat elections;
6. Land distribution in India;
7. Protection against cholera—use flash cards;
8. Anti-caste movement in Tamilnadu;
9. Social analysis—present trend;
10. Communal riots;
11. Non-formal education as a tool for national development;
12. Flash cards on tuberculosis;
13. Class analysis in India;
14. Village records;
15. State and central budgets—some important points;
16. Techniques of lesson planning;
17. Women's liberation;
18. Wage problem;
19. Reasons for disputes in the villages;
20. Method to convert any topic as content of a lesson;
21. Village accounts;
22. Different government agencies (institutions);

During 1982 special attention was given to train the workers and leaders on village accounts. This is done as part of the overall efforts to take the fundamentals of management to the poor. Under this programme the animators are fully trained to take care of the village accounts. The sangham representatives are also given general training in the concept of management in spite of the limitations of literacy.

During the last two years five special one-week health training programmes were conducted. Animators were given intensive orientation in community health. Follow-up programmes were also conducted. Health kits were issued to the workers to carry on their activities in the village. They were also given field training.

Animators are also trained in technical fields like agriculture, animal husbandry and hand-pump mechanism. Three training sessions, in agriculture (15 days each), two in animal husbandry (three weeks), and one in hand-pump mechanism (three batches each of one week duration), were conducted during the period of the report.

Training is imparted in the area of group dynamics with the collaboration of the Association for Promotion of Social Awareness, Hyderabad. Two batches of cluster workers have been trained in this area through one-week programmes. The aim of the orientation course is to familiarise the trainees with methods of communicating the social problems to the illiterate oppressed population through games. But because of lack of sufficient follow-up action not much headway could be made.

Another area which is given considerable importance is cultural action programmes. With the collaboration of Rural Development Advisory Service, Hyderabad, four cultural action training programmes each of ten days duration were conducted. A team of ten animators is constituted to enact street plays in the village on different themes relating to the poor. Harijan Sarpanch, Banks, Wage Rise and Service Communities are some of the street plays which were enacted in ten different villages. These plays proved highly successful. In the villages where these plays were enacted, an increase in the membership is observed. Now developing and enacting a thematic street play has become part of the programmes. Keeping this in view two coordinators were recruited to carry on the cultural activities.

CROSS is also engaged in extending training facilities to other projects. Weaker section development service (Janagaon), Ambedkar Association (Bhongir), Navajeevana Grammeena Sangham (Thirumalgi), Mannair Shramika Sangham (Karimnagar), and Girijana Sankshema Seema (Chatte) are the different organisations for which special training sessions were conducted at the office of CROSS.

Apart from this, our programme coordinators are used by many other organisations as resource persons in their in-campus training programmes.

G. Night School:

Night school is one of the major educational medium. The purposes of the night schools are giving literacy skills to people, exchange of different ideas and skills, and making people aware about the different issues and problems of the village.

Village men, women, youth and children gather together for the night school; either multi-purpose workers or villagers lead the night school.

It is a very helpful method to the project. It forms the basis for creating a community organisation. It assists the village sangham to achieve their goals, decreases the dependency on landlords, and increases their managerial capabilities. Villagers face the reality of their exploitation and make use of government resources.

H. Special Teaching Methods:

- a. News letters: Grassroots level technical experience;
- b. Slides;
- c. Charts;
- d. Role plays;
- e. Flash cards;
- f. Technical demonstration;
- g. Group dynamics;
- h. Group discussion methods.
- i. Helpfulness to Other Projects:

The training programmes are designed to use the experience and skills of project staff who come from villages and do not have experience, formal education and technical skills. Through the training activities both formal and informal, the sangham concept and operation is learned.

The training methods build local village leadership which reduces the dependency of the sangham and CROSS staff upon special experts.

23. Surplus value, modes of production;
24. Method to run sanghams;
25. Issues in different sanghams.

D. Women Animators:

Keeping in view the lower standards of literacy among women animators, special training sessions are being conducted for them both at the project and cluster levels. At the cluster level intensive orientation is given. The animators are given different topics for discussion. In some cases literacy training is also given. The women co-ordinators regularly visit the cluster to conduct meetings of women animators. In these special meetings, daily reports, sangham meeting records, problems of the animators, etc. are discussed. Apart from this, project level training is also being given. The following are some of the topics covered during such sessions:

1. Women in primitive, feudal, state societies (in five parts);
2. Lesson plans;
3. How to use new teaching methods;
4. Elections—role of women;
5. Relevance of literacy committees;
6. Ways to help women have a voice in community decisions;
7. Ways to motivate middle class;
8. Discussion of Balwadi;
9. Freedom for women;
10. Role of women in development;
11. Women labour cooperatives;
12. Role of health workers;
13. Relevance of economic programmes for women.

E. Training Sangham Leaders, Cluster Representatives (Men and Women):

Often, it is not enough to train the animators. Our experience showed that sometimes the ideas failed to reach the target group. It was also noticed at the implementation level that leaders are more effective and committed than workers. Finally, for the decision-making structures (cluster, sangham, steering committee) to survive the levels of consciousness of the leaders' needs to be strengthened. With this understanding periodical orientation courses are run for the sangham leaders and cluster representatives. For women's representatives further training is given. Among others, the following topics are discussed in the programmes conducted for them:

1. Role of leaders in people's movement;
2. Situation of bonded labourers;
3. Importance of sanghams;
4. Problems of women in present day society;
5. Influence of women's camps and sanghams;
6. Aims and objectives of sanghams;
7. Functions of sangham leaders;
8. Repayments;
9. Budget.

F. Creating a Training Culture:

Exclusive training programmes are conducted for the cluster workers. It is expected that they would, in turn pass on the contents of the training to the animators and leaders. This system has two objectives: to disseminate the information through cluster workers and to create a culture of training among the rural population. Out of this emerged cluster-wide training. In this method each cluster would conduct monthly training programmes independent of the programme conducted by the education department.

It is expected that over a period of time these training processes will get established and sustain themselves even after the withdrawal of CROSS from the scene. Enough attention is now being paid to take the animators and leaders to the culture of training which has hitherto been totally absent. As a result of this the clusters are now in a position to educate the masses on any topic. If there is need, they take intellectual help from the core staff.

When literacy committees were formed recently the clusters themselves conducted orientation programmes to the members of these committees with little intervention from the core staff. Prior to this, in every training programme, the presence of the core staff was a must. But now the clusters are able to carry on these activities independently. At the moment each cluster conducts separate training programmes every month.

Learnings

The following are a list of learnings which have been generated out of the reflection and experience of CROSS staff concerning their own project experience and rural development in general.

1. Programmes aimed at building self-reliance and economic self sufficiency sustain the co-operation and commitment of the villager.
2. The project agency must do thorough studies of the community and its problems.
3. Beneficiaries have to make a financial contribution to the economic programmes from which they will directly benefit.
4. Leadership in the village can be built by involving the people in decision making in the sangham.
5. Community must be organised on issues, then only can they realise the root causes of their problems.
6. Field staff workers provide guidance and assistance as opposed to dictating the plans.
7. Cultural identity and values can be changed and formed self-consciously.
8. Within the community there are groups and disputes about which the project staff should be made aware.
9. Village involvement in planning and implementing the plan creates the experience and confidence.
10. Multi-purpose workers must have dedication and commitment to work with the project, beyond just educational experience or some kind of special expertise.
11. A comprehensive set of programmes for developing the economic standard of living, social status and influence in decision-making, sustain co-operation and effective action.
12. Village workers must be free to create an effective plan to respond to the needs of the village.
13. Sharing the different experience and exchange of ideas among the voluntary and other development agencies creates confidence and encouragement.
14. Financial resources must be increased in rural areas. Capital investment within the rural areas must be promoted.

PROJECT SIGNIFICANCE

CROSS is continuing to work to serve the needs of the poor people in rural villages. The existing rich and elite in the villages in which CROSS works are not the target group of the project and are not allowed to be members of the programmes operated by CROSS. In this particular socio-political situation, there is a need for an exclusive forum for the poor which transcends the caste and political party barriers. This means a grassroots structure has to be created and maintained.

The CROSS effort is concerned with creating a structural means of organising the poor for the purpose of improving economic, social and political status and influence in society.

The CROSS effort strives to develop self-reliance and self-sufficiency of the poor. It is concerned with creating and sustaining the effective use of local resources.

CROSS has eight years of experience in organising the poor in the villages to shape their own destiny. It has its share of trials and tribulations, successes and failures. At the same time it looks forward with great hope and with a faith in people's unified action.

After a period of involvement in the village, CROSS could successfully build people's organisations in the village. The issue-oriented education helped them to critically evaluate their existing position in the society along with the structural reasons for the same. It is by no means a small achievement while working with oppressed people in a feudalistic situation. At the same time, it diminishes the value of such efforts to be complacent over the achievements.

It is essential to consolidate gains in order to help an association to continue with the same dynamism and vigour. To achieve this it is important to give more stress to the management of the sanghams in the future. Managing economic programmes, keeping the records, etc. are the main areas in which stress will be given. It is hoped that such action would inculcate a kind of historical perspective among the target group.

CROSS believes that political change at the macro-level is the only real answer to the people's problems. All the present efforts at the micro-level by numerous agencies are means to such an end. This does not mean a small group expanding itself as a national force. This type of vertical development of one organisation will jeopardise the people's cause instead of encouraging it as it would end up as another institution with all those ramifications.

Because of this belief the CROSS group encourages formation of small groups in different parts of the country. It conducts periodical meetings of various action groups to help them in extending training programmes with the past experience of CROSS. In this direction, training courses are being offered to different action groups and a few meetings of action groups have been conducted.

Realising the necessity of the need for establishing links with urban groups, CROSS started linking up with urban organisations. Many organisations were invited to take part in the training courses conducted by CROSS and to send workers to participate in the activities initiated by such groups. Efforts are being made for further strengthening of these contacts. It is felt that the workers need to be exposed to different regional situations in order to appreciate the involvement of other action groups. Therefore teams of workers should be sent to like-minded projects operating in different situations. This would also help in broadening the perspective of those projects.

Even though CROSS could achieve quantitative increase in the number of villages in its seven years of involvement, increase in the membership in the individual sangham is still a task to achieve. To effect structural change and to capture formal and real power in the village, this is a pre-condition, which must be given top priority. In order to do this the media of cultural action have been used extensively. CROSS has already developed a good cultural group team from its village level workers. A group of workers groomed themselves as a team to enact street plays on different aspects of social problems in various villages. The need for sangham, the usefulness of such sanghams, etc., are to be propagated in order to bring as many as possible into the fold of the sangham. It is also proposed that vertical linkage of occupational groups in several villages would act as a motivating force to achieve such desired goals.

Another strong desire of CROSS is to further strengthen its training activities. It feels that with the rich experience gained by its staff in organising the rural poor it has a role to play in the diffusion of such knowledge. To begin with, such activities within the institutions are to be strengthened. Training for the sangham leaders, cluster workers, and animators is planned with a clear view to broadening their concept of united action.

In order to involve the youth in the village, youth camps are being organised. It intends to conduct separate seminars for agricultural labourers, small farmers, and artisans in order to learn about their problems.

Until now CROSS has programmes to conduct trainings by its core staff. Now attempts are being made to diversify its activities by encouraging the cluster workers (supervisors) to conduct cluster-wide training programmes. This is with a long-term perspective of creating a group of trainers from local situations. Training without follow-up has no meaning, so preparation of training material is already underway.

In order to give special focus to women, the women animators are given additional training sessions both at the project and cluster level. Until now CROSS has given more stress to training in leadership and community organisation. It is necessary to go beyond this by extending training programmes in skill development to the target groups in the villages. Links are being established with official and non-official agencies which specialise in this field.

The relevance and importance of literacy in the development of oppressed groups needs no mention. To build a quality movement, literacy to the target groups is essential. But because of certain limitations this goal is still eluding CROSS. Even though some achievements are being made towards this, CROSS feels there is still a long way to go. Using various forms of cultural activities, preparation of teaching aids for illiterates and neo-literates, making use of visual aids, etc. are some of the methods which CROSS intends to use with further intensification.

One of the constraints CROSS is facing in the majority of situations is the absence of night school buildings to conduct such classes in all seasons. To solve this problem it is important to create community centres in each village, which will help sustain the initial enthusiasm of the target group.

PART III

Presentations

INDEX**INTRODUCTION**

Section 1: 3-101

The Opening Address: 'The International Exposition of Rural Development'

5 February 1984, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, India

Sir James Lindsay, President, Institute of Cultural Affairs International

Section 2: 3-201

The Inaugural Address: 'GHP, The Gross Human Product'

5 February 1984, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi India

Shri Vasant Sathe, Honourable Minister of Chemicals and Fertilizers, India

Section 3: 3-301

A General Address: 'Women in Development--More Than Half the World'

7 February 1984, Taj Palace Conference Centre, New Delhi, India

Dame Miriam Dell, President, International Council of Women, Paris

Section 4: 3-401

A Slide Show: 'Children The Flowers of the Future'

7 February 1984, Evening with UNICEF, Taj Palace Conference Centre,

New Delhi, India

Text by Dr. David Morley, Consultant on Child Development

Presented by Ms. Sobra Misra in his absence

Section 5: 3-501

A General Address: 'Children in Rural Development'

7 February 1984, Evening with UNICEF, Taj Palace Conference Centre,

New Delhi, India

Mr. David P. Haxton, Regional Director, UNICEF, South Central Asia

Section 6: 3-601

A Report: 'Funding Strategies for the Rural Poor'

15 February 1984, Plenary Report, Taj Palace Conference Centre

New Delhi, India

Remarks: Mr. Bernard Woods, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Chairperson: Dr. Goran Hyden, Ford Foundation, Kenya

Section 7: 3-701

A Slide Show: 'TURNABOUT--The Trickle Up Programme (TUP)

An Experiment for Income Production through Group Self-Employment'

6 February 1984, Focus on Rural Credit, Taj Palace Conference Centre,

New Delhi, India

Text by Glen and Millie Robbins Leet, Co-Directors, Trickle Up Programme, New York

INTRODUCTION

The presentations during the IERD Central International Event consisted of a variety of topics which provided common context and contributed to the dialogue in critical arenas of Rural Development.

The Opening Address, delivered by Sir James Lindsay, President of the Institute of Cultural Affairs International, described the focus and intent of the IERD for the 650 participants in attendance from 55 countries with a particular concern for the role which this event played in the three year process of documentation, interchange and implementation of 'Sharing Approaches that Work'. The **Inaugural Address** delivered by Shri Vasant Sathe, Honourable Minister of Chemicals and Fertilisers of India and former Minister of Rural Development, placed particular emphasis upon the human factor in rural development—the GHP, Gross Human Product—the release of the human creativity which fulfills the development potential for self-sufficiency and well-being of the people themselves.

As the UN Decade of Women is drawing to a close (1975-1985), the role of **Women in Development** has become a significant theme, both as subjects whose plight is frequently last if not least considered, and as actors whose efforts and contributions to the development process are *sine a qua non* for development itself to succeed. Dame Miriam Dell, president of the International Council of Women (a co-sponsor of the IERD), delivered the address which set the tone for serious consideration of both what has been accomplished and the major task ahead.

One evening of the conference was hosted by UNICEF (a co-sponsor of the IERD) with a focus on **children**. The evening began with a slide show, 'Children, The Flowers of the Future', with text prepared by Dr. David Morley, Consultant on Child Development. This was followed by a presentation by David Haxton from UNICEF, India. Both presentations pointed to practical programmes such as the Oral Rehydration Programme, which save thousands children's lives each year in India and elsewhere. Equally important, however, were the emphases on the total community development and the multitude of inter-related factors which required development of leadership from within for the children's future possibilities to be realised in health, education and other fields.

During the implementation planning portion of the Central International Event, a special task force was met to look at **funding strategies for the rural poor**—constraints and recommendations for NGO's, Governments, Donor Agencies, and the rural poor themselves. The group was chaired by Goran Hyden, Director of Ford Foundation, Kenya, and the report presented to the Plenary by Bernard Woods, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Bank, Washington D.C.

To further dramatise the **income producing** potential of the rural poor, unemployed and underemployed, the Trickle Up Programme was presented in a slide show which documented a simple yet highly effective process of minimal investments in many small group enterprises which brought returns as much as ten times greater than the original investment. This programme, which expresses a primary trust in the potential of those who want to become self-sufficient, was presented by Glen and Millie Robbins Leet, Co-directors of the Programme, as a counterpoint to 'trickle-down' programmes which invest on the average 20 times more for every job generated.

Section 1:**The Opening Address: The International Exposition of Rural Development***5 February 1984, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, India*

Sir James Lindsay, President, Institute of Cultural Affairs International

It is a real privilege for me to be able to address you all at this great event. It is a great event because 55 nations are assembled; because uniquely 70% of the 500 delegates are local people or field workers who do not usually come to international conferences or have the opportunity of conferring with UN or government officials or with other local people from other cultures. It is great because its location is in India which has the second largest population in the world (700,000,000) and where so much development activity is happening. As an aside, it is sobering to reflect that in India 40,000 human births are happening every day.

The Three Year Programme

What is being born, as far as we are concerned, is the 11-day central international event of a three-year programme aimed at enabling those involved in rural development in 55 countries to exchange workable solutions to the challenges facing them in achieving accelerated and sustainable growth. Its focus is on bottom-up grassroots methods, following the finding of the FAO's 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform which identified comprehensive integrated development and grassroots approaches as the keys to sustainable growth. This three-year programme started with two years of intensive activity sharing approaches that work in each nation. During this time 168 Rural Development Symposia, and many times that number of Project Description Labs, led to about 300 projects being represented in India today. In the lead-up activities many hundreds of projects have been involved. So there has already been a tremendous building up of networks and truly significant interchanges at a national level.

The Central International Event in India

We now meet to share approaches across the cultures here today. We have 52 nations here, represented by 550 delegates and team leaders. There are people from Africa, Latin America, South-East Asia, Oceania, West and East Europe, West Asia and the Subcontinent.

Let me describe these eleven days in India: First, there are the exhibits which explain the different approaches in the 300 projects. These will bring about a cross-fertilization of ideas. Second, a two-day symposium in which 30 teams draw together the conclusions of the world-wide Rural Development Symposia and identify the major trends and key elements of sustainable development. Then four days of field visits to test these conclusions in practical setting. The 30 teams visit 30 projects, each of which is an illustration of effective development in India. Finally, a three-day documentation assembly to digest information and formulate conclusions.

Implementation Workshops to Follow

The output of all this will be publications, documenting the factors making for sustainable growth. These are backed up by a computerized database, in the process of formation with special technical support from Control Data Corporation, and by Rural Development Symposia documents and a video record of the India Event. These products of the Assembly bring us to the beginning of the real work of the three year programme namely:

Section 1:

- getting implementation achieved during the ensuing 12 months;
- getting the products disseminated;
- reassembling and expanding the Rural Development Symposia with national delegates present at Implementation Workshops;
- reassessing policies, priorities and methods for the next ten years.

Key Issues to be Addressed

Let me mention some of the key issues that will be addressed. For these are the processes whereby self-reliant growth is promoted at the local level. These include:

- human development to motivate villagers and their leaders;
- participative planning involving local people;
- organisation for implementing the village plan;
- in-village training in the skills required to implement the village plan;
- integrating local efforts with the resources which government, voluntary organisations and the private sector may provide;
- achieving rapid replication. Rural development does not consist of doing nice things for a single lucky village. There has to be replication strategy capable of implementation within a credible time span.

Another issue is the impact of women on development and vice versa:

- more than 50% of the rural population is female;
- so is most of the manual labour;
- bearing this in mind, the UN Decade of Women has put a high priority on improving women's status and quality of life. Four of 30 projects to be visited have this as their prime aim.

Next, how to improve borrowing facilities and repayment in rural credit. If you renege on your loan you may never borrow again for the rest of your life. But if there is an on-going cycle of borrowing and repayment, local people have behind them a regular development resource. Twenty-three per cent of the projects to be visited pay great attention to this.

The Vital Importance of Economic Diversification

Let me mention the issue of non-farm employment. A serious concern of our times is the gravitational pull of the big cities. The population drift towards them from the rural areas is world-wide. It happens because agricultural income grows more slowly than industrial income; and because the agricultural cycle has workers idle and not earning during the down-time between sowing, weeding and harvesting. The problem affects northern countries where villages, denuded of population, may have so few people left that they cannot support such services as shops, banks and transport. The need then arises for community action; even the application of appropriate technology. In practice the circumstances may resemble, quite remarkably, a bootstrap operation in the third world.

If the present trends continue, by 2000 AD in India there will be 70 per cent of the population in the rural areas compared with the present 80 per cent. The Planning Commission says there is no way agriculture will support the full-employment of the 700,000,000 people living in the rural areas. What is called for is not merely the diversification of agriculture, but the diversification of village economies everywhere.

Section 1:

Some 55 % of the projects to be visited by the delegates are engaged in promoting non-farm activities which include village industry and the development of local entrepreneurship. Bearing in mind the difficulty village industry has in finding worthwhile markets for its products, an important issue for discussion is the extent to which there can be a greater symbiosis between the established and the village sectors of industry. Such cooperation could secure much greater non-farm employment in the rural areas, so that villagers may earn money throughout the year; and so that their life could be both viable and of such quality that even the more vigorous souls are reasonably contented with it.

Villages as good places to live

- The Japanese find villages to be good places to live in, though more than 90 per cent of the villagers work in industry.
- In the Punjab, where the green revolution's effects in India are most obvious, there is no great drift to the towns. Local people are investing their money, made out of farming, into village industry.
- In Venezuela and elsewhere in India we do have the occasional evidence of reverse flow –back to the village– because the village, by community effort, has been made worth living in.

This really is what rural development is all about.

Conclusion

In conclusion, a word about why successful rural development is so important to the world. The majority of the world's population lives in the rural areas; in many countries of the South 70 to 80 per cent live there. Even in the USA 25 per cent of the population live in rural towns even if only 2 per cent of the population are concerned with agriculture. Development means the mobilisation of a country's human and material resources. When it comes to what you can do about it at the grassroots level, most countries' stock of capital available for improving physical resources is decidedly limited. So by far the biggest possibilities for ready achievement lie in the rural areas where most of the people on our planet live and where there is such tremendous potential for human resource development.

Without further comment, I will close. These are the issues and possibilities with which the IERD is concerned. On behalf of the Institute of Cultural Affairs International and the co-sponsoring organisations of this three year programme, I am delighted that you have come here for this occasion and I trust that our experience together in these eleven days will be fruitful for the tremendous task ahead, by dramatising the significance of what has already been achieved.

The Inaugural Address: GHP, The Gross Human Product*5 February 1984, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi India*

Shri Vasant Sathe, Honourable Minister of Chemicals and Fertilizers, India

The hall has a vibration now of international understanding. There is a spirit of international co-operation. It was present a few months back when the highest level of the heads of states met here in NAM (Non-Aligned Movements) and then in CHOGM (Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting). But this vibration, this spirit, has now gone down to the grassroot level, to the people whose representatives are seen here in this gathering today. Therefore, I feel that it is befitting that we discuss the problems of local people. Not the concerns that governments as such handle at the United Nations level or at other levels, but those problems which concern the common people of this whole human family, most of whom reside in villages. Maybe, some countries do not have the same type of villages which we may even call small towns. But by and large, particularly in the developing world, we have these villages and hamlets. It is in the villages the world over, where, as Sir James Lindsay has been pointing out, more than 70 per cent of the human population lives. It is obvious if we can solve the problems of these people, the whole quality of life of the human race will improve.

How do we go about solving the problems of our common fellow human beings? I have been talking about it with Sir James Lindsay and his colleagues during his visits throughout this last year while the preparation for this get-together was going on. I have seen the solution in very intensive work in my constituency. The test of whether rice is cooked or not, is you just feel one grain and the lady knows if that rice is ready for service. If that is the test, then I can say what I have experienced in the rural areas of my district, will more or less, apply to everywhere. Situations, of course, change according to local conditions.

So what do we find? When I go to the tribal areas in the interior what are the expectations of the common people of the villages? Do they ask for grandiose programmes or projects? No. All they want are the simple things of life that will make their living just bearable, not even highly comfortable. They ask for drinking water. They ask for electricity, so that they can use pumping devices to irrigate their fields. They ask for road connections. Even today, nearing the end of the Twentieth Century, a large number of villages are disconnected from the rest of the world during the rainy season. They do not have roads. They ask for roads. There are no bridges over the small rivulets or nullahs to connect the rest of the world. There are no health centres, not only for human beings but to tend to their animals. The forests are being denuded. Contractors come from the urban areas with their army of modern equipment and cut away the forest. The result is that the whole ecological balance is destroyed. I was told the water table was hardly ten feet below the surface a few years ago. Now, because of this denudation of forests the water table has gone down to 80 to 100 feet.

Now look at these problems. These are man-made problems. When I look at it, 50 per cent or more of human misery is on account of man-made conditions or conditions which could have been prevented by human effort. If we can just change these conditions, but do no miracles, I am sure the necessities of life could be fulfilled. After all, the basic necessities are food, shelter, medicine and clothing to protect you from the inclement weather. Can we not provide even these minimum necessities for a better quality of life with better things? After all, friends, what is it that makes for quality of life?

Even in general economic terms what is the meaning of the word 'wealth'? We say a man's quality of life changes when he is wealthy. We differentiate between human beings as wealthy human beings and poor human beings, that is those, who have no wealth. What is this wealth? Every student of even elementary economics knows that it is nothing but goods and services. So it is these basic real goods, the consumer goods that we describe as the necessities. Then come comforts, the little better things, better furniture in the house, better utensils, more clothing, radio, television, heating arrangements and it goes on. That is what you call the good life. But first and foremost as you have seen in the slide presentation just now (IERD Slide Show), the necessities of life are needed. Can we not ensure these necessities of life to all our fellow human beings?

How can we do that? Pious hope and good wishes declared from all will not do now. You people, gentlemen and ladies who are assembled here today, know the problems at the grassroots. There are those human beings who are not in the work force, the children and the very old. Not those. But all the rest of the people whose need is work, productive work for two hands, to produce goods and exchange those goods in the form of what is known as services. All that is necessary is to allow those hands to produce the goods necessary for life: first food, edible oils, good drinking water, clothing and shelter. We have seen by experience that this can be done mostly from local materials. For housing the soil can be converted into bricks, and the wood converted into other items of furniture. It does not require anything more.

But why is this not happening? The main reason is that when they produce the goods, where are those goods to be sold? I would request you to pause a moment and consider this. The entire distortion in human relationships today is because of this single factor, what is known in economics as the market—as a result of the law of demand and supply. Because what you call the economic demand is restricted to only a few people who are the market. And for the vast majority of human beings, even if they produce consumer goods, there is nobody to purchase those goods. Because in the rural areas themselves, where you all work all over the world, the rural areas is not the market. They have no purchasing power. How can they (a) produce, and (b), even if produce, buy? So markets are those urban pockets where vertical growth has taken place, symbolised by the skyscrapers, and where you see sprawling slums into which the people from rural areas have come just to eke out a living—living in utter penury and poverty. Why? Again no purchasing power.

How are you going to change this universal picture. Dedicated workers are giving their lives to work in the rural areas. Yet friends, this has not brought about this global transformation about which this whole conference of representatives who have come from 55 countries, 650 participants who have worked actually at grassroot level, is aiming at, discussing and deciding. Hence, in my humble opinion with what little experience I have, the crux of the problems is how we are going to convert this 70 per cent population in rural areas into an effective market with purchasing power. An effective segment which can not only produce goods but buy goods. For some time it may be thought that the goods are not of excellent quality. Although, as you all must know, the rich handicrafts, even today when you go round in India, are produced in those villages, whether it is Kashmir, Kerala, Assam or Goa. At least our people know they have the skill to produce the most beautiful things which no machine can produce. Many women do this with their deft fingers.

Section 2:

But again the question is of market. We have got this factor of few centres exploiting the whole human race. We land ourselves in a vicious circle of a limited market, more exploitation, more goods produced only for this limited market and advertised only for this limited market. It is a whole artificial world, a rat race as it were. It is oblivious of the conditions of such a vast number of our vast family. Then sometimes we feel more emotionally when we are shown some picture or slides of the conditions. Because we cannot really do much to change the conditions, to quench our conscience, we think of doing some charity. This charity will not do. It may be conscience tranquillisers, as I call them, for the affluent to take out a little pittance to be given for the hungry in the world. That is not going to change life here though it be a good intention.

But if you really want to change the living conditions of the overwhelming majority of our fellow human beings you will have to change the whole structure of production and distribution. Production must be done by the people in the village, in their habitat. The whole distributive mechanism should be such that those goods and services can be distributed there and then, where they are being produced. It cannot be that first you pool all these things at a centre and then decide how to distribute them. That is one thought which I want to share with you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know most of you have better experience than I have with the practical problems because you are working daily among the people. But I have made bold to suggest what for years of experience in my life, I have felt are the basic issues, the fundamental problems. It is no use doing superficial patchwork, whitewashing. Because you work at the grassroots level, I am pleading with you to think of the grassroot problem, the basic problem, the fundamental problem. How much wastage is taking place in the world today on non-essentials? I am not going to mention the armaments on which billions of dollars per day are being spent, thrown away, wasted. Even apart from that how much is being spent on non-essentials. An artificial demand created, the so called 'in-thing', day-in and day-out you are told by artificial advertisement, 'Do not wear your dress again. Throw it away. Wear another one.'

Why can't we have a system where this surplus known as capital generated by the entire human effort can be so diffused, so shared, so spread, that the majority of human beings can have work, can have jobs to produce goods again? If there is a will, I have no doubt that it is you, the people who are here in this hall today, who will do it. If you sincerely believe that the entire human family is one family, as you heard, 'We can do it.' That feeling inspires us. Scientifically and psychologically I believe in the force of vibrations of good thoughts. They go on in the whole universe. The speed of thought is the fastest. It is superior to anything else, electricity, light or anything. We must send those waves. If you think rightly of the whole human family I have no doubt that such waves will spread all over the world. The common people in the villages will then start thinking, of the kind of life they want to have by the turn of the century. By the turn of the century! How far is that? Just fifteen years, that is all. I am sure most of you will be there ringing out a whole century, not a year, and ringing in a new century. What kind of a world shall we have by that time when the world population will be 6 billion? Today science and technology are capable of providing for this population and of providing work by modern industry which is decentralized.

Section 2:

An example is a factory to assembly modern watches. And who works there? Women, some of whom had never seen a watch in their life. Do you know that factory's record is the best of all watch factories in the whole country? How does this happen? It is possible when people are given an opportunity. Our women, our men, all over the world, can do these miracles. All they need is the opportunity to improve their life. With them the life of the whole human race is linked.

Now what is the GNP? Sometimes these terms and jargon are so flabbergasting. Learned people always throw jargon at the face of those who are less learned so that they can really browbeat them. The talk of GNP and all the monetary terms and fiscal terms and how things have to be managed. At least I understand GNP, as gross national product. Similarly it can be GIP, gross international product of **GHP, gross human product**. Gross human product is the sum total of the product of all human beings. So give these individual human beings of the world an opportunity to produce goods: first the necessities of life, and then goods which provide a modicum of comfort. That will bring about a change in the basic structure of life and also in the quality of life. I believe this change is the objective with which we all have gathered here. In the next few days, I am sure, you will be discussing, sharing your experiences and coming to some concrete conclusions that will benefit all people in the future.

Section 3:**A General Address: ' Women in Development—More Than Half the World'***7 February 1984, Taj Palace Conference Centre, New Delhi, India*

Dame Miriam Dell, President, International Council of Women, Paris

Of course, it is a great pleasure today to have this opportunity of speaking to you.

I come from a small country, New Zealand, which is two and one-half jet hours away from our neighbour Australia and I am delighted to find someone here from another neighbouring country which is three hours away by air—Tonga. It is a great comfort to me to have others from the South Pacific countries here.

New Zealand is a very small country and we have a population of just over three million people. However, we do have 66 million sheep and that shows that our country is based on agricultural production. We are a fully developed country and we are a very privileged country. Because of that I was able, as all New Zealanders are, to have a good education and graduated from university and became a secondary school teacher. My beginnings in the movement in the formal organisations for women came from the local church group, the Mothers' Union from around the world, who are here now. I would also like to tell you that in ten days from now I will be hoeing vegetables in my garden because we grow all our own vegetables and fruit.

Now I want to tell you something about the International Council for Women. It is not a new organization. One of the phrases which disconcerted me in the book of trends and keys in our handouts was the words feminine revolution in trend number nine. The International Council for Women began in 1888. I am glad to say that India was one of the participating nations at that first meeting that formed the International Council of Women. It was formed at a time when women had no political or civil rights. They were exploited in the very heavy industrialisation of the western world at that time. So the first aim of the International Council of Women was to achieve civil and political rights for women. The second aim was to achieve equal participation in economic development. Women were very much concerned that all the work that women do in their home, in family enterprises, on the land, was given no economic value. And women were being exploited in the employment field. So equal economic opportunity in the workforce was the second reason for the foundation. The third will have a familiar ring to you. It was a time of great international tension. Women were concerned and they considered that violence and war was no solution to conflict. So they wanted to work for the solution of conflict by peaceful means, by negotiation, conciliation and arbitration.

So if you have heard me you will know that in 1888 the International Council for Women was founded on the slogans of equality, development and peace. It took the rest of the world only 85 years to catch up and catch on. Our policies, our principles, and our objectives are all set. We work together to promote the welfare of all society—the family and the individual; to support all efforts to achieve peace through negotiation; to promote respect for human rights; to work for the removal of discrimination of any sort; to promote equal rights and responsibilities for both men and women in all spheres; to encourage women to recognize their responsibilities in the community; to train and assist them to participate in all aspects of public life at all levels; and to create a sisterhood among women around the world. We can all accept that anything that benefits women, benefits their families and the individual members of their family and ultimately their community. We have never sought to separate women out from the community.

Section 3:

I want to tell you very briefly how the International Council of Women works because it is a unique organization. It is important that it should not be confused with other women's organisations. A National Council of Women to be affiliated with International Council of Women must be representative of all actions of the community in that nation. In practice that means that it is usually an umbrella organisation with all of the women's organisations in the country. Sometimes of course, a national council is not at the stage where there are organised women throughout the country. So the national council will be formed by the educated women who are in leadership positions, who will work for and with all sections of the community. There are many other international women's organisations now and they have member groups in so many countries. These member groups are in general members of the National Council of Women. For example, the members of the Associated Country Women of the World, The Federation of University Women, The Home Economics International Organization are also members of the International Council of Women through the local national councils of women.

We work at many levels. The first which is of great importance is that we have consultative status, category 1 as NGO with the economic and social council of the United Nations. We were the first women's organization to have that status. It gives us the responsibility of being at all United Nations meetings and centres. So we maintain a team of representatives at the United Nations Centre in New York, in Geneva, in Vienna and at all the economic commissions of the United Nations around the world. We also have appropriate consultative status with UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO, WHO, UNCTAD, FAO etc. We have consultative status with them all and are represented at them all. We take a full part in all the NGO activities and committees associated with these organizations. At those meetings we present the International Council of Women policies on particular topics. These policies are developed at our plenary meetings. I would like to say, because it is true, that any idea that comes from any member of a national council of women can go through the process of our Council, become policy and be presented at United Nations deliberations. Just as we were many years ahead in thinking of equality, development and peace, as we look through our policy book, we find the International Council of Nations. We have policies on the law of sea. We have policies for use of outer space and the care of dangerous drugs and all other things that make up the concerns of the world. We usually have had policies well in advance of other international and governmental concerns.

Also at the international level, we hold meetings to lay stress on issues that we consider need particular attention. For that reason in 1979 in Manila we had a huge international symposium on rural development which was followed by many local and national practical activities. In 1981 in conjunction with the Thai Government and international agencies we had CONEX 81 which focused on income generating projects in a programme very similar to this one.

At the regional level, we have regional organisations of our Council. For example, the American Regional Council takes in all the councils of Latin, Central and North America and in Europe we have the European Centre for the International Council of Women. They concentrate on their own particular concerns. In addition we have regional meetings. For example in Sierra Leone in 1977 we had a Pan-African women's meeting which led to much activity at the national level. We are having a follow-up meeting in Morocco (a sub-regional meeting) this year to assess how we have got on so far. Similarly, we had the first NGO meeting for women of the South Pacific. Sixteen South Pacific nations gathered in Auckland in New Zealand in 1982.

Section 3:

I would like you to think for a moment of the problems of South Pacific nations. Most of the people here live in highly populated countries with many problems because of that. South Pacific nations are small and their territories cover many millions of square miles of water. Small islands separated by miles of water is quite a different environment. We had a marvellous meeting in Auckland.

At local levels, national councils have the responsibility of presenting ICW policies to their governments and working with their government to promote practical programmes. They also carry out a wide variety of practical programmes themselves—working in the members' villages, in urban slums and in every area where they can meet a need.

The International Council of Women itself has a programme of project development and supports the project undertaken by our councils. These projects are financed and carried out in co-operation with aid agencies in their various nations. We also have a twin programme where national councils from developed countries 'twin' with other councils to share in cultural exchange and in practical assistance and support. I hope this brief outline of ICW activities will give you some idea why we are very pleased to be associated with this particular Exposition.

Now I come to the part of the talk which is about the programme. I must now make some comments on rural development programmes as they affect women and their role and status in the community as well as in their daily lives. These comments for me will be frustratingly superficial and for you they may be self-evident generalisations. It is vitally important that we really hear the message before we commit ourselves to strategies, the next task of this very important programme. Gandhi said I believe that the rural poor are 'the last, the least, the lowest and the lost'. Sixty percent of the world lives in rural communities. Therefore, the rural poor are also the most. Of this 'most' more than half are women. Unless we are bold enough to assert that women are not people, we should be able to accept that women have an even greater stake in rural development than men.

I must tell you a small story which I like very much because it is so true. New Zealand has the honour, I suppose, of being the first country to give women the vote. They gave them the vote in 1893, and the law which gave them the vote says this, 'This is an act to give suffrage to all persons over the age of 21. (For the purpose of this legislation persons shall be deemed to include women). We all know it has been necessary to establish that women are people in the laws of many countries.

You will be familiar, I am sure, with the 1980 United Nation's assessment of women's position in the world, which says that women work two-thirds of all the hours worked, earn 10% of the money earned and own 1% of the property. One can use statistics in a dramatic and sometimes unscrupulous way. But we can accept some facts with reasonable confidence. For example, women indeed make up more than half the world's population. A growing number of families are headed by women and this is true for many reasons: political upheavals, natural disasters, economic need, social change, conflicts between groups and nations. Women work long hours, often 18 hours a day in caring for children, producing and preparing food, carrying water, seeking fuel and trying to make something above subsistence level; all unpaid work, unrecognized in the GNP of the nations despite the fact that 50% of the national food is often produced this way and up to 80% of agricultural production in some areas.

3-304
Section 3:

Historically women's role as food producers gave them control of the produce and any income from it. As 'cash cropping' developed colonial management and later, under international development as access planning, women lost access to the money producing crops and struggled to maintain food production. This leads to the introduction of machines. Guess who got to drive the tractors? It was not the women. The tractors tilled more land and, of course, made more work for the women in tending the crops. In the interest of increased production, systems of land holding were altered and women lost their traditional rights to land use. Again more productive planting methods were introduced which allowed weeds to grow between rows instead of being suppressed by the interplanting of the older techniques. This again increased women's workload.

Similarly, water has been brought to cash crops but not necessarily to villages or households. Women are left to carry domestic water. Food requires processing. While new techniques may increase the supply of food, traditional methods of preparing food, like handgrinding of cereal, continues the workload for women. The gathering of fuel becomes more difficult as well. It has been said that left to themselves women managed the environment well and ensured a continuous accessible supply of fuel. Their understanding of this environment was not consulted when development plans began to erode woodland resources.

We all know and thankfully recognise that there has been a great change in attitudes towards women and their interests. In particular, in the international development agencies and in the language of development planning such phrases as 'taking full account of the interest of women', 'integration of women in development', are compulsory elements of resolutions of developments. Development agencies themselves are also often frustrated in their genuine attempt to implement these resolutions by the unwillingness of government to cooperate. There have been very many special programmes for women that carefully include women. These have of course been partially successful particularly in such areas as access to credit, co-operative development, and marketing techniques. But such special programmes will never be totally successful because they do not start from the perceived needs of women themselves. Such programmes do not influence women because they consider them as irrelevant or peripheral to what they themselves consider to be the priority needs. Implementation of such programmes often ignore the very obvious. An illiterate woman can not follow written instructions. A woman suffering chronic fatigue from the crushing physical and psychological burdens she carries has neither the energy nor the time to deviate from the known path. How then can the desirable goal of men and women sharing equally in the benefits of development (to use yet another phrase of international jargon) be reached?

I would like first to look at what we mean by development. Who defined it? Who set out its goals? Who benefits from it? We have divided the world into developed, developing, least developed countries. Are we aiming to transform the world into the computerized, polluted, soullessness of an industrial society? Or to replace the rhythms of nature with the decibels of the electronic post-industrial era. Who has decided what? And for whom? ..

Women are an integral part of society. Therefore, they should have an integral part in planning development goals, developing national plans and implementing programmes. The 18 trends and 12 keys in rural development that we are studying in this seminar make repeated use of such phrases as 'local people participation,' 'total community participation,' 'grassroots planning.' Let us be sure that we can truthfully say that.

Section 3:

National Councils of Women, wherever they are, work to assist women to have confidence in themselves as members of the community in which they live and to meet the needs that women themselves identify. I want to tell you now very briefly about some of the projects that members of the National Councils of Women are carrying out.

There is nothing more wonderful for an international President than to be able to join the members where they are. To sit with a group of women in Kenya on the edge of the forest as they tend their bee-keeping co-operative is a great experience. This co-operative, beginning as a means of getting in some extra money for very, very poor women and families, became a means by which women themselves began to learn about their environment, about their community, about how they could affect the decisions made in the community.

Another programme which has been very successful is in Madagascar where kitchen garden seeds were distributed to women with news ways of cultivating them and experimental nursery gardens through which women could cultivate improved varieties of home food.

Botswana is a very large country with a very small population. Many of the families in Botswana are headed by women. So the Botswana National Council has at least 63 childcare centres in villages around the country and has a travelling health care workshop which travels from village to village training women in primary health. Access to fuel and the time taken for cooking has made the life of women in Fiji very difficult. We have a project for smokeless stoves in the villages. I currently have my feelers out for funding smokeless stoves in 30 different villages in Fiji.

In Lesotho the women try to overcome the time in grinding their meal. So we helped them to buy a cornmill. From the time they were saved they were able to learn to spin and to make saleable garments.

In Uruguay they have a crafts co-operative which is teaching women to make marketable goods—and how to sell them to best advantage.

It goes without saying that basic among the projects of national councils everywhere are clean water, literacy, nutrition and health care. We have basic programmes in those areas in every national council and, believe it or not, we have it in councils of the developed world.

Multi-purpose village community centres which provide literacy, health, nutrition and skill training as common features of the work, particularly in countries like Pakistan, India and countries of Asia.

We don't, of course, concentrate only on rural women. We have a very large concern for migrant and refugee women and work in many migrant and refugee centres in the world. We also work in the urban slums and many other urban areas of the world.

I wanted to tell you about these projects because they are meeting the need that women themselves perceive. They give women the confidence to think out their own priorities and to take the next steps which will help them to gain the kind of confidence to break out of the social and economic constraints which hold them. We have standards for projects. The women in these social projects do not have the skill to develop proper proposals for funding. They do not have the time to do it.

Section 3:

But if you can give them a few dollars I can guarantee just as you heard last night in the Trickle-up programme that every cent of those dollars would be used to promote that project and put back any profit into it.

Any 'development' will depend first on the health and vigour of the people, all the people, which can only be achieved by providing clean drinking water, sanitation, community hygiene, primary health care and access to energy-fuel, lights and heat. Secondly it depends on basic educational skills, literacy and numeracy. These, above all, should be the goals of development projects. I recall Sir James Lindsay saying that government should be responsible for putting these in place. But they cannot do it fast enough. The people cannot wait and so we have to work on these aspects too.

Keystone No. 4, 'Cohesive Community Identity', makes me a little nervous. Cultural, social and religious values and traditions have evolved over generations and they should continue evolving. Women as well as men are the guardians of cultural heritage. As they move into the future and accept the changes brought with economic and political development, they must together develop social and cultural patterns which will preserve social stability and cultural strength. I cannot urge you too strongly to face the reality behind our keystones and trends. Are we really talking about all the people: the total community? And we could ask ourselves if indeed we should accept Trend number 4.

Let us remember that if women were to withdraw their labour (in the language of industrial relations) for even 24 hours, water would not be drawn, crops would not be sown, tended or gathered, food would not be prepared or served, women and children would go hungry and unclothed, the sick would not be cared for, children would be abandoned, classrooms empty, factories idle, typewriters silent, boardrooms and cabinets would not have their agendas. But one labour from which women could not withdraw is the labour of giving birth, and on that day—as on any day—women would be renewing both the world's resources and safeguarding its future. Any hope for the future of the world lies in the total human resource not a self-selected half. When women share equally with men in every aspect of the social, cultural, spiritual, economic and political development of the world then we may indeed turn from confrontation, conflict, exploitation and expediency to at least the possibility of a future and at best the hope of an enriched and joyful one.

Section 4:**A Slide Show: 'Children The Flowers of the Future'**

7 February 1984, Evening with UNICEF, Taj Palace Conference Centre, New Delhi, India

Text by Dr. David Morley, Consultant on Child Development

Presented by Ms. Sobra Misra in his absence

In this presentation I hope to look at the seed, the children who will flower into adults during the rest of this century and for the first half of the next. I will try and examine this from a broad view, not from a purely medical view, although that is my speciality.

Much of my presentation will revolve around how we distribute our resources on this earth over the rest of this century.

Slide 1: Of all the products produced by the labour of man's hands and machines across the world, surely the most important is grain. In the north, we consume three bags of grain for every bag consumed by a similar size population in the south. Much of this grain is not eaten but fed to chickens, sheep and cattle so that those in the north can eat largely unnecessary quantities of meat. If only 20% of that currently fed to animals were used for human consumption, then any potential grain shortage in our world would be overcome.

Slide 2: As shown on the top half of this slide, the last fifty years of this century will see a massive increase in population of the world. Because of this increase in population the area on which grain can be grown for each one of us will diminish from 0.24 of a hectares in 1950 to only 0.13 of a hectare by the year 2000. Fortunately, there should be no difficulty in growing the increased grain required on these smaller areas.

Slide 3: A number of other important products however will continue to decline in the amount available per capita, that is for each one of us. The commodities are wool, wood, fish, oil, and beef which reached their maximum in the sixties and seventies. Since then, due to the increase in population the amount available has declined. Of course this does not mean less for those in the north, but rather that the limited quantities available to those living in the south will be decreased. Of all the shortages perhaps the most serious is that of wood as two thirds of the world's population cook on wood or charcoal. Less wood means less cooking and less frequent meals. As I will show later, this means particularly that the children suffer.

Slide 4: In the less developed countries of our world the number of children increased by 200 million every decade. Unless we can share resources better, it is these children who will suffer. Even the increase of children itself, as will be shown in the next slide, is due to poor distribution of resources in part. In the north where resources are abundant, the population of children has stabilised at two and three quarter hundred million.

Slide 5: Demographers suggest that the growth in numbers of children in our world is shown up by this graph. In the north, the number of children is fairly constant as shown by the lower line. In the less developed countries in the south however, as shown in the upper line there will be a rapid increase during the rest of this century which will then slow down and become constant in the first quarter of the next century. This implies a particular responsibility on all of us assembled here. Because it is on us and our generation that the health and well-being of people in the next century depends.

Section 4:

Slide 6: Sociologists, both in this and other countries, have shown that the only way the families of the very poor can increase their resources is through children. In this study from Java it will be seen that children by the age of seven are looking after the chickens and ducks; by eight caring for younger children and fetching water and gradually taking greater responsibility for work in the family. This study suggested that by his fifteen birthday, a male child had paid back to his family all the investment in food and time they made in him. Only in societies where resources have been invested to remove such extremes of poverty will this pressure for children be decreased.

Slide 7: Too many countries in our world are still doubling their populations in 20 or less years. To understand the effects of this, let us think of a village of ten houses when our grandparents were children on the left of this slide. Now sixty years later there are eighty houses, but by the time that we are grandparents in another 40 years, there will be 320 houses. No country can keep up in providing resources for this speed of growth.

Slide 8: Look at the situation in India and have pity on their politicians. Each year, they have to see that there is 10 million extra tons of grain on the previous year; 4 million extra jobs; 190 million extra metres of cloth and they will have to build 127 thousand extra schools and train 373 thousand extra teachers. At the end of the year the level of these resources for the population will be the same as at the beginning.

Slide 9: In fact, the world cannot keep up with resources for all its children and, whereas in 1970, 330 million children who would never go to school could hold hands and encircle the world three times, by 1985 there will be at least 165 million children without schools, who holding hands could encircle the world four times.

Slide 10: When can we expect to require our coffins? We the fortunate who come from the north, or, are the small elite in the south, will not, or at least three quarters of us, require our coffins until we have passed the usual retirement age of 65. Not so in the south where three quarters of the coffins are required before the age of 65. In many countries half of the deaths occur amongst children under 15.

Slide 11: To what can these early deaths be attributed? Dr. Shanti Ghos, working in this city of New Delhi has produced these striking figures. Where each member of the family has less than 20 rupees to spend per month, the infant mortality is 180. However, in this same city, if we find those who have ten times as much to spend each month, that is 200 rupees, we find that their mortality in the first year of life is ten times less, only 18. The last figure is not that much different from figures found in many European countries. So programmes that redistribute wealth will also be those which have the greatest influence on child mortality.

Slide 12: Maternal education is only second in importance to that of wealth. The education of girls is closely associated with a falling mortality and birth rate, and an improved nutrition. The World Bank has shown that there is a correlation between the years of education given to mothers and the infant mortality. For every year of education we can expect the infant mortality in a country to drop 9%, then if we can give all the girls five years of education, we would expect the mortality to fall by 45%, and in this way fall from a figure of 90% to just half at 45%.

Section 4:

Slide 13: Across the world, only in those countries where the infant and child mortality has fallen, can we find countries where there has been a dramatic fall in the birth rate. Where mortalities remain high, birth rates are also high.

Slide 14: Do health services affect mortality rates? Some of you may be surprised at this question, and even more when I give my answer which is 'very little.' However, when we realise how little is spent on health per capita, we may be less surprised, and not at all when we find how that money is distributed. Back to my thesis of how resources are distributed: As shown in this slide, in the north half of the world, countries were spending over 220 dollars per head each year on health care. In the south, half the countries were spending less than 4 dollars per head per year on health.

Slide 15: In two countries I will show how this money is spent and then we will realise how little effect it is likely to have. The first country is Ghana where a government report suggested that whereas 40% of the expenditure was on tertiary hospitals, only 1% of the population could make use of these facilities. For 90% of the population, the only resources they were likely to receive were primary health care, and this only received 15% of the budget.

Slide 16: In India, the Mangudkar Commission (1976) analysed expenditure in India and particularly in Maharashtra. These figures are given in the squares for a number of states. Maharashtra spent 1.6 dollars per head, rather more than most other states. However, when the actual expenditure was analysed, it was found that 80% was spent in three cities and only four and one-half per cent in the thousands of villages in that state. In terms of expenditure per individual, this worked out at 1976 prices as 0.2 US cents per head or 0.13 rupees. I do not wish to argue as to how exact these figures are but it is clear that until we have the political commitment to distribute health resources in terms of money more equitably, then health services can play no part in reducing mortality effectively.

Slide 17: If we only have around four dollars to spend per year, what option in spending this money are we going to take? The disaster of the last 20 years has been that the option taken has been to build large teaching hospitals, commonly now called disease palaces. These have perverted the chance of any reasonable health care and have continued to absorb most of the resources available for health care. We do need small hospitals but the money particularly needs to be spent on the rural units and on providing simple comprehensive care.

Slide 18: This cartoon suggests one of several reasons why resources are spent in such an irrelevant manner. In this cartoon the Minister of Health in our country has awakened with a pain in his chest, and he has been examined by the Professor of Medicine who is assuring him that it is not his heart but just indigestion. However, the Professor goes on to say that he has no coronary care unit if it had been the Minister's heart. We in the UK can be perhaps proud that we are one of the few countries where an attempt has been made to assess the value of expenditure on coronary care units. Two studies so far undertaken show that patients cared for in their own home have a similar chance of survival as those rushed to a coronary care unit. There is no statistical evidence that money spent on coronary care units does any good at all.

Why are millions of pounds being spent in this way? The only answer I can suggest is that old statement, that the difference between adults and children is the size and complexity of the toys with which they like to play.

Section 4:

I believe that the medical profession has become hung up on 'toys.'

Slide 19: Teaching in the so-called disease palaces had some unexpected effects in many countries. One of these is suggested by this cartoon which shows two medical students looking at the cars in the car park and remarking which one they will get when they specialise. Students are conditioned to follow the role of their teachers, and when these are earning large sums in private practice, the student will expect to do the same.

How much better to be teaching in the rural areas where the students are saying 'I wonder how we can serve our people better.'

Slide 20: If we are going to use our resources to provide better health care, and particularly to improve the health of children, then this is where we just start.

Slide 21: This saying is well known, however few people appreciate that by giving a man a fish we are, in practice, quickly turning him into a beggar. If, instead, we can teach people to fish and teach them well, then they will go and teach others. The saying is true of health just as long as we give a pill for every ill we are turning patients into beggars, but by teaching people to live healthy lives, and to get others in the community to be healthy, then we can hope for a real change.

Slide 22: This is true in the UK. On the left, a man who drives a large car has to pay a heavy insurance. He is 10% overweight, eating too much salt, drinking too much alcohol and not taking much exercise. He is likely to die young.

On my way to work, like the man in the picture, I regularly ride a bicycle. I take other exercise as possible. I try and eat an appropriate diet and ash trays for cigarettes are not easily found in my home. In Europe now, we believe that we are more likely to improve our health by a more appropriate lifestyle than by altering our health services.

Slide 23: If we are to help children then we must have priorities. For me the priorities were well identified by this study in Colombia, South America. In this study three groups of sixty children each were offered different facilities, and compared with an elite group from the well off members of the society. The study went on over two years. At the end of that time they analysed the results. The first group, which got health care only, showed no difference in their growth or intellectual development. The next group, which had health care and good nutrition, managed to grow as well as the elite, but showed little change in their intellect. The third group which had health care, adequate nutrition and a stimulating environment, managed to catch up almost entirely with the elite group.

What are the priorities? First, adequate food for children. There is no priority greater than this. However, if the child does not also have a simple comprehensive health care, then the child will have difficulty in making use of the food provided. Once we have given the children the adequate food and health care we must not forget that they also need a loving and stimulating environment.

Section 4:

Slide 24: Too often, when we think of inadequate food, we think of children like these with Marasmus and Kwashiakor. Although these children are too common and often make up between two and five per cent of all the children in the community, a more frequent and more serious problem is shown in the next slides of ANNA, a child from Africa.

Slide 25: Here ANNA is photographed on her first, second, and third birthdays. She has a large umbilical hernia. Do not worry about this, but do observe how little she has grown. Because I realised she was stunted I photographed her together with a child of the same village and similar parental background born in the same month.

Slide 26: Here are the two children, ANNA and a normally grown child. I repeat their ages are identical. Why should we be concerned at this stunting? As a doctor I know the smaller child will have four times as much diarrhoea and many other illnesses more severe than the child who has grown well. But what should concern me more is what has been going on within their little heads.

Slide 27: This shows how the brain grows. On the left we see that the brain is growing rapidly up the age of two, and then more slowly as it is already about 80% of adult size. At the same time, we see on the right that the individual cells of a cortex of the brain have been making all the connections, which make the brain such a wonderful computer. How can we be sure that the brain is adequate? Only by seeing that the child itself grows adequately.

Slide 28: We can be sure of this by seeing that the growth curve of the child goes up month by month along what we should call the road to health. The lower growth curve that of the smaller child, shows how poor the growth was, particularly in the first year of life.

Slide 29: How can we see that the children will grow adequately? The first and most important experience for the new baby is adequate breast feeding. Suckling at the breast is much more than just giving the baby food. On this slide we set out some of the advantages that come to both mother and baby over successful breast feeding.

Slide 30: Some time within the first year the child will have other food, and this is where problems may arise. The small child on the left is a South Indian child sitting in front of a kilo of rice he must eat every day if his diet is only rice. On the right is an African child sitting in front of a kilo of cooked banana. These are the volumes that the children will have to eat all over the world if they are to get an adequate energy intake. For most children, this is impossible.

Slide 31: In this slide we see the actual weight of food a child will have to eat if they are to have an adequate energy intake. On a typical developing country, cereal or root staple diet, the child had to eat somewhere in the region of a kilo of food by the time he is two. Fortunately, by adding fats and oils to the diet, the volume can be very much reduced, largely because the food can be eaten easily with very much lower content of water.

Slide 32: This shortage of calories is faced in many parts of India by almost the whole population. This slide shows the consumption of groups of individuals in Maharashtra, and whereas all the groups have an adequate intake of protein, only the very well off have an adequate calories intake. Under these circumstances it is the children who particularly suffer, and their poor growth leads to stunting as they grow into adults.

Section 4:

Slide 33: What conditions can we as doctors hope to control throughout the population? The most urgent is diarrhoea and children in the first five years of life are likely to have ten attacks of diarrhoea like this child.

Slide 34: One in every ten children is likely to die as a result of diarrhoea, and dehydration or loss of water and salt that this produces. The difficulty that this presents is that for every hundred children with diarrhoea, one will die. This means that we have to train mothers how to manage the diarrhoea themselves. In this way we can prevent at least 20,000 children being buried each day as in this picture.

Slide 35: The spoon, salt and sugar and water are the answer to this. With the plastic spoon that you will have received, you can manage diarrhoea in yourself and in children around you that suffer from diarrhoea. For every diarrhoeal stool the child requires one good sized cup, and the adult two good sized cups of water, to which has been added a small end full of salt, and a large end of sugar. Through this simple measure diarrhoea in the population can be controlled.

Oral rehydration, immunisation, breast feeding, adequate food, leading to adequate growth as shown on the weight chart: these are some of the very simple messages that we health workers have to spread around.

Slide 36: We will not achieve this if we work in isolation, but only if we will join up with other disciplines. We health workers must get out of our boxes and learn a little about agriculture, but also see that people in education and agriculture know how to manage simple diarrhoea.

Slide 37: In the village, we must learn to work with part-time health workers such as this Harijan woman from the Arola villages named Jamkhed who has probably reduced by more than half the infant mortality in her village: Something that relatively few doctors in India or elsewhere can claim to have achieved.

Slide 38: Let us look where we have been successful and where we have failed. Eradication of smallpox, controlling at least for a time malaria, and largely eradicating yaws, have been great successes. However, family planning, improving nutrition and stopping smoking even in European societies, have had limited success. We health workers have achieved success largely through technology. Vaccination against smallpox, spraying houses against measles or injecting penicillin against yaws. Our failures have surely arisen because of our limited success in communicating to those we wish to help.

Slide 39: Here we see that the doctor communicates along poor thin lines to the patient. This is true in both Europe and in developing countries. Fortunately, we have also, as shown on the right hand side of the slide, paramedicals and auxiliaries. These nurses and many others are rather better at communicating with the people. Now we have another group, the part-time health workers like the women in the Arola villages, who come from the village, are chosen by the village, and are not on any central payroll. Because of their attitude and concern, they are the individuals through whom we can be more effective. It is the army of village health workers, barefoot doctors, part-time health workers, whatever we like to call them, who will bring about the change of distributing resources in such a way that children no longer need to die.

Section 4:

Slide 40: The construction of the Egyptian pyramids still leads to discussion. However in that discussion I doubt that it is ever suggested that they started to build the pyramids at the top. In the same way, we must get away from thinking that we can build health services from large hospitals downwards. We must put our building blocks of knowledge, attitudes and skills in at the bottom. A successful health service must have firm and well-planned foundations.

Slide 41: We must not let anyone accept the idea that we do not have the resources. Many countries in our world are spending more on armaments than the total spent on education and health. As this slide shows for each soldier trained we could take 80 children through school. For each large nuclear submarine, we could build almost half a million houses. For each jet fighter we could equip 40 thousand village clinics.

Slide 42: If only as peoples and nations we can learn to co-operate, then we can solve these great problems.

Slide 43: For many countries, we must accept, however, that we first of all need a political change. Through this we can hope for a redistribution of wealth, a decline in the death rate and, following this, a decline in the birth rate.

Slide 44: In my last slide, I would like to return to the theme of the child. I do this, not by using the words of any doctor or health worker, but those of a poet from Chile. She wrote:

We are guilty of many errors and many faults,
But our worst crime is abandoning the children,
Neglecting the fountain of life.

Many of the things we need can wait.
The child cannot.
Right now is the time his bones are being formed,
His blood is being made and his senses are being developed.

To him we cannot answer 'Tomorrow.'
His name is 'Today.'

This poet appreciated what we scientists have only more recently learned: the importance of the first few years in the development of the senses and of the whole child.

'All the Flowers of the Future are in the Seed.'

Section 5:**A General Address: 'Children in Rural Development'**

7 February 1984, Evening with UNICEF, Taj Palace Conference Centre,
New Delhi, India

Mr. David P. Haxton, Regional Director, UNICEF, South Central Asia

I appreciate your concern for children in relation to rural development. And I value this opportunity to expose myself to the wealth of varied development experiences and insights from many communities and countries brought together by the distinguished delegates gathered here.

UNICEF has an abiding interest in accelerating rural development, for some simple reasons:

- the majority of children, and therefore the majority of children *in need*, live in villages;
- second, the child cannot be developed as an individual independent of the family and of the wider context of the social environment provided by the community; and
- third, basic services for children, like nutrition, water, health care, sanitation and mental stimulation cannot be sustained except in a community on the move towards increasing rural employment; higher productivity of small farmers and other rural workers; full participation of all the rural people in the development process; equitable distribution of the benefits of development; and meeting the basic material and non-material needs of the poor. All of these are, I am aware, integral to your vision of rural development.

With these preliminary remarks, I would like, this evening, to focus on that facet of rural development which relates to children. I shall attempt to do this by raising certain child-related issues fundamental to our common future, and by trying to suggest how these may be resolved through a programmatic consensus for action.

It is inexplicable that adult men do not take children seriously enough. The evidence of this irony is the fact that the young child has hardly even been a concern of development planning in developing countries. School-age children (or a good number of them at any rate) figure on the planners' horizon as a potential resource, a *future* factor of production. And, besides this, there is also political pressure for more schools and teachers.

Even in a growth-oriented development strategy, the child below six years suffers relative neglect. If equity were a central aim of development, the need to enrich the *present* life of the young child, would have been a major concern. In which case, human resource development would have received attention as a universal goal helping in turn the aim of growth itself. In such a view there is no dichotomy between economic and social development. This indeed is the lesson learned the hard way over two decades or more, and incorporated in the 'International Development Strategy for the Third UN Development Decade.' Equitable growth implies that social and economic development pull together in support of the human being. There is no stage in life when such support is more needed and more useful than in *early* childhood.

What is happening today to young children? In many developing societies a large number of them, maybe a third or more, are born with less than the minimum weight (2500 grams) that would permit them to develop steadily.

Section 5:

A sizable number of them, one or more in ten, die within the first twelve months, a large proportion of these in the first few days. Not all those who survive are in good health. Under-nutrition and infection are so widespread that, in this part of the world, about half the children below six years, as well as pregnant mothers, are assessed to be anaemic from iron deficiency. In one of the districts of the Gangetic belt, usually considered a fertile tract, four percent of all newborn are cretins, due to hypothyroidism traceable to environmental iodine deficiency. Anywhere between 150 and 200 million people in India are exposed to this disease, the consequences of which range from lethargy and low productivity on the one hand, to mental retardation and cretinism on the other. This problem extends beyond India to Nepal, Bhutan and, to one degree or another, to other Asian countries.

To give another instance of the current situation, some 1.5 million children die in India every year as a consequence of an easily curable, common childhood episode like diarrhoea. Another quarter of a million lose out in the struggle against measles, complicated by pre-existing malnourishment. The upshot of these and similar conditions of child-life in a country like India is that of the 23 million children born in 1983, only a seventh stood a fair chance of healthy development. The situation is all too similar in many countries represented here. The numbers change, but hardly ever the percentage.

When you fan out into the countryside in the next few days, you may be visiting those areas where something *is* being done about the situation, and done with, hopefully, success; and therefore you may not realise the gravity of the daily depletion and degradation of the young human resource. I would suggest that this situation represents not a dilemma but the foremost challenge of rural development.

What is the trend like and is the present condition likely soon to get better or worse? If we take India, which is in many ways a world in itself, and also typical of the developing world, that is where it is today, after three decades of impressive economic advance and perceptible social progress. The strides on the economic front are naturally better noticed: near self-sufficiency in food-grain production, tenth-rank in industrial prowess, fourth in scientific manpower and so on. In fairness, we must also note the appreciable progress, over the past three decades in the reduction of infant mortality, as well as the overall death rate, and the increase in life-expectancy and literacy. The task at this point of time, is to sustain and to strengthen these reasons for guarded optimism. Clearly social indicators have not yet so improved as to indicate a dramatic drop in the birth rate, or a socially significant change in the national nutritional status. There are in fact a number of apparent subnational contradictions like material prosperity co-existing with relatively high infant mortality and female illiteracy. No less incongruous, is the low level of infant mortality and female illiteracy in Kerala, accompanied by the generally depressed nutritional profile of the population as a whole.

Whichever way we look at the present juncture, in any country, an autonomous trend towards 'better living' is difficult to see. More so in a context of global recession and unemployment, environmental degradation and armaments. It is precisely this challenge that we in UNICEF would propose being turned into an opportunity. In the remaining time given to me, I shall try to outline how the community, at the local, national and global levels, may go about this task.

Section 5:

I am conscious that no two villages, or villagers, are alike and I refrain from presenting a common panacea for poverty. Rather, I would like to map a way to development, despite present privation. This approach, as I shall try to show, should weaken the hold of poverty and in time get the better of it; as shown by brave examples scattered in the countryside of nearly all developing countries. Happily, the *principles* of rural development which have been distilled from experience (both positive and negative) square with the *priorities* of child-health and development in poor communities. It is my hope that in all programmes that you will be promoting there will be an increasing interlocking of these principles and priorities, to the advantage of development in general, and children in particular. As I proceed, I shall invite your attention to the possibilities of such interlocking.

Current literature is, as we know, replete with inferences as to the main aims of development. These can be identified as *growth, well-being, equity and participation*. These are often confused with programme components, which they are not. Rather, they are the criteria by which programme design and outcome are to be judged. Those programmes succeed which combine these aims, as indeed they do, given an opportunity.

'Integration' is a term frequently figuring as a prefix to 'Rural Development'. This could mean one or more of many things: the bringing together of various programme components, of different programmes, of horizontal and vertical processes, of different organisations or government and non-government agencies, or people and their environment. I would like to touch on one aspect of it, the implanting of practical ideas on social priorities into each of a wide variety of rural development programmes. Consider for example, the planning, construction and maintenance of an irrigation project. Integral to the project design and execution, can we not appraise its impact on children and turn it to the advantage of their health and development? A way to begin this process is to start with the children of all those working for the project: what are the nutritional and health-care facilities available to pregnant and lactating mothers? How practical is it for all children to be breast fed, properly weaned and fully immunized? Can there be a provision for supplementary nutrition, not only in calories and proteins, but also of iron-fortified salt, Vitamin A, iodized salt and other needed sources of micro-nutrients? How do we measure how well and fast the children grow? Do we ensure that all children and women have access to learning opportunities relevant to their lives, presently and in the future? Can we promote income-generating activities for women? And on the basis of this cluster of measures, and the employment avenues available directly or indirectly through the project, can we also promote the acceptance of birth-spacing? This way we would have laid the foundations of child health and development in and around an irrigation project. And this nucleus could be built upon to reach children and their families in more villages in the neighbourhood.

Programmes specifically for the development of children do not escape the logic of 'integration.' Those programmes that incorporate all of the elements that answer the needs of survival, protection and development of young children at risk, generally, meet with success. The basic needs of children are known: nutrition during pregnancy and after birth, safe water and a clean environment, primary health care and early learning opportunities. We have tried to interpret the concept of convergent services even as we co-operate with agencies in and outside government. The convergence is not a final consummation, but a coming together of the various services from the earliest stages of and through the development process.

Section 5:

At the level of the community, the nutritionist, the health worker, the sanitarian, the water-supply technician, the pre-school teacher and child development worker have to learn to work together. This has several implications. They need to be trained not only in techniques, but even more strongly in their attitudes. They need to be exposed to one another's aims and disciplines. And finally, when there is only one multi-purpose worker within the community, he or she will have to imbibe the basics of *all* the basic services.

It is our understanding that services of this kind for a community cannot be generated from outside on a viable basis. They can be established and maintained durably and on the required scale only if the community wills to have and works to keep going these mutually supportive services.

Certain implications of the strategy follow:

1. First, active involvement to the maximum possibility of men and women of the community in planning, establishing and maintaining the services;
2. Second, the use of trained local men and women, part or full-time, chosen by the community to work in the services;
3. Third, the use of the needed number of auxilliary staff with substantial responsibilities together with the local workers, would make it possible for professionally qualified personnel to concentrate on more specialized roles as trainers, facilitators and advisers;
4. Fourth, the application of technology appropriate to the local social, cultural and economic conditions; and
5. Fifth, contributions in cash, kind, labour and other services from the community itself to start and sustain basic services.

At the beginning of my address, I drew attention to the socially unacceptable condition of a large segment of the population. And I said that is is within our means to brighten those conditions. In this task, certain priorities are necessarily established, within the 'basic services strategy.' These are dictated by the specific conditions presently obtaining in the country. For example, anaemia and iodine deficiency, both of which are common, can be combatted by the relatively simple, tried and tested method of fortifying common salt with iron and iodine.

Certain other priorities follow from the numbers of children at risk, which in turn has been traced to the link between malnutrition and infection. In any community, rich or poor, the best food for an infant is its mother's milk. Even malnourished mothers have a natural capacity to lactate. This is of course not to suggest that nutrition for expectant and lactating mothers is less of a priority. What is needed is to ensure, through regulatory, educational and supportive means, that nothing comes in the way of a child's natural right to its mother's milk. Similarly, the most important single check on a child's normal healthy growth is its regular gain in weight and height. It is not argued that monitoring will assure growth, but in its absence, neither mother nor health worker, may notice growth faltering in time to arrest and reverse is relatively easily. It is therefore an elementary function of any community health system to make growth measurement possible for children, in addition to whatever else it may provide.

3-505
Section 5:

Likewise, the best treatment for the thousands of children at daily risk of dehydration is the early administration of oral rehydration therapy. A mixture of salt and sugar in water in right proportions. It is within the means of all families, as experience in Bangladesh and India shows. And the best protection against six of the most dangerous diseases of childhood is complete immunisation during the first year of life. About a million children succumb to these diseases each year in India. There is no technological or financial reason for a country not to achieve universal immunisation within the next few years, irrespective of the status of current coverage. These and similar protective priorities in child health hold together to promote each other and support nutritional improvement. Indeed, mother's milk and oral rehydration are themselves major answers to malnutrition.

Earlier in this address, I linked the relative neglect of the young child to the lack of equity in development. This applies to a comparable extent to women. I am not suggesting that women could develop in isolation from the family and community, any more than children should. In fact, the concern for children is congruous with that for mothers and mothers-to-be. For example, experience suggests that a relatively high proportion of literate women is an important factor in relatively low infant mortality. This is the background in which the needs of rural women in maternal health and nutrition, functional education, skills training and, addition to the family income, are increasingly elements of programmes of UNICEF cooperation in many countries. Our focus falls on simple and inexpensive but technically sound and socially relevant approaches. I shall mention some of the typical among them:

- appropriate technology to lighten the daily labour;
- better ways of managing existing resources;
- increasing use of local low-cost sources of nutritive food for infants during the weaning phase, as well as for normal adult consumption;
- breast feeding of infants for as long as possible; this costs nothing, and is within the physical capacity of mothers from poor families;
- preventative health care which is simple enough for illiterate women to learn, but saves money, time and trouble for the family and the government;
- safe drinking water and cleaner personal, home and village environment come in the same category of conserving health and saving expense in money and energy;
- community development of fuel lots in the neighbourhood so that the daily search for, and cost of, cooking fuel are cut down;
- pre-school and child-care centres release the mother for productive, part-time employment while assisting in the child's own development and preparation for life;
- finally, birth-spacing and family planning help to conserve the resources available to a family and optimize their use.

Before I conclude, I would like to share with you a couple of observations which perhaps coincide with your own development experience.

First, the poor are entitled to the strongest support from the resources of the government. Presently these do not always reach them, even when governments are willing. It is for voluntary organisations to play a crucial bridge-building role. The more voluntary bodies cooperate with the government agencies and among themselves, the better it would be for the rural poor.

Section 5:

Another aspect is the paramount importance of village level workers. It is their competence and commitment which will make the difference in rural development. They have to come from among the members of the community, rather than from the staff of the government or of the voluntary agencies. Their social background, training functions and conditions of work need to be determined in a manner that accord fully with the concept and values of rural development.

A third aspect is the question of leadership in the development process. In this third development decade, we have, I hope, allowed the people to take the stage. The lead role in rural reconstruction has to be restored to the villager, and in child development, to the mother. The government administrator, the fund provider, the professional consultant, the development facilitator and the community worker must play a supportive role, not a dominant one.

We are yet to get used to this imperative of development. This is not surprising, because the urge for rural development is an historical response to feudal and colonial exploitation, followed by imitative industrialisation and unbridled growth of the city and town at the expense of the village and its wealth, all of which relegated the rural people to the margin of life.

Given this background, how realistic is it to expect poor, unlettered people to play the lead-role in their own development? The answer is offered by the promise of collective self-reliance. By pooling their insights, abilities and resources, the group is able to neutralise the limitations and overcome the helplessness of its individual members. For us, the non-rural and the non-poor, the time has come to believe in the power of the group as the *dynamic* of development.

Section 6:**A REPORT: 'FUNDING STRATEGIES FOR THE RURAL POOR'**

15 February 1984, Plenary Report, Taj Palace Conference Centre

New Delhi, India

Remarks: Mr. Bernard Woods, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Chairperson: Dr. Goran Hyden, Ford Foundation, Kenya

INTRODUCTION

Representatives and donor agencies, NGO's and government agencies attending the Event in New Delhi formed a workshop during the last three days to look at the future of *Funding strategies for the Rural Poor*. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Goran Hyden, Ford Foundation, Kenya. The report of the findings of the meeting were presented by Mr. Bernard Woods, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

THE REPORT

Recognising that donors and governments committed to assisting efforts by the rural poor experience that funds rarely reach their intended beneficiaries, representatives of several international funding agencies, (governmental, private and voluntary), joined local and non-governmental organisations to discuss how to develop more effective funding strategies for the rural poor. After looking at constraints faced by both donors and recipients, they made recommendations in four arenas:

1. Rural poor implementation
2. Non-governmental operations
3. Governing systems
4. Donor policies.

1. Rural Poor Implementation**A. Constraints**

Governments and donors are generally unaware of how to fund the great variety of hidden informal structures which exist at grassroots level and often constitute the principal mechanisms through which the rural poor sustain their livelihoods. Formal structures of both the public and private sectors fail to reach down to the poorest segments of the population, thus leaving a gap between the efforts by the poor themselves, on the one hand, and official development agencies, on the other. The latter often fail to utilise local processes that engage the rural poor. The very poor are often constrained by affluent groups in society who are more skillful in manipulating external funds.

B. Recommendations

- Informal groupings of the rural poor should be nurtured and their capacity to claim public funds enhanced through such means as enabling village leaders from one location to serve as consultants to other villages, thereby encouraging a village-to-village movement.
- Make it possible for villagers to engage in direct observation and learning from demonstration projects initiated and run by villagers.

Section 6:

- Use of various expressions, including folk dancing, drama and songs to promote better understanding of the many critical issues facing the rural poor.
- Poor farmers should be helped to organise cooperative legal resources which would guarantee credit worthiness of individual borrowers.
- Various legal formulae, e.g. the cooperative or common ownership company, should be explored to enable the poor to participate in business.

2. N.G.O. Operations**A. Constraints**

NGOs are generally not recognised by governments and donors as strategic partners in development. Thus, their views are rarely sought on important questions relating to the development of rural areas, nor are current governments or donor formulae conducive to strengthening the role of NGOs in development.

B. Recommendations

- Being well placed to identify and articulate the needs of the rural poor NGOs should be encouraged to take a greater share in the responsibility of mobilising local resources and raising funds from external sources.
- NGOs should receive greater support from funding agencies in the improvement of their own management capacities and to enable them to engage in training and income-producing activities as well as employment generating activities benefiting the rural poor.
- NGOs should be encouraged to play a greater role in national development planning efforts and be provided with institutional linkages that facilitate their contribution to the task of improving the status and welfare of the rural poor.
- NGOs should be provided with more effective ways of interacting with the donor community.

3. Government Systems**A. Constraints**

Government systems are generally inadequately equipped to deal unassisted with the problems of the rural poor. Treasuries are characterised by red tape and strict regulations that inhibit the flexibility needed to accelerate the development of rural areas. Attitudes and morale of government staff are frequently such that they discourage rather than encourage development. A delay in the delivery of a key item to the rural poor may mean nothing to the government servant, but may be a matter of life and death to the farmer.

B. Recommendations

- Government officials should be trained to work more effectively with rural communities.

Section 6:

- Governments should run public education programmes to acquaint people with their activities.
- Governments should implement an employee incentive programme based on performance criteria, including the proven ability to assist the rural poor.
- Governments should be willing to give the extra time needed to incorporate participation in the design of projects by spokes persons chosen by the rural poor.
- Governments should devise mechanisms for project formulation and implementation which, as much as possible, reduce the risks of undue 'politicisation' of development programmes.
- Governments should develop a more flexible and decentralised system of funds disbursement which, while recognising overall government responsibility for matters of public finance, facilitate effective use of government resources.
- Governments should, wherever appropriate and legitimate, seek the involvement of other agencies, e. g. cooperatives, voluntary agencies or community-based organisations, in the implementation of public development programmes focussed on the rural poor.

4. Donor Policies**A. Constraints**

Development projects sponsored by donors are usually designed by professional consultants with little or no representation by the perceived beneficiaries. The process of project design and formulation tends to be too agency-based. Aid funds are generally transmitted on a government-to-government basis without much sense of involvement in their ultimate uses. At a time when the political support for foreign aid in the industrialised world appears to be declining, this is a serious threat to any effort to enhance the resource flow from the North to the South. Donors tend to be too shortsighted in their perspective on foreign aid, as demonstrated for instance in the insistence on funding only hard cost investments instead of recurrent costs of programmes or projects.

B. Recommendations

- In order to promote 'sustainable' rural development strategies, donors should, with host government approval, be involved in a more decentralised and grassroots-oriented approach to the design and formulation of specific programmes or projects for the rural poor, thereby being able to learn from past experience, participate in active project work, facilitate 'piggy-back' types of funding, and promote greater involvement by local NGOs and consultants.
- In order to implement a programme for the rural poor, donors should be ready to accept a more staff-intensive approach.

Section 6:

● Donors should be willing to accept that the problems facing the rural poor often lie outside the reach of the formal sector and that solutions can only be found through quite drastic rethinking of strategies and methods as, for instance, in the educational field where current attitudes only tend to perpetuate tendencies that are detrimental to development of the rural areas.

● Donors, in collaboration with host governments, should identify new mechanisms, e.g. lines of credit or revolving funds with local banks or other relevant institutions, that permit a long-term involvement in a given programme activity yet mitigate the recurrent cost burden of the host institutions.

Conclusion: In conclusion, the meeting agreed that development must be seen not as a product, in which internal rate of return is the predominant criterion, but as a process in which the liberation and self-reliance of the people matter most. To realise this, governments and donors must abandon the **blueprint** approach which stresses implementation of projects designed above the heads of the rural poor in favour of the **greenhouse** approach which emphasises the need to create a climate of growth that encourages and sustains local initiatives. This implies putting in the seed of development and allowing it to warm itself gradually, becoming, in the long run self-generating. Participants List Name and Organisation were as follows:

Goran Hyden	Ford Foundation, Eastern & Southern Africa
Lin Shih-Tung	International Division, Council for Agricultural Planning and Development
Sir James Lindsay	Convenor, International Exposition of Rural Development
Bernard Woods	World Bank, Washington, D.C., USA
James Campbell	Save the Children Fund
Marian Jaswant Singh	Save the Children Fund
B. Rudramoorthy	Multi-Project Development Corp., Bangalore
Richard Sandbrook	International Institute of Environment & Development, London/Washington
Manfred Golda	Berlin Mission Society
A.P. Dikshit	Agricultural Finance Corporation, India
E.G. Lewis	Ministry of Youth & Community Development, Jamaica
Khairuddin Yusuf	Social Obstetrics and Gynaecology, University of Malaya
Salah Arafa	The American University in Cairo
Geof Brown	Social Welfare Training Centre, University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica
Helen R. Vanderbilt	New York (Foundation)
Jim Tanburn	Appropriate Design and Development (NGO)
Daphne Nelson	National Housing Trust, Jamaica
Cynthia Nelson	The American University in Cairo
Richard Kitney	The Institute of Cultural Affairs International
Raymond Spencer	The Institute of Cultural Affairs International
M.N. Kulkarni	UNICEF, New Delhi
Dag Skoog	SIDA, Nairobi
Cyril Gamage	Ministry of Home Affairs, Sri Lanka
Mattias Were	Ministry of Agriculture, Kenya
O.E.K. Kuteyi	Federal Ministry of Health, Lagos, Nigeria
Khairiah Khairuddin	Specialist in Income-generating Activities
Crispus R.J. Nyaga	Ministry of Federal Territory, Malaysia
Fanny Dontoh-Russell	Soil Conservation, Kenya
John Dalton	APPLE, Accra, Ghana
	Association of Consultants and Independents in the Philippines (ACIPHIL, Inc.)

A Slide Show: 'TURNABOUT-The Trickle Up Programme (TUP)-An Experiment for Income Production through Group Self-Employment'

6 February 1984, Focus on Rural Credit, Taj Palace Conference Centre, New Delhi, India

Text by Glen and Millie Robbins Leet, Co-Directors, Trickle Up Programme, New York

While governments have been searching for ways to tap the vast, rich resources at the bottom of the sea, a small, experimental programme has been searching for ways to tap the vast, rich resources of people—the people at the bottom of the economic ladder.

This experimental programme, the Trickle Up Programme, has activated 1282 group enterprises in 70 countries, and works with 355 co-ordinators.

Some innovative features of the Trickle Up Programme (TUP) deal directly with the difficult problems of communication, administration, accountability, evaluation, and cost-benefit analysis. Other features of the TUP deal directly with the motivation of unemployed and underemployed people.

Trickle Up Programme, Inc., is a non-profit organisation supported by tax- exempt contributions from individuals and foundations.

Let's look at this programme from the point of view of the co-ordinator, who may be working with either a governmental agency or a private agency. Its unique features include keeping administrative costs to a minimum. In the TUP the co-ordinating agency does not have to prepare plans, hire specialists, or procure or deliver materials. If a group does not have solutions to these problems, there is no project.

Secondly, the TUP bank check issues to the group provides all the necessary accountability. It identifies the project by number and activity, and also indicates the hours, profits, and reinvestment—and it does all that in a few spaces at the top of the check. No other financial report is needed.

In TUP projects, it is the workers themselves who make the largest investment—in time, knowledge and skill. For example, four projects have reported over one thousand dollars in total profits in the first year. The profit from a cotton and peanut project in Montserrat was \$2,076. A Antigua cotton and vegetable project made a profit of \$ 1,240. A Dominican project made \$ 1,263 from its cement block enterprise, and the fruit drinks project in Montserrat earned a profit of \$ 1,145. On an average, the profit reported has been six times greater than the TUP grant. In Peru, in just two months, one group making and selling coconut candy has reported a profit of 27 times the amount of the TUP grant.

Now let's look at the motivation aspect. We have learned that a money payment to those who work can be a strong motivation. Even if the amount is small, it acts as a symbol of a mutual trust and agreement. If groups of five or more people wish to invest their unemployed time on approved projects:

1. planned by themselves;
2. for which they have or can secure the necessary approvals or resources;
3. where one thousand hours of self-employment can be completed within three months;

Section 7:

4. where a profit is anticipated;
5. where not less than 20% of the profits will be reinvested;
6. where continuing and expanding levels of self-employment are anticipated,
7. for which reports on activity and results will be provided.

When a group has thought through these conditions and decided that these basic TUP requirements can be met, then the group may apply for a TUP grant of US\$100, to be paid in two \$50 installments.

The TUP has two training tools: the application form and the project report form.

The one-page application form helps to guide people, step-by-step, to a realization of their own worth and their own potential. The questions asked are:

- What will you call your group?
- Where will it be based?
- What will you produce?
- How many people will be involved?
- How many hours will you work?
- How much do you think your work is worth per hour?

Our reports show that TUP grants of \$100 encourage an average of 1,835 hours of self-employment.

- How much profit do you expect to make?
- How much of your profit will you reinvest? And,
- When can you start to work?

A new and exciting vision of the world often appears to people as they realize that their time, their ideas, and their willingness to work together have value.

The one-page project report form is the second training tool. It asks the following questions:

- What did you produce?
- What unit or measure did you use—pounds, bottles, cans, etc.?
- How long a period is reported?
- How many hours of self-employment?
- How many units sold?
- The price per unit?
- The gross income?
- The Expenses?
- Earned profit?
- The amount saved for reinvestment and how was it reinvested?
- The number of people who worked and benefited?
- Whether the TUP process was helpful and how? And,
- Whether the activity is continuing as an income-producing enterprise?

When this single-page project report is received, the final TUP grant of \$50 is made.

Section 7:

Project reports show that the amount reinvested or saved for reinvestment is \$210 per \$100 of TUP grant—more than double the amount of the grant.

Preliminary reports indicate that the value of goods and services sold by Trickle Up enterprises is more than ten times the amount of the project grants.

The production and marketing of goods and services results in financial gain, and helps increase the gross national product. That, in turn, helps to combat inflation and the rising cost of living.

Most of the products produced have been things that people already know how to produce and for which local resources are available and for which local markets exist.

Trickle Up products include: cement blocks, clothing, brooms, embroidered items and mats, fruit drinks, chutneys, preserves, cake decorations, and wines. There are also agricultural projects which include the growing and marketing of soya beans and green chillies in Sri Lanka, and a vegetable gardening project in Antigua sponsored by the Women's Desk of the Ministry of Education. There are a total of 45 different products, many of which become substitutes for articles requiring foreign exchange.

It is an alternative to the 'trickle down' process, which assumes that if massive aid is poured in at the top, the benefits will trickle down. The trickle down process can cost over \$20,000 to generate one job for one person. With the Trickle Up Programme, that same amount of \$20,000 can provide project grants to 200 enterprises involving over 2000 people.

The Trickle Up Programme has shown that people can and do think, plan and work together, as a group, on income-producing self-employment enterprises of their own choosing.

In the 24 countries in which that Trickle Up Programme is operating, governments, private agencies, and groups benefiting both socially and economically, from the bottom to the top approach, and the spectacular results so frequently achieved by the Trickle Up Programme have come about because of the TUP philosophy and process, in which all participate, all learn, and all grow.

PART IV

References

INDEX

INTRODUCTION		4-002
SECTION 1: APPENDIXES		
APPENDIX A:	Project Profile, India Vaishali Area Small Farmers' Association (SA-20)	4-101
APPENDIX B:	Project Profile, Nigeria Umuanunu Nsu Co-operative Centre Project (BA-2)	4-103
APPENDIX C:	Project Profile, Germany (BRD) Bavarian Woods Shepherders Association (EU-28)	4-104
APPENDIX D:	Project Profile, Korea (ROK) Saemaul Undong: The New Community Movement (SP-33)	4-107
APPENDIX E:	Project Profile, India Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (SA-32)	4-108
APPENDIX F:	Interview, Erica Mann, Kenya Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development (BA-14)	4-109
APPENDIX G:	Interview, Kie Kubo, Japan Sawauchi Village (SP-28)	4-110
APPENDIX H:	Plenary Comments, Dame Miriam Dell President, International Council of Women, Paris	4-112
APPENDIX I:	Project Profile, Kenya Kibwezi Community-based Primary Health Care (BA-16)	4-113
APPENDIX J:	Resources Listing Publications and Videos	4-114
APPENDIX K:	Project Profile, Canada Reading and Writing Tutoring Project (NA-7)	4-115
APPENDIX L:	Project Profile, India People's Learning Centre (SA-75)	4-116
APPENDIX M:	Interview, Erica Mann, Kenya Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development (BA-14)	4-118
APPENDIX N:	Project Profile, Egypt Basaisa Village (NM-3)	4-119
APPENDIX O:	Project Profile, USA San Luis Valley Solar Energy Projects (NA-21)	4-121
APPENDIX P:	Project Profile, Canada Mohawks of the Gibson Band (NA-5)	4-122
APPENDIX Q:	Project Profile, Kenya Kenya Replication Scheme (BA-19)	4-124
APPENDIX R:	Project Profile, India Ahmedabad Study Action Group (SA-11)	4-126
SECTION 2: SOURCES		4-201
SECTION 3: WORD INDEX		4-301

INTRODUCTION

Part IV contains cross-references and indexes for Part I which document sources of information and insights utilised in preparing the PART I: VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS. The various references are as follows:

Section 1: Appendixes

The Appendixes for Part I are organised by sections beginning with Section 2 and ending with Section 8. They consist of Project Profiles, Interviews, Plenary Comments, and various other references. More extensive profiles on thirty projects from India are available in Part II.

Section 2: Sources

The Sources for Part I are organised into four subsections:

- A. Field Visit Reports
- B. IERD Conference Proceedings
- C. Rural Development Projects
- D. Non-Conference Resources

The **Field Visit Reports** references are from reports prepared by delegates following their visits to projects during the mid-portion of the IERD conference and reflect their findings and experience in these projects. There are other references to the projects contained in participant comments and interviews which were not part of the formal reports.

The **IERD Conference Proceedings** references are from interviews, addresses, plenary comments, working groups, exhibits, and various other materials developed during the course of the conference itself.

The **Rural Development Projects** references are from projects whose documentation, exhibits, and delegates were present in the conference and used by the working groups in identifying 'Approaches That Work'. They are referenced in the following format:

Name ø (Acronym) ø (Volume I, Directory Reference Code) ø Country

The 'Volume I—Directory of Rural Development Projects', also published by K.G. Saur, contains one page descriptions of each of these projects with extensive cross-referencing by development subjects, approach titles, and a key word index. Full descriptions of these projects are contained in the 'Database of Rural Development Projects—RURALNET', maintained by the Institute of Cultural Affairs International in Brussels.

Non-conference Resources references indicate publications and materials from a variety of organisations and authors which were mentioned by participants and advisors as containing insights relevant to the IERD objectives. These also include a few of the IERD materials developed through the Phase I preparation for this conference.

Section 3: Word Index

Word Index references was designed to assist those engaged in research to trace particular themes, categories and subjects which recur throughout the documentation in Part I.

APPENDIX A: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA**Vaishali Area Small Farmers' Association (SA-20)****Background**

The Vaishali Area Small Farmers' Association (VASFA) in the State of Bihar, India, is an illustration of how small farmers can improve their socio-economic condition through organising themselves for development despite a handicap of small holdings.

In 1971 several small farmers came together under the leadership of K.D. Dewan, a practitioner and a delegate at the Central International Event, and agreed to follow his suggestion to re-build their community assets including tube wells and common irrigation channels to increase their production. The result of their corporate effort was so successful that several groups like them were established.

Mass meetings were held to discuss the possibility of continuing this development effort on the basis of self help and cooperation across the area. Joint irrigation tube wells were proposed as a solution to the problem of irrigating scattered and fragmented holdings.

Community tubewells were sunk and commissioned with financial support from government and financial institutions. Infrastructure for the supply of inputs and collection of produce for the recovery of bank loans were set in force. Common irrigation channels and the laying of underground water pipes to areas near the tube wells were completed. In addition, demonstrations in reclamation of land and other crop production activities were continued. People successfully conducted voluntary consolidation of holdings in a few villages.

A confrontation with the bureaucracy was resolved in the peoples' favour as a result of united efforts. The operation of bank transactions which had become an issue was switched from the District Administration structures to the VASFA executive committee. Regular elections of office bearers were conducted. Discussions regarding the developmental aspects of the project became a regular feature in VASFA committee meetings.

The success of this initial project has had a ripple effect. VASFA now plans to organise a federation of all their member societies which they hope will strengthen their efforts in gaining control over the procurement of agricultural inputs, establishment of processing industries and marketing. This federation will also be in a better position to negotiate with the government, banks and other institutions.

PROJECT IMPACT**Agriculture**

Thirty-five deep community tube wells have been dug and 1,000 acres were brought under irrigation. This has meant that farmers despite their scattered and fragmented holdings have assured irrigation. In addition, new crops and high yielding seed varieties with appropriate technology were adopted resulting in a two-fold increase in yield and general income. To face the increased cultivation cost, farmers are switching over from food crops to the more paying cash crops. Allied activities such as dairy and fish rearing have also been adopted.

APPENDIX A: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA**Social Organisation**

VASFA functions in a democratic style with collective decision making being a part of their regular meetings. This has provided an opportunity for the weaker sections of society to publicly discuss their problems. Participating in the process of electing VASFA officials has provided learning opportunities to the general masses of the area. The result is that, in case of coercion or injustice from any quarter of society, member farmers tend to resist such onslaught with success.

Self Awareness of Rights

VASFA educates members on procedures for the use of facilities available at banks, government bodies and other institutions. There is now an awareness among members of their rights and an ability to approach government agencies to make use of the facilities and infrastructure that are available.

Credit Supply

A special banking cell was opened in the VASFA project to cater for the credit needs of members and others in the area. This has prevented the delay and malpractices that have caused villagers great frustration in the past. VASFA has also persuaded banks to float loans for redemption of land mortgaged to private money-lenders. These measures have provided credit supply mechanisms that are quick, fair and simple. Loan recovery has also been made easier due to the ready-made infrastructure that is available to VASFA.

LEARNINGS

Training programmes should enable staff to motivate villagers to get involved in the programmes and at the same time avoid the trap of creating expectations which cannot be realised. VASFA also feels that field workers should fill any leadership gap that exists in the village rather than waiting for leadership to emerge.

Self reliance, especially in financial matters should be encouraged rather than dependency on outside institutions and agencies. Once a group is formed that has this quality in them it can develop a competency in handling its own affairs and may inspire others to begin similar groups.

Comprehensive and practical planning is a keystone to rural development. Individual surveys and plans are required for each participating family to ascertain the available natural and human resources. In tube well projects all the requisite operations of construction, commissioning and management should be completed before moving on to the proposed site of the next project.

A multi-dimensional approach involving agriculture, small scale industry, education and health services must be employed simultaneously rather than sequentially in order to be effective.

APPENDIX B: PROJECT PROFILE, NIGERIA**Umuanunu Nsu Cooperative Centre Project (BA-2)****Background**

The Umuanunu Nsu Cooperative Centre (UNCC) Project sponsored by the Umuanunu Nsu Farmers Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society is located in a rural area in one of the nine towns of the Nsu Clan with an area of 18 square kilometers in Imo State, Nigeria. The main occupation of the people of this area is agriculture supplemented by hunting and trading. There are no major industries. Traditional industries predominate and offer employment to about 20 per cent of the people. About 70 per cent of the people are illiterate.

The project began in 1966 with 40 members and now has 200 members whose activities affect more than 50,000 inhabitants of the Nsu Clan. The project was organised by the Centre for Rural Development and Cooperatives of the Department of Agricultural Economics, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Nigeria. The use of the technical expertise and know-how of their departmental staff has been one of the factors contributing to the success of the project. The key concept of the project is that the cooperative approach offers the most attractive and effective strategy for mobilising the human and material resources in rural areas.

Accordingly, the pattern has been to organise people to form multi-purpose cooperative societies that emphasise agricultural development. The project has also attempted to rehabilitate people who have been displaced through wars, national crisis and urbanisation through income generating projects that use local raw materials. It imparts functional education to adults and youth in such areas as farming, poultry management, home economics, weaving and commercial education.

PROJECT IMPACT

Major accomplishments of UNCC include poultry production, farming improvements, establishment of a Commercial Institute and a Canteen Supermarket. There has been a widening of the market through new products. Over 300 people have been trained in practical skills. The Centre also makes available scarce commodities at regulated prices. This has allowed inflationary trends in the area to be checked. The centre is now a demonstration for others wishing to improve rural areas through cooperatives.

LEARNINGS

The community oriented nature of the project that encouraged group participation enabled its success. This cooperative approach is suited to village life where collective action is the rule rather than the exception. Cooperative effort between the people and government is most effective in mobilising people to purposeful action. The also shows that the adoption of new ideas is not limited to the educated. Illiteracy is not a barrier if leaders use practical and down to earth examples and concepts that are close to the lives of the people.

APPENDIX C: PROJECT PROFILE, GERMANY (BRD)**Schafhalter-Vereinigung Bayerischer Wald (EU-28)
(Bavarian Woods Shepherders Association)**

The Schafhalter-Vereinigung Bayerischer Wald e.V. is an association of full and part-time shepherders in the eastern part of Bavaria, approximately 45 km from the Czechoslovakian border. The association has members from across the region and a co-ordination centre in the village of Mitterfels.

Situation

The Bavarian Woods are situated in the south east of the Federal Republic. They cover an area of about 6,000 sq km. Historically the region has been lightly populated; today the population is approximately 200,000. The traditional culture was one of shepherding and forestry with a living pattern of single-family, isolated farmhouses and small villages. In the mid-19th century there were an estimated 300,000 sheep in the region.

Today the area is classified as an underdeveloped region. It has higher unemployment than the rest of Bavaria and does not offer many opportunities for large scale farming due to the terrain. The population had been decreasing as people left the area to look for jobs in the cities to the south and west. Others converted from shepherding to keeping dairy cattle because of the large subsidy supporting milk production. Agricultural development tended to follow the mechanical and chemical innovations introduced elsewhere without regard for the environmental and cultural consequences in a region with a unique topography, climate and culture.

Vision

The vision of the founders of this project was simple: how could families who had traditionally lived in the region have an adequate income, so that they could continue to live there; and could this be done in such a way that traditional culture and living patterns were preserved as much as possible? Such an economic base should be solid for the future as well as the present.

Challenges

One of the challenges that had to be dealt with, therefore, was the negative image people had of the region, of themselves and of shepherding. Related to this were the economic and political support structures for the new agriculture, including the indebtedness of many farmers who had invested heavily in equipment for milk production, and the lack of services for part-time farmers who comprised most of the population.

Project

A small group of residents decided not to follow the trend, and to *go back* to shepherding. At this time (1970) the number of sheep in the region had dropped to around 1000. In 1972 these shepherders formed the Schafhalter- Vereinigung Bayerischer Wald (Bavarian Woods Shepherders Association). Its purpose was the preservation of the natural environment, promotion of labour extensive employment, and partnership co-operation on a broad scale between members.

APPENDIX C: PROJECT PROFILE, GERMANY (BRD)

In particular the association set out to provide services to part-time and full-time shepherders that were appropriate to their situation and working hours. It also worked on more effective marketing including registration, finishing of animals intended for slaughter, and common transport from collecting stations.

A number of other services have been added since its inception as described in the Organisational Structure diagram. The central administration team of ten people handles bookkeeping, marketing and coordination of part-time work by members. The presupposition of the project is that families that have lived in the region for generations should continue to do so and have ways of supporting themselves appropriate to their culture. This led to the focus on ways for many members to have some more income, rather than on full-time employment for a few. For example, a farm family today which owns some land, a few sheep and some woodland has improved income earning potential because: the association provides them with a way to get a higher value for animals sold for meat, for wool, and for the wood sold for construction that was formerly only good for pulpwood or firewood. The project has created new part-time work in sheep care, knitting, construction, animal registration and work at the roundwood mill. New products have been developed and marketed such as fleece-lined slippers, organic fertiliser from sheep dung, and interior paneling from roundwood.

The partnership basis of the association and the focus on spreading out the income possibilities among all the members has led to the development of services that suit the time schedules of the member-customers, not the 8 o'clock to 5 o'clock standard working hours. A member working part-time in the claw cutting and parasite control programme for example, as a means of supplementing the income from his own farm, is willing to come at the convenience of the member who works fulltime at a job in a town and keeps 10 or 15 sheep to increase his income. Other part-time farmers find work constructing sheds and fences for other members. The members also save costs by using wood growing on their own land in such construction, only having to pay the costs of milling.

Results

During the period 1972–1982, the project reported:

- Total membership 2,160.
- Total investment by membership US\$ 160,000.
- Part-time employment created for 130 people.
- Full-time jobs created for 10 people.
- Increase in sheep kept from 1000 to 30,000.
- 328 buildings constructed from local wood by members.
- 3,800 hectares of land kept or returned to sheep raising.
- Quarterly magazine published.
- DM500,000 taxes paid on income (estimate).
- Net saving to taxpayers (after subtracting grants to project): US\$5,600,000 on milk subsidies not paid (estimate).

APPENDIX C: PROJECT PROFILE, GERMANY (BRD)**AGRICULTURAL SELF-HELP: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE****REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS**

Board of Directors / Advisory Board / Committees.

Services provided to members by administrative staff, district representatives and official advisors.

Health care service for members' sheep: claw care and parasite treatment.

Task-sharing of the associated institutions.

Central administration provides services for associated institutions.

BAVARIAN WOODS LAMB GmbH

- Live animal marketing.
- Marketing specialities (e.g. lamb sausage).
- Sale and export of Bayerwald sheep wool.
- Bulk purchase: fodder and other necessities.

BAVARIAN WOODS ROUNDWOOD INDUSTRY

- Do-it-yourself Construction Association.
- Upgrades and Mills wood for construction materials.
- Log buildings for holiday and recreational use.

NORTH EAST BAVARIAN PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION

- Selection and grading of slaughter animals.
- Collection of sheep.
- Management of the main registration station.

SHEEP USE ASSOCIATION FOR LARGER SHEEP HOLDINGS

- Raising and Marketing of lamb fed only with natural fodder.
- Processing and Marketing of Bayerwald organic fertiliser (sheep dung).

LOG PRODUCTS DEVELOPMENT

- Production and marketing of log products.

SHEEPHERDER INFORMATION

- Technical Journal for shepherders with information sheets for associated groups.

APPENDIX D: PROJECT PROFILE, KOREA (ROK)

Saemaul Undong: The New Community Movement (SP-33)

The Saemaul Undong means literally, *a movement to make a new community*. It also means a movement for daily practice of the Saemaul spirit—diligence, self-help and cooperation. It is a national effort to eradicate chronic poverty in both rural and urban centers of the Korea (ROK).

In 1960, the first of two five year economic development programmes was launched aimed at rapid industrialisation in the urban centres. From 1961-1971, the average economic growth was 9.9 per cent per year. However, growth in the agricultural sector lagged far behind having only a 5.3 per cent growth.

Like many developing nations, Korea (ROK) has been predominantly an agricultural country. Over two-thirds of the population are farmers. Due to the uneven growth rate of the 1960s, rapid shifts in population from the rural to urban areas caused many problems. Severe labour shortages and lack of leadership was experienced in the rural areas. Chronic hunger and general poverty continued. To correct this situation, in 1971 experimental development projects were begun in rural areas and Saemaul Undong was born.

The goals of the rural Saemaul Undong were: fostering of farmers' spirit of diligence, self-help and cooperation; increase in rural incomes; improvement of rural surroundings; and renovation of agricultural technology. These were to be achieved by the people and government working together. One of the basic features of the Saemaul Undong is that it strongly emphasizes training for development. Government support, financial and technical, has been used for this purpose. Trained Saemaul leaders play a key role in projects and are selected by the villages.

With such training in mind, Saemaul Undong first emphasized those projects for improving the farmers' immediate living environment. Government incentives were given to improve the living environment: roofs, kitchens and toilets. When self-help spirit had been cultivated, the government encouraged villages to take up projects to create infrastructures for increased agricultural production and projects which would require the cooperation of all the villagers, such as construction of small bridges, roads irrigation facilities, etc. Having successfully completed these projects, the villagers were then encouraged to take up income-generating projects such as joint farming, common seedbeds, off- season vegetable cultivation, and common marketing facilities.

Certain criteria for project selection have been important:

- First, the Saemaul projects should be decided by consensus of the villagers and implemented with their total participation.
- Second, the projects should be linked to the common benefit of the village.
- Third, the projects should be selected with a consideration of specific conditions of a village.
- Fourth, the projects should be selected with a consideration of the potentials of a village, and of the resources available.
- Fifth, projects should be linked to the increase in participants' income.

During the first 10 years of Saemaul Undong, nearly all of the 34,865 villages have entered the stage of *developed* villages, or villages achieving standards in road improvement, housing, farming infrastructures, cooperation and income projects.

APPENDIX D: PROJECT PROFILE, KOREA (ROK)

The Saemaul Undong was initiated as a popular, practical drive to expel poverty. Its success in all aspects of community life has increased overall productivity across the country, making it truly a national endeavour.

APPENDIX E: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA
Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (SA-32)

SEWA, an autonomous trade union begun in 1972 in India, was inspired by Gandhian and Feminist Philosophy. Its concern is for the self-employed women of the city of Ahmedabad, India and in rural villages who make their products at home, vend their wares, sell their services or their manual labour. These women rarely own capital or tools of production. They do not have a direct link with organised industry and services nor do they have an access to modern technology and facilities. All they own are the skills and knowledge of their trade and their labour. Though they provide essential services, they have none of the labour laws or protective rules and regulations applicable to organised industry and services. Society demeans the services they provide and views them as a public nuisance when their activities must be conducted on the street or in public. SEWA decided to give these women a more positive status by calling them *self-employed women workers* and to upgrade their skills and organize them so their income would increase.

In 30 villages in Dholka Taluka, Gujarat State, 50 kilometers from Ahmedabad, SEWA was concerned with the great need for year-round income to supplement the meagre income of the villagers. In order to evolve a plan of action, they conducted a survey of 65 families from the poorer sections of a village. This revealed a high percentage of landless and debt-ridden families. At that time, the average female agricultural labourer received between Rs2 and Rs5 per day, and two-thirds of the labourers were women. In addition, nearly one-third of the women surveyed were the sole support of their families. These hard-working women were doing whatever they could to contribute to the well-being of their families, yet their social and economic status remained low. Occupational diseases like T.B. and skin and eye problems often resulted from activities like shelling of cotton pods. Both infant and mother mortality rates were high.

SEWA works with the women as partners in the process of development, to evolve a programme that meets particular needs of women largely ignored by policy-makers.

Their rural strategy is two-fold:

1) To promote income generation through such diverse economic activities as:

- Spinning, weaving, pottery, etc., on a family basis.
- Upgrading skills in vocational training-cum-production centres on a collective basis.
- Cattle loans and milk cooperatives on a village basis.

APPENDIX E: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA

2) To create necessary supportive services such as:

- Creches for day care for young children and skills training for older children.
- Maternity protection and health education.
- Night literacy classes.
- Legal aid.
- Banking services and access to credit.

The programmes are meant only for women in economic activities. Currently they are involved in training, loans, maternity or widow protection schemes, complaints, wage struggles, meetings, etc. Members pay Rs5 annually, which entitles them to the services of three organisations:

- The Sewa Union, which provides the necessary set-up for organising various trade groups and for engaging in the struggle with vested interests.
- The SEWA Bank, which offers access to credit and savings facilities. The Bank also supplies raw materials, tools and equipment, and assists in production, marketing and management.
- The Mahila SEWA Trust, which provides three security schemes for maternity benefits, widowhood and death assistance and health.

Today, SEWA has a membership of 14,000 of which 6,000 are active members. SEWA is not just an organisation, but a movement, a philosophy of changing attitudes, roles, relationships and quality of life.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW, ERICA MANN, KENYA**Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development (BA-14)**

Interviewed in New Delhi during the Central International Event, Erica Mann, Vice Chairman of the Council for Human Ecology, Kenya, talked about the Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development Project. She said, '... it is very satisfactory to see women who originally didn't believe they could do anything at all, suddenly pluck up courage and come forward with their own ideas and their own projects.'

The 2,117 women involved in the projects represent 15 per cent of the population of the village and they are all heads of households, the men having left their families behind when they moved on to the cities in search of employment. Four years ago these helpless and destitute women were struggling to support their children and elders. Without formal leadership, but not lacking in initiative, they organised themselves into self-help groups 'Mwethya' and approached the Council of Human Ecology (CHEK) for assistance.

Securing land tenure and producing income were the major concerns. The Council initiated action with the authorities on the land issue. Settlement has been reached, and the squatters will be given title deeds to legalise their occupancy of the state-owned land.

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW, ERICA MANN, KENYA

To generate income the women needed training, so an action programme was introduced in collaboration with the Ministry of Livestock Development, which took into account ecological and/or environmental factors. The first ever women-only course in bee-keeping was held in Kibwezi. By tradition this was regarded as man's work. Today there is a bee-keepers cooperative which has opened its own bank account with a membership of 2,025 women.

A zero-grazing goat-breeding scheme was introduced which both preserves the existing vegetation and improves the productivity of the animals. Goat-breeders' cooperatives have been formed and are operational.

A traditional tribal skill is brick-making, and this had previously been done by men. With assistance from the Ministry of Culture and Social Service, a training programme was arranged for the women. To save the forests and conserve energy, they are taught to make sun-dried (not fired) bricks for house building.

Once they mastered the making of bricks, the women went on to build for themselves a honey and wax refinery. Their most recent acquisition is a six acre plot of land from a neighbouring farmer. Now their declared top-priority goal is to build a secondary boarding school for girls.

The Council and Government Ministries concerned were co-operative and the story of the women's progress is an illustration of motivation and sustained growth through engaging grassroots initiatives.

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW, JAPAN
Sawauchi Village (SP-28)

'Women, once hornless cows, who became health promoters.'

'Our village, Sawauchi, (Japan) stands about 250 meters above sea level and is surrounded by rough, rugged mountain ranges. The harshness of our winters is famous (the biggest snowfall ever recorded for our village was four meters). Secluded from the outside world by high mountains and heavysnow, in Sawauchi old customs persisted. For example, women were considered 'hornless cows' and had to endure overwork and mistreatment. During the rice planting and harvest seasons which are the busiest times of year, young girls were 'borrowed' from their families and were required to work for sometimes more than six months for their prospective mothers-in-law. If liked, the girl could finally join the family as a 'formal' wife, but if disliked, she would be forced to leave the house. On one occasion, a single family dismissed a total of five girls.'

'Even when married, young wives were never allowed to sit near the fireplace which was the only source of heat in Sawauchi's gloomy and chilly thatched roof houses. Instead, they had to sit far from the fireplace where cold drafts blew in, working well into midnight making rope or weaving straw bags, rubbing their sleepy eyes from time to time. In the morning, they had to get up before dawn to cut a load of grass before breakfast. If they fell ill from overwork, they would be sent back to their parents' houses. But since Sawauchi had no doctors, they were obliged to lie helplessly in bed unattended, with no medicine other than traditional herbal medicine. Hence, they were doomed to die young.'

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW, JAPAN

Many of the same miserable conditions awaited their children. Mothers could not suckle their children because their breasts were dry due to malnutrition. Even when babies were lucky enough to survive their earliest years, they were most likely to fall ill and die in their damp, unsanitary straw cradles, where no sunlight reached. Since only few children grew to adulthood, they were considered as 'gifts from heaven' and it was common for a woman to have an average of five to six children, with some having as many as twelve.

'Even as recently as 1955, the infant mortality rate stood at 69 per 1000. If somebody fell ill and his relatives were rich and bold enough to take the risk, he would be laid on a wooden board and carried over the mountains and valleys to Morioka or Kitagami, both about 60 kilometers away, for treatment. But since the journey was so tough, it was likely that the sick person would have died by the time he was carried into the city.

'Successive Village Mayors attempted to attract doctors to the village and to improve the village road for a shuttle bus service to Morioka. You can imagine how happy the villagers were when a bus to Morioka started operating in 1950. However, during the winter, the roads remained impassable and the villagers had to brave it through the snow to Yumoto, about 13 kilometers from Sawauchi, and then catch the train to Morioka. It was not until the late Mr. Masao Fukazawa became the Village Mayor in 1957 that the village started to tackle earnestly the problems caused by the heavy snowfalls.

'At the same time that the village resolved to confront the problems caused by snow, poverty and disease, a new spirit began to awake in the women of Sawauchi. In 1954 as many as 15 women's clubs with a total membership of 600 women were organised in Sawauchi's 15 districts. For smooth operation of these clubs, a Women's Auxiliary Committee was also established.

'Ever since their establishment nearly 30 years ago, these women's clubs have concentrated their activities on health care, hoping to provide 'good health' to all families.... Women's club members have served as intermediaries between the villagers and the village hospital, and have become indispensable 'right hand' partners to public health nurses by assisting their work as members of the Council on Community Health.

'Women who once lived passively, quietly raising children and working in the fields like cows, started encouraging each other to attend the women's meetings by saying, 'You will be left behind the times if you don't come!!' Some men, however, were hostile to our activities. One time, some drunkards walked right into our meeting place where we were holding a mathematics class. They shouted to us angrily, 'You impertinent women. You don't need to learn.'

'Nevertheless, we never gave up and have continued to hold annual women's meetings at which various community problems are clarified and solutions discussed. In 1966 we started a campaign to prohibit the production of hand-made unrefined sake in order to prevent men from drinking excessively. In 1968 we examined the problem of school lunches and asked the Prefectural Government to improve the contents and taste of school lunches so that the children would eat the entire lunch in order to maintain balanced diets. We also promoted a bank saving campaign that was aimed at dependent women, asking them to deposit their money in the bank and receive their own bank card. From 1969 we started introducing part-time jobs to women, and in 1976, which was the 'International Women's Year', we presented a report on women's labour and health conditions to the village administrators.

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW, JAPAN

This report, which aroused general interest towards the health conditions of working women, was compiled from information collected from a thousand women in different age groups. Our health promotional activities have now developed into the holding of such enjoyable events as the Women's Sports Day and the Beach Volleyball Tournament. As a result of our twenty-year experience in politics, attained by attending Village Committee Public Hearing Meetings, collecting petitions and holding discussions with the Village Mayor, the first female Village Council member was elected in 1983. She is presently working hard to reflect the women's point of view when the council formulates village policies.

'In order to protect the household economy from inflation and bad harvests, we are now encouraging life improvement activities such as the growing of self-sufficient home gardens. Acknowledging the importance of communicating with different generations, we hold luncheon meetings for single elderly people, as well as three-generation parties. For providing 'at-home' services to the needy, we have set up three different classes to train volunteers: one for services to child-care centers; one for the elderly; one for handicapped.

'As Sawauchi's population is rapidly aging we are concentrating our efforts on developing our village into a healthy, comfortable living environment for the elderly. Although this is another difficult task, we are confident that we can fulfill our objectives when we consider the greater difficulties faced by women in the 'dark age' of Sawauchi.'

Kie Kubo, Chairwoman
Women's Auxiliary Committee
Sawauchi, Japan

APPENDIX H: PLENARY COMMENTS

**By Dame Miriam Dell, DBE,
President, International Council of Women, 12 February, 1984**

'We had a tremendous learning experience here from the exhibition of projects and from the field visits themselves in both practical and human terms from the members of our groups. The issues raised from all these processes will be discussed in the next few days. I must of course make particular reference to women in the development process.

'I questioned earlier in this association the meaning of 'development' and in answer the assumption was made that we are working for an improved quality of life for each individual. We are committed here also to 'grassroots' participation. So may I just make these points again—not erudite principles, trends, keynotes—just basic points:

- 'Women are individuals.
- 'They carry unbelievable physical and psychological burdens.
- 'Their well-being will affect the well-being of their whole family, village and community.
- 'A community development project that does not include women from the very beginning will fail because it will not improve the total well-being of all its individual members on their own terms.

APPENDIX H: PLENARY COMMENTS

- 'In order to be included from the very beginning, women need to be assisted and encouraged. There must be programmes that give them the skills, confidence and economic independence that allow them to participate on equal time with men.
- 'Programmes which do increase the range of women's skills need not and should not perpetuate the traditional activities of women, or the traditional methods of work. The smallest change of technology can improve working conditions, e.g., light by which to sew, weave or embroider can be improved by simple means; not only by the introduction of electricity.
- 'Women in a non-traditional activity will bring to that activity the full talents of the community.
- 'Basic to any improvement in the quality of life is improvement in the health, nutrition and educational level for all—clean water and sanitation, improved use of available food, immunization programmes, child care and literacy are still the foundations of development.

'What we have seen and learned here by the generosity of the Indian communities we have visited should help us to re-examine our own work, and see with new eyes the situation in which our own people live wherever they are.

'I hope that one of the greatest insights you carry away with you will be that women, as well as men, are the instruments of the development process. They need special help to be able to contribute equally to, and share equally in, the enrichment of local and national life.'

HEALTH CARE

APPENDIX I: PROJECT PROFILE, KENYA

Kibwezi Community-based Primary Health Care Project (BA-16)

A look at the Kibwezi Community-based Primary Health Care Project in Kenya, reveals that though it received credibility from the African Medical and Rural Environment Foundation and representatives of the Kenyan Ministry of Health, the project was actually planned and initiated by people from the community. The village-selected health care worker is the link between the health centre and the community. The community has provided all the materials, contributed 95 per cent of the labour, implemented the plan through a village health committee, a working committee and a steering committee. It is led mainly by women between the ages of 26 and 40 whose commitment has assured the success of the project. In Kibwezi, pit latrines for 75 per cent of the families have been dug. There are water points and covered wells throughout the village. The model is now being extended in 30 per cent of the villages of the district. Research and evaluation, redesign and training goes on continuously. Work on-the-job and regular workshops have been critical parts of the training, which is based directly upon the expressed concerns of the villagers. Decisions are made by discussion and consensus in public meetings. Tasks are organised and executed by teams. As a result, people in the village consider the project to be their project.

Because Kibwezi is concerned with several aspects of health care, their experience provides the basis for the following check-list for developing a preventive health care programme:

APPENDIX I: PROJECT PROFILE, KENYA

- Use resources of the area (government, private, voluntary).
- Draw upon technical advice where needed.
- The people plan it.
- The people pay for it. (At least in part)
- The people do the work.
- Get something visible on the scene (A symbol that something is being done)
- The people manage it.
- The beginning point and the leadership is with the women.
- The people do the surveys and the evaluation.
- Continual training is built around expressed concerns.
- Public meetings for discussion and decisions.
- Team work.
- The people own it.
- The project extends itself.

Kibwezi has had a demanding journey with their project. They describe the phases of their four-year effort as, 'anticipation, over-expectation, disillusionment, realism.'

APPENDIX J: RESOURCES

A number of organisations are developing materials and aids that are designed for use in a community approach to health. A few of these that were discussed in the Delhi sessions are listed below.

'Guidebook for the Renewal of Village Vitality' (Chicago, USA, The Institute of Cultural Affairs, 1977)

'Intermediate Technology' (Books by Post, 9 Kent St., London, WC2E 8HN England, U.K.)

'Teaching Aids at Low Cost' (30 Guilford St., London WCIN IEH England, U.K.)

'Where There Is No Doctor' (India Edition: Werner, D., The Hesperian Foundation, Voluntary Health Association of India, C-14 Community Centre, Safdarjung Development Area, New Delhi-110016, India)

The most extensive listing of audio visual health presentations from any of the reporting projects came from Su Clinica Familiar, Texas, USA (NA-24) with 15 video tapes, twenty-two 16mm films and 4 slide shows, most of which are in Spanish, some in English and others in both languages.

APPENDIX K: PROJECT PROFILE, CANADA**Reading and Writing Tutoring Project (NA-7)****Location and Origin**

This grassroots literacy programme was initiated by the Alberta Native Women's Society. It trains non-English speaking or uneducated adults to read and write at seventh grade level. The project crosses cultural barriers to provide a means for more active community participation for the 30 per cent of the adults of the area who belong to seven European and Canadian Indian language groups. The Mennonite Community formerly separated itself from public education for religious reasons, and therefore a high percentage of adults in this area are unable to read and write. Many older people, including the Canadian Indians, have an incentive to learn to read and write when they realise their inability to participate in society unless they can vote, read instructions, use post offices and banks or help their child with schoolwork.

Since the programme began in 1977 several tutoring programmes have been adopted by twelve communities drawing advice and tutor-training assistance from the Reading and Writing Tutoring Project. The coordinator, Lorna Ferguson, describes the approach. 'I think the most successful aspect of our programme is beginning by seeing neighbours who could read and write, regardless of their background. We use a community-tutor approach, and see our tutors as learners so there is a built-in on-going training programme. Some of our students have gone on to become very, very good tutors.' Often an entire family would be involved in the programme with one or more of them becoming adept enough to play a tutoring role.

Participation

The Reading and Writing Tutoring Project used what they call a 'foot in the door' approach. By training a few people who were willing to be tutors and then building upon their results, approximately 160 students between the ages of 14 and 70 have mastered 'personal survival' skills, such as filling and completing forms, mail order purchasing and banking. Cooperation with all ethnic groups has permitted a new level of cultural interaction. Word of mouth, posters, radio and television and community events, such as potluck dinners to present certificates and awards, have publicised the programme to the community at large. Students received diplomas on the successful completion of a level. In place of formal testing there is evaluation of progress in functional literacy.

Methods and Materials

The approach of 'each one teach one' has been tailored to the needs of specific students in remote areas where they work. The method emphasises learning by doing, based in part upon the sensitive response of carefully matched student-tutor teams. A student journalist has been hired to write easy-to-read materials of local interest. Local people contribute high interest low-vocabulary articles to the 'New Reader Page' of the local newspaper.

Staffing

About 75 tutors have been trained through 12 to 20 hour orientation workshops, with periodic additional training of 20 to 30 hours on a less formal basis.

APPENDIX K: PROJECT PROFILE, CANADA

A video presentation developed by the project is used in the training process. Small honoraria for subsidising volunteers have made it possible to expand the number of tutors. An added incentive for tutors is that they can gain up to five high school credits beyond the tenth grade level for their work. The tutors are developing their leadership potential for the project through apprenticeship, formal training and conference participation. Coordinators and tutors attend an annual conference. The tutors improve both their reading and their teaching skills through evaluation of their experience. They receive certificates at various teaching levels.

Organisation

Minimum technical expertise was required to launch the project as a totally voluntary effort. Local people were trained by people from outside the area. Government funding received in 1980 permitted the hiring of a local coordinator, minimal honoraria for some of the project tutors and reimbursement of travel costs and child care. The success of the project has depended upon the commitment of all involved. An autonomous steering committee of tutors and representatives of educational and sponsoring agencies guided the project.

APPENDIX L: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA**Janashiksha Prochar Kendra (SA-75)
(Peoples Learning Centre)****Location and Origin**

Janashiksha Prochar Kendra (JPK) is located in West Bengal, India, where well over half the population is estimated to be illiterate. Their work presupposes that rural development can be catalysed by a fundamental emphasis on the removal of illiteracy. In 1978 they began 42 informal and adult education centres in nine villages throughout the project area. People from all sections of the community now come to the centres, including a large number of day labourers and their families.

They report, 'It has now been acknowledged even by the Government of India that the gigantic problems of illiteracy cannot be solved through formal educational institutions, and thus Janashiksha Prochar Kendra has approached the education of all ages, both male and female, through a variety of methods and media.' Five of the villages boast 100 per cent literacy. Since 1982 the project has entered an income generation phase, introducing to the students with basic education, poultry, bee-keeping, goat rearing and crafts schemes. Some of the centres are now run voluntarily by local people. The project is preparing to establish 60 new education centres in 11 villages of a new project area in an adjacent block (county).

APPENDIX L: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA**Participation**

They further report, 'For the success of the project, mass-scale participation is essential. Mass contact is done by three personal approaches: door-to-door visits to describe the meaning and benefit of a project; group meetings to formulate consensus; cultural functions where people can contact the staff informally and express their views.' Local people have donated land and labour for establishing the 62 adult education centres.

Methods and Materials

JPK has a press on which they publish literacy materials. They distribute leaflets on health, hygiene and agriculture. They have set up a lending library. Feasts and excursions, national celebrations such as Independence Day and birthdays of eminent Indians foster a spirit of unity and identity.

Staffing

The project has 28 field staff, some of whom are volunteers. Most of them live in the villages, and maintain a continuous personal contact. Some of the local people are employed at nominal salaries as the teachers and supervisors. Seminars and workshops are held to inject new ideas into their work.

Organisation

The most important lessons learned by the project concern the need to stay free of local politics and to maintain good relations not only with individuals, but among the various families, castes and communities. Because they see their work as a lead to a much wider development effort, they follow a careful process of involving the villagers in implementing the programme from the beginning. On the basis of the experience in the villages, a draft plan is prepared and discussed with the villagers at meetings. Every plan is sanctioned by village committees of 15 to 20 elders. Evaluation of programmes is used to determine what kind of follow-up is required. Responsibility is shared between the JPK and the villagers. The villagers contribute money and labour to the repair of tubewells, purchase of new mats and building of new community buildings. The work is facilitated by building the structures of adult education centres, community centres, follow-up adult education centres, clubs, charitable clinic and a dispensary.

APPENDIX M: INTERVIEW, ERICA MANN, KENYA**Kibwezi Women's Groups Integrated Development (BA-14)**

In the Machakos District, Kenya, The Kibwezi Women's Groups Integrated Development Project is an illustration of the local materials approach. 'The women involved in the project are part of over 100,000 landless, destitute Kamba people (some 14,000 families). Over the past eight years they have immigrated from their eroded, overpopulated and unproductive area of origin near Machakos to Kibwezi ... a semi-arid, tsetse-infested, ecologically delicate area in which native trees should be preserved as far as possible.'

Erica Mann, vice-chairman of the Council for Human Ecology, Kenya, (CHEK) explained the programme: 'We went into teaching them how to make sun dried stabilised earth brick with which to build the houses. By tradition they build mud/wattle houses. The wattle means thin branches of trees, and from that area, the trees should not be cut. Also the tribe from which these people came, the Wakamba, are by tradition brick-makers. And they were making fire bricks, which you would not want them to pursue there. So, to cut down on burning of trees, we bought them CINVA-rams and we got assistance from the Ministry of Social Services.

'The CINVA ram is a manually-operated brick-making press. It makes one brick at a time. The bricks are then sun-dried. They are not fired, but it is stabilised soil. They have between three per cent and five per cent of cement mixed with the clay, very little water, which again is an important factor. There's not much water available in the area. And if they are well-made, and if the house is well built, it has a life span of between 60 and 100 years. It depends on the foundations and the roof and the care that has been taken in putting it together. The women liked the idea, the Ministry of Culture and Social Services was asked for assistance and a team of instructors from the Karen Village Technology Unit came to Kibwezi. CHEK bought a CINVA-ram and the required cement and paid for 60 women to be housed and fed while undergoing training.

'Today there are three CINVA-rams in operation in Kibwezi, two of them on a plot allocated to the women's groups by the Commissioner of Lands, for a honey and wax refinery, a bakery and other projects. Groups of women have been hard at work digging foundations, making brick and erecting walls...on which the roof is now being placed. As soon as the doors, windows and floors have been added, the equipment donated by an international agency will be installed in its permanent place. But the women have become so excited by knowing how to build now, that they have obtained 6 acres of land from a farmer nearby, and plans from the Ministry of Education. They want to build a secondary boarding school for girls. Now we think (that is the council thinks) that this is a little in advance of what they should do. It's not the top priority, but this is what they will attempt. At the moment I am scrounging for funds for the cement and for everything else that has to go for building.

'The women who have trained as brick makers are now almost ready to move out into other locations in the division, either actually or figuratively selling their new knowledge. They want to form cooperatives, each with its own CINVA- ram.'

There are four key components to the success of the Kibwezi Women's Groups' Project which point the way for other groups.

APPENDIX M: INTERVIEW, ERICA MANN, KENYA

'The first was that the women initially organised themselves into Mwethya self-help groups. This provided them with a recognised way to seek outside assistance. They then approached a local organisation, the Sisters of Mercy who were able to refer them to a national agency.

'The second was the adoption of the project by the Council for Human Ecology in Kenya (CHEK) who helped the women obtain the necessary funding and technical expertise. Then central and local authorities were approached to secure their support and active cooperation. Several non-governmental organisations provided assistance.

'The third component has been the training emphasis in both technical (bee-keeping, brick-making, building, goat-breeding, etc.) and management (organising, planning and marketing) skills. Since the project was started by rural village women, without this training there would have been little chance of success. This training started early in the project and as a result prevented problems before they arose. The training was carried out by various government ministry programmes which are available to the public at large. In spite of the fact that the areas of training were traditionally reserved for men, the women have proved beyond a doubt that they are capable of not only learning, but of excelling in the methods taught.

'Lastly, the vision and dedication of the women are key. They have worked enthusiastically for long hours. They decided they would organise themselves and work together effectively. Meeting participation is high, even though some women must walk five hours to attend. Perhaps most importantly, they have now seen and learned how their own local resources can be used and multiplied. The women of Kibwezi are discovering that they can create a new future for themselves and their children. They are excited and proud to be a national demonstration of hope for the rural women of Kenya.'

APPENDIX N: PROJECT PROFILE, EGYPT**Basaisa Village (NM-3)**

Basaisa is an Egyptian village which has been the site of a pilot project. 'For the past five years, Basaisa has been the locale of a field study exploring the possibilities of utilising the natural resources to meet the human needs of small rural villages. Basaisa was one of the least developed villages in Egypt with virtually no public services. The project in Basaisa began with a one day visit and village consultation, held in September 1975 after the Friday prayer in the Mosque. It began with only one person and since then the Friday visits have continued till the present. The nucleus of the project effort was initiated in Basaisa and it is now spreading outwards toward an area development. The local people are playing a major role in the development of their village and actively participating in a long-range development process.

The major objectives of the project include:

- Discovering how to use natural available resources to improve the quality of life for rural people in ways they decide.
- Promoting community-based innovations that satisfy village energy demands.

APPENDIX N: PROJECT PROFILE, EGYPT

reduce drudgery and stimulate income-generating activities, especially among women.

- Providing a working system to be implemented in other areas of similar ecological, socio-economic and cultural conditions.
- Monitoring and studying the economic and socio-cultural impact of such innovations to assess relevance for wider dissemination.

'From its inception the AUC-NSF Basaisa Village Project was based on two fundamental premises: people's participation and involvement in whatever is going on in their community, and the appropriate utilisation of the local natural resources (including renewable energy resources) available for the community. Based on our experience over the past five years, such premises cannot be realised or have any appreciable impact without appropriate programmes in awareness, education and training linked to increasing income and production and accompanied by in-depth studies.' Their work is beginning to spread to other villages and other areas of the country.

The Basaisa project started with a concern of one person to find out what they could do to help in the rural areas: 'I asked myself a question: If we are a developing country (with) 70 per cent of the population in the rural areas, and this is the situation in the rural areas then what can I do about it? To be able to answer that I decided to educate myself by going to the village. When I went as one single person to the village I had these questions, no answers. I got there on Friday, the day that everyone is free; the educated and the uneducated. I went to the mosque where I talked with the sheikh of the village. I got to talk to the educated people. I got to talk to everybody. We talked to all people: the youngest, the old, and the women. I've been to the village every Friday for seven years; two years to educate myself and five years to work with the project team and the villagers.

Lessons coming out of these projects seem applicable to other situations. Basaisa's basic finding has to do with an approach to the introduction of technology. 'Another example of such training and production activity that took place in the village is the Biogas Project.

The villagers were made aware of the possibility of utilising animal and crop residue to produce methane gas as a fuel and using the remains as a fertiliser. This process of awareness was accomplished through our weekly group discussions, special seminars of the project team as well as invited experts from the Agriculture Research Centre. This was followed by an intensive training of two young male villagers on the construction and operation and maintenance of the biogas plants. This programme resulted in the on-site construction of two individual biogas plants (of a modified Indian type) and currently a third plant is under construction of a modified Chinese type. These units have been used to disseminate and to demonstrate ideas to neighbouring villages.'

APPENDIX O: PROJECT PROFILE, USA**San Luis Valley Solar Energy Projects (NA-21)**

The San Luis Valley Solar Energy Projects attracted interest in New Delhi. 'The San Luis Valley Solar Energy Association (SLVSEA), located in Alamosa, in southwestern Colorado, is an umbrella association for many of the solar projects in the valley. The Association is a private, non-profit corporation supported by voluntary efforts and donations. This group is nationally recognised as a pilot in developing this technology. SLVSEA intends to promote more understanding and development of solar and other alternative energy resources through individual and community effort. Its activities include sponsoring the San Luis Valley Energy Centre which is largely responsible for more than 3,000 solar installations being operational. This figure represents nearly 25 percent of all San Luis Valley homes that utilise low-cost, do-it-yourself solar technologies. It also publishes a newsletter, 'Solar Flashes' with substantial 'how to' articles distributed across the nation.

Also, the project publishes manuals on various solar technologies for the nonprofessional. Its low cost solar designs set it apart from commercial and government programs.

The San Luis Valley Solar Energy Association began with individual responses to particular experiences of the people living at high altitude, in an agriculture based area with the state's lowest income. 'One family found the shampoo frozen inside their bathroom; another found ice on the walls inside the bedroom; another had a vegetable garden freeze in July; still another group acquired a recreation hall for youth, but was unable to pay the cost of heating it. The cost of conventional fuel in this low income area created a 'heat or eat' situation. These needs provoked a number of creative individual efforts to tap the energy of the sun.'

San Luis Valley Solar Energy Association has a number of learnings:

- 'Be sure the need is obvious and real, like preventing frozen shampoo.
- Bring together the people who are working; include experts, but don't let them dominate. In the fall of 1975 and the spring of 1976, the San Luis Valley Council of Governments at the initiative of Akira Kawanabe, held seminars on solar energy that attracted 50-100 people each. In addition to presentation by experts, they permitted exchange of experiences among the participants.
- Use flexible organisational forms. 'Afterwards, the people experienced a need for a structural way to continue the exchange, the Solar Energy Association was founded.'
- Continue to vary products and services.
- Demonstrate potential with highly visible initial projects.
- Produce and distribute simple, graphic how-to pamphlets.
- Publicise and promote everything.
- Find ways to use help from many sources. If you talk about a million people starving, nobody will help. If you say, Johnny needs milk, you'll get all the help you need.
- Use installation projects as training events.
- Make use of all available media to transfer information that empowers local people.

APPENDIX O: PROJECT PROFILE, USA

'Energy can be used as a means for enhancing the whole community. Four to five million dollars of energy costs are saved annually by the use of this approach, and another four to five million is generated by businesses specialising in solar. Some 100 jobs have been generated by contractors doing solar work, and 1,000-plus people have received training in solar technology. Recognition of the valley as the most solar place, with its consequent national attention, has brought a new sense of significance to the area which was previously known as the most needy place in the state. The projects have brought to the valley the opportunity to become a centre for research, training, manufacture and marketing of technology that could benefit people around the world. Although difficult to quantify, indications are that the impact of solar development on mental health, the feeling of regional pride, and general feelings of hope is substantial. Obviously with nearly 3,000 solar applications in operation now, many have acted to change the deteriorating outlook of their own future energy scenarios. Observers in the town of San Luis credit the falling rate of juvenile detention with youth involvement in the construction of a solar system in a community recreation centre, and the indigenous appropriate technology work of Arnie and Maria Valdez of Peoples Alternative Energy Services. We believe that general efforts at community improvement are linked to growing international attention to our alternative energy development.' (NA- 21)

INTEGRATED APPROACHES

APPENDIX P: PROJECT PROFILE, CANADA**Mohawks of the Gibson Band (NA-5)**

There are over 250 Mohawks of the Gibson Band (NA-5) living in Bala, Ontario, Canada. Some of the major issues that confronted them as a community were an unstable economic base, unemployment and substandard housing. This especially affected the elderly. Their story of development is simple but significant. The Band's conviction that something could be done led them to the idea of turning an area where wild cranberries grew into a commercial enterprise.

'The Band Council was interested in finding ways by which we could be truly self sufficient. Of the work programmes available, the Council decided to bring in only those that would provide training to members so that there would be a lasting value to the community. One early operation was a logging programme in which the Council decided to purchase equipment. That project was a real opportunity for us to grow up as we took out a big loan. We learned to accomplish anything regardless of any resistance.

'As the chief was looking for another economic development effort, he hit upon the idea of producing cranberries commercially in an area where wild cranberries grew. A feasibility study was done and funding sources were secured. The first of 10 acres were cleared and one acre planted by hand in 1969. The General Manager hired was originally from the reserve and came back with his family when the position opened up. Trips to Wisconsin were made by members of the reserve to study techniques of cranberry growing and the use of machinery for harvesting. Much of the machinery used in the harvesting was designed by the General Manager for our size of operation.

APPENDIX P: PROJECT PROFILE, CANADA

Iroquois Cranberry Growers now has 27 acres in production. Last year's harvest was 630,000 pounds, with exports world-wide.

'The Ontario Food Council has played a key role in helping us develop markets for the reserve. Vinland University has also done research in sauce and juices and has approached the canners to ask if they wanted to produce this new product in Canada. Articles have also appeared in agriculture research marketing magazines. Training is continuous. Another 15 acres are being readied for production and the harvesting machinery is being redesigned for larger capacity by the General Manager. Our next step is doing a feasibility study on the set up of a lumber drying operation.

'We also had to construct eight homes. Two are completed, four are nearly complete and two are to be started. When the Band investigated funding for housing for the elderly we discovered it was only available for multi-unit buildings, the only value being low cost. The Council visited with each of the elders asking what type of house they would like. An architect was then brought in at the Council expense to design small attractive homes that took into account the needs of the elderly such as wide doorways, ramps and appropriate supports for people in wheelchairs. Instead of applying for senior citizen housing the Council decided to go after a capital housing programme available to any person. This expansion of housing has freed up several homes so that younger families can now move back onto the reserve.'

The reason for their success is the support and motivation that came from their band's collective action and the spirit among the people of learning from each situation.

'We have decided not to take government hand-outs for short-term approaches to the problems of unemployment but to look for the long-term solutions through training and development of reserve owned operations.... We take advantage of outside resources. Both men and women actively participate in the development of the community.'

APPENDIX Q: PROJECT PROFILE, KENYA**Kenya Replication Scheme (BA-19)**

The Kenya Replication Scheme (BA-19) began with a comprehensive development project in the urban slum of Kawangware on the outskirts of Nairobi in 1975. The Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA), while working in a project there, saw that the slums of Kawangware were the result of the poverty of the rural sector. This led to the migration of hundreds of people searching for employment and arriving daily in Nairobi. Accordingly in 1978 the focus shifted to the rural sector of Kenya and a project was begun in the village of Kamweleni, Machakos District using what had been learned about human development in Kawangware. A week long planning consultation involving 100 villagers initiated the project. An ICA team took up residence in the village and worked with the people to implement the plans of the consultation, train villagers in development methods and motivational techniques and create a linkage between the village of Kamweleni and the public and private sectors. As a result, a nursery and primary school was begun, roads were improved, local agriculture was upgraded through seed and fertiliser inputs, cash crops were introduced and the land was developed. Health Care Workers were identified and trained and a clean water supply was assured by building inexpensive rain water storage vessels.

In 1980 a plan was devised to replicate the Kamweleni model for human development across the nation of Kenya. It was initiated by expanding the Kamweleni project to include the four neighbouring villages. A five-day planning consultation was held with about a hundred people representing the cluster of five villages. Together they built a two-year plan for the development of their own individual villages and for the cluster as a whole. The process was continued throughout the nation, initiating projects involving clusters of villages. This placed heavier demands on funds and staff, forcing the ICA to devise ways and means to place a greater emphasis on having village residents initiate the development. Drawing upon their resources as trainers and consultants in planning processes and their village experience, the ICA designed simple, effective programmes to provide methods and leadership training to help villagers to do their own development. In addition, it was clearly said to each village at the very beginning that the ICA did not have funds to bring to the village nor the staff to do the development of the village for them. Most of the accomplishments in the 900 villages that are done by the villagers themselves are diverse and touch on all aspects of village life.

The following is a series of programmes that was designed by the ICA to monitor, train and provide interchange for the villages.

Village Meetings

Two staff members spend two days per month in each village. During that time, they review the accomplishments to date and plan the activities for the coming month. A work day involving the entire village is held.

Circuit Meetings

Village representatives from each village of the cluster spend one day a month together monitoring the progress in their cluster.

APPENDIX Q: PROJECT PROFILE, KENYA

Health Circuits

Each village identifies five people to be trained as Health Care Workers at a two week training programme. Following this the ICA staff visits their cluster of villages to monitor their work, check health care records, visit homes and meet with them to discuss health issues and provide further training.

Village Leaders Conference

These conferences are intended to build a national network of village leaders that provides a broader context for the continuing work of development in their villages. At the conference they discuss difficulties they encountered and how they solved them. Workshops are held on concerns that affect them. They also look at the implementation of programmes in their specific village.

Village Leadership Institute

A five day training programme is held for village leadership of all educational backgrounds to acquire skill in community organisation, leading meetings, building consensus, conducting workshops and planning sessions.

Women's Advancement Module

A programme has been designed to promote women's participation in the overall development of their community. Included are field trips to the district or divisional towns to familiarise them with resources available and to register any necessary associations.

Some Replication Learnings

To fulfill the staff requirements for the replication it was necessary to create a six week long Human Development Training Institute (HDTI) and a two week Advanced Training School (ATS). A high value is placed on staff being voluntary rather than paid employees. The current staff represent a variety of professional and non-professional backgrounds. Common to all of them is the expressed willingness to work at the village level. Volunteers representing their village projects participate in the HDTI to prepare themselves for two years of service. During the course of the two years they return to the ATS to examine aspects of development work in which they have found they need additional practice.

The following are some things that were learned about replicating projects on a national level:

- The key tactical means of involving the total community is a locally based planning and organisation system.
- Replication succeeds when villagers are trusted to assume responsibility to do their own development.
- The key to a massive rural movement is a system of planning, training and implementation events which involve participation of all sectors of the village in building a realistic timeline and plan.
- Ongoing village leadership training maintains and increases the level of effective project implementation.
- Village leaders see their responsibility beyond their own village in the midst of sharing their village's accomplishments.

APPENDIX Q: PROJECT PROFILE, KENYA

- In accompanying staff on circuits to clusters, village leaders learn to tell of their accomplishments and exchange learnings and skills.
- A village leader's movement is necessary to interchange implementation know-how, catalyse linkages and assume responsibility for the replication process.
- Site visits to projects are a crucial method for members of the private, public and voluntary sector to see, believe and decide to participate.

APPENDIX R: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA**Ahmedabad Study and Action Group (SA-1)**

The Dholka Project, Ahmedabad Study and Action Group (ASAG) involves 3,500 people who form the poorest 10 per cent of the population in the 60 villages of the Dholka Taluka (county) in the state of Gujarat, India. Relying upon their extensive experience with rural housing the aim of the ASAG is to generate broad based economic activity through a systems approach. In 1978 they undertook a project to assist 2,000 landless, homeless rural families to build their houses with government assistance. By 1981, 2,000 houses in 30 villages of the taluka were completed. Throughout this period, exploratory work was done in providing milk animals, establishing a hand-knit woolen carpet training centre, and mobilising handloom weavers on initiatives from the villages.

Following this, ASAG reflected on its experience in Dholka, formulated future guidelines and decided to:

- Work with the poorest families in a block of villages.
- Be open to their needs in designing the programme rather than depending on ASAG's areas of specialisation.

Based on these lines a series of village level and cluster level meetings were held throughout the block, asking for assistance in identifying the poorest families. Families were added and deleted on the basis of village visits, meetings and interviews. This process resulted in a total baseline list of 3,500 families from the lowest 10 per cent income group in each village. In-depth action surveys were conducted in 1982 with specific groups of the poorest families. On this basis of primary field experience and data, ASAG evolved various action programmes as soon as each survey was completed. The main concern in this phase was the productive use of assets to generate increased income. Awareness and social values were not a direct focus of the programme but were communicated through the work.

Currently ASAG works with 60 villages where no other organisation exists. These are grouped into nine clusters. The following programmes have been initiated since 1982. Some of them involve 20 to 30 villages. The newer ones cover from one to eight or nine villages. The village level projects include:

- Tenant's Cooperative in Kavitha village on Bhoodan (gifted) land.
- Carpet Producer's Cooperative-societies involving 120 people.
- Women's Embroidery Production-a cooperative of 60 women.
- Leather Tanner's Cooperative that involves 30 tanners.
- Brick Producer's Training Kiln.
- Cobbler's Training Centre.

APPENDIX R: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA

ASAG also encourages area level as well as village level entities. The Dholka Taluka Animal Husbandry Association and the Handloom Weavers' Cooperative Trust are being registered. The Narayani Trust is active in production and marketing of women's embroidery/patchwork. Other area programmes include:

- Landless Labourer's Housing.
- Handloom Weaver's Mobilisation.
- Acrylic Fibre Rural Applications Development.
- Milk Animals Capital Financing Project..
- Cobbler's Capital Financing Project.
- Guava Grower's Project.
- School Forestry Nurseries.
- Dholka Child Development Scheme and other inputs to counter malnourishment among children under 12 years.

The following is a brief indication of the impact that ASAG has had in the Dholka project. With the exception of housing, their work at the time of this report is in its second year of progress in a five year plan.

Access to Housing Schemes

ASAG discovered that only ten per cent of the government schemes reached the poor due to technical issues of land ownership. Accurate lists of the poor who needed this kind of help are now with the these departments and agencies.

Building Skills

Substantial construction happened only in the villages that ASAG had worked in because they had prepared the way for construction with a considerable emphasis on people's participation in the designing of houses and construction processes and post-construction settlement development activities. Design details evolved through ASAG's work, such as improved ventilation, have been copied by others in upgrading their houses. The skills involved in housing construction are more widely spread among the villagers.

Improved Environment

Increased cleaning of space, care for the environment, planting kitchen gardens and cooperation among families takes place among low income housing project participants.

Access to Loan Schemes

Loans are much more easily available to the poor than previously. In addition, because of the people's recent awareness of the real procedures major abuses have been curbed. For example, in many cases a rich man would take a buffalo loan in a poor man's name, give him the subsidy, keep the animal and repay the loan. If the poor man was interested in getting the animal, he often had to pay Rs600 of the Rs900 subsidy in bribes. In a certain village an official was allegedly stopped from taking bribes for completing government applications when villagers complained to his superiors. Milk animal loans for buffaloes are systematically being distributed in the area while in a neighbouring 'taluka' the entire quota of buffalo loans was utilised by just one or two villages.

APPENDIX R: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA

Village Employment

Increased income and skills have been acquired by the many participating families and there are more opportunities to use these without migrating outside the village.

People's Initiative

People are more willing to become involved in new activities because they have seen results. They now have the contacts and confidence to go themselves and take advantage of these schemes once they have the information.

In the Dholka project there are basically two staff categories; ASAG staff and field staff. Most of the field staff are affiliated to particular activities and stay with ASAG for their duration. Many of them come from the lowest income families. ASAG helps them to get further training to enhance their work. There is a high turnover rate, yet this is not seen to be a problem as it is often directly related to their increased confidence. In addition, the income from their new jobs serves to benefit the poorer village families.

Field staff and several ASAG staff meet weekly to discuss current problems, interchange ideas and facilitate action. Sometimes villagers and concerned officials attend these sessions to become acquainted with ASAG's work and assist in unblocking particular activities. The project is flexibly structured in various locations. Training, experimentation, planning, research and mobilisation are incorporated as specific components of every area level programmes. The Ahmedabad staff spend much of their time in the villages.

Expansion Learnings

ASAG has learned a few things about what it means to employ an expansion strategy across an entire taluka where the focus is pinpointed to one social strata.

The Cluster Approach

Working with clusters of five to ten villages enables many economic activities that may not be viable at the single village level. On the other end of the scale it allows focus to be placed on activities which are common to an area smaller than an ecological zone or the entire project area. Within the clusters, family lists serve as a lens to further focus action. When data is collected about villages, clusters provide a base for comparison which tend to minimise observer bias and to encourage cross-checking of any discrepancies that may arise. In addition, when village leaders are concerned with more than their own village they tend to broaden their thinking about their own village as well.

Homogeneous Groups

In India where castes are traditionally identified with occupations, it is effective to focus artisan or skill training on traditional groups while at the same time involving individuals from other groups in the same economic activities. This can add a *yeast* factor to any economic effort.

APPENDIX R: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA

The Pyramid Effect

When a variety of activities are going on in a village, the economic impact tends to pyramid, creating more of an atmosphere for development. Some of the families in the new housing project, for instance have new buffaloes as well as employment for their child who works in the carpet centre.

Social Components to Enterprises

Enterprises need to focus beyond the economic issues to include tactics critical to building the future of the enterprise and the community. The two carpet cooperatives (children and parents) took a three day trip together which provided opportunity for informal conversation and relationships on subjects other than their work. Ultimately they will have to run their cooperatives. Such indirect experiences contribute to team-building and leadership.

Implementing Government Schemes

ASAG's experience with official housing projects is that when they use the official leadership to identify the people who are eligible it results in less than 50 per cent occupancy of which only about 10 per cent go to the poor. ASAG now creates its own view of the total economic system one or two years before the implementation of the scheme.

Systems Creation

Many schemes that are available cut short the whole economic system by focusing on one relatively manageable part. In forestry schemes for instance, for poorer families to be actively involved, financing must be available over a period of five years from seedling to tree. ASAG's response has been to integrate government programmes into a taluka level system to make them economically viable.

Use of Revolving Funds

Individual efforts in purchasing buffaloes are incredibly frustrating for the poor. Banks will provide loans for the purchase of animals and will pay the seller of the animal his dues after the formalities of the sale is completed. However, sellers are understandably reluctant to wait for this in the case of low income buyers from far away villages. As a result the buyer usually takes a short-term loan at exorbitant interest rates from money lenders until the bank then certifies the loan. ASAG created a revolving fund or 'bridge finance' capital which could be employed in effecting cash purchases of animals, making the money lender unnecessary. Now a taluka level organisation is being created to permanently perform this function.

Choice of Village Partners

Village people recognise different leaders for different purposes. Once a change agent has selected particular partners in a village, options for flexibility have been reduced.

APPENDIX R: PROJECT PROFILE, INDIA**Maintaining Objectivity**

It is important for the involvement of the practitioner to avoid getting caught up in local issues if there is to be maximum impact in a short time. A tool such as a list of identified families, built with village input, permits the agent to remain an outsider, yet closely in contact with all parties.

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1-123
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1-115
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1-415, 1-416
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1-411

B. IERD CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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1-510
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1-419
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1-628
- DELEGATE COMMENT: REPORT ON RUHSA, [SA-27] INDIA
1-518
- DELEGATE COMMENT: SEVEGRAM, INDIA
1-702
- DELEGATE COMMENT: STEWART, M., TRANSFER OF EXPERIENCE
1-629
- DELEGATE COMMENT: T.S. STEPHENS, CHANGING PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES, [SA-55] INDIA
1-614
- DELEGATE COMMENT: THE DOUBLE BURDEN
1-402
- DELEGATE COMMENT: WOMEN'S LEGAL RIGHTS, JAMAICA
1-429
- DELEGATE COMMENT: WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION
1-401
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1-401
- DELEGATE COMMENT: WOMEN'S SELF-UNDERSTANDING
1-423
- DISCUSSION GROUP: ICYLINE SEATON, COUNCIL OF VOL. SERVICES, JAMAICA
1-419
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1-423
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1-806, 1-807
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1-313
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1-301
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1-720
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1-106
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1-125

SOURCES FOR PART I

B. IERD CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

- INTEREST GROUP: WOMEN'S INTERCHANGE, ESTER OCLOO, GHANA
1-421
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1-721
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1-123
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1-702
- INTEREST GROUP: MULTI-SECTOR APPROACH
1-105
- INTEREST GROUP: ROD CUSTODIO, INTEGRATED PROGRAMME, [SP-10] PHILIPPINES
1-806
- INTERVIEW: DELEGATE PHYSICIAN, DR. KIM KI SOON, THE ENEMY, KOREA (ROK)
1-523
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1-501
- INTERVIEW: DELEGATE, APPROPRIATE MARKET SYSTEM, NIGERIA
1-313
- INTERVIEW: DELEGATE, IVAN TRAIL, MEDIA USE, [NA-10] CANADA
1-630
- INTERVIEW: DELEGATE, KHUN TONG COMMUNITY HEALTH PROJECT, [SP-37] HONG KONG
1-505, 1-506, 1-514
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1-320
- INTERVIEW: DELEGATE, VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS ACTIVITIES, [SA-65] NEPAL
1-515
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3-331
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1-105, 1-111, 1-505, 1-506
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1-602
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1-602
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1-804
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1-813, 1-816
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1-418
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1-118, 1-403, 1-409, 1-417
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1-512
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1-106
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1-406
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1-207

SOURCES FOR PART I

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1-720
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1-220, 1-326
- ACTION FOR WELFARE AND AWAKENING IN THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT, (AWARE) [SA-21]
INDIA
1-120, 1-224, 1-304, 1-307, 1-313, 1-316, 1-317, 1-320, 1-321, 1-322,
1-323, 1-323, 1-331, 1-407, 1-409, 1-605, 1-609, 1-619, 1-621, 1-625,
1-626, 1-627, 1-628
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1-211, 1-218, 1-221
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1-104
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1-101, 1-208, 1-209, 1-215, 1-224, 1-303, 1-322, 1-805, 1-808, 1-812,
1-812
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INDIA
1-103, 1-309, 1-318, 1-319, 1-320, 1-330, 1-331, 1-332, 1-408, 1-624,
1-707, 1-708, 1-721, 1-722, 1-805, 1-806, 1-814, 1-817
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1-223
- ALL PAKISTAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, (APWA) [SA-48] PAKISTAN
1-421, 1-422, 1-508, 1-519
- ANAND NIKETAN ASHRAM, [SA-23] INDIA
1-211, 1-327, 1-512, 1-604, 1-607, 1-608, 1-615, 1-722, 1-805, 1-817
- ANDONG SARI BAMBOO HOUSING PROJECT, [SP-01] INDONESIA
1-706, 1-707
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1-104, 1-205, 1-210, 1-328, 1-408
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1-422, 1-609, 1-513, 1-616, 1-629
- ASSOCIATION OF YOUNG FARMERS IN CASAMANCE-SENEGAL, (AJAC) [BA-08] SENEGAL
1-222
- AUROVILLE COOPERATIVE, [SA-45] INDIA
1-218
- AUTODIDACTISMO SOLIDARIO, [LA-13] MEXICO
1-618, 1-619, 1-628
- AZPITZIA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, (AHDP) [LA-I] PERU
1-709
- BANGALORE INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY, (BIRDS) [SA-40] INDIA
1-703
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1-703, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724
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1-305, 1-306
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1-704, 1-704, 1-706, 1-707
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1-230, 1-325, 1-328, 1-329
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1-209, 1-210, 1-223
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1-219, 1-224, 1-408, 1-421, 1-428, 1-613, 1-622, 1-623

SOURCES FOR PART I

C. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

- BIRIWA RURAL BANK LTD., [BA-26] GHANA
1-317, 1-414, 1-415
- BONNECHERE METIS ASSOCIATION, [CAN-07] CANADA
1-417, 1-418, 1-423, 1-424
- BONTOA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, (BHDP) [SP-02] INDONESIA
1-125
- BORNO COMMUNITY HEALTH CLINIC, [BA-21] NIGERIA
1-416, 1-421, 1-519, 1-522
- BROOKS COUNTY SCHOOL BASED DEVELOPMENT ENTERPRISES, [NA-29] U.S.A.
1-614
- CARROLL SUSTAINABLE NATURAL FARMING PROJECT, [NA-11] U.S.A.
1-206, 1-207
- CENTRE FOR ALTERNATIVE TECHNOLOGY, [EU-34] U.K.
1-724
- CENTRO CAMPESINO DE SERVICIOS, [LA-35] MEXICO
1-333
- CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE TECNOLOGIA APROPRIADA, (CETAMEX) [LA-49] MEXICO
1-223, 1-404, 1-725
- CHIKHALE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT-ICA, INDIA, (CHDP) [SA-31] INDIA
1-224
- CHRISTA SHARAN SOCIAL WELFARE SOCIETY, [SA-44] INDIA
1-306, 1-417, 1-427
- COMPREHENSIVE RURAL HEALTH, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION PROJECT, [SA-37] INDIA:
- CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP:
1-514
- CIGARETTE COMPANY FARMERS PROGRAMME, [LA-41] JAMAICA
1-221
- CLEAR FORK VALLEY PROJECT, [NA-12] U.S.A.
1-407, 1-629
- CO-CHOMUNN NIS-NESS COMMUNITY COOPERATIVE, [EU-14] U.K.
1-314, 1-317, 1-328, 1-328, 1-625
- COFFEE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, SMALLHOLDER, [BA-32] ZAMBIA
1-203
- COLLECTIVE FARMING PROJ.: INDIAN INST. FOR YOUTH AND WELFARE, (IFYW) [SA-43] INDIA
1-801
- COMITE DE PROMOTORES DE INVESTIGACIONES PARA EL DESARROLLO, (COPIDER) [LA-42] JAMAICA
1-312, 1-314, 1-323
- COMMUNITY OF BANGOR, MICHIGAN, [NA-14] U.S.A.
1-335, 1-709
- COMPREHENSIVE RURAL HEALTH PROJECT, (CRHP) [SA-04] INDIA
1-106, 1-107, 1-213, 1-218, 1-427, 1-502, 1-503, 1-507, 1-513, 1-514, 1-516, 1-517, 1-520, 1-602, 1-604, 1-613, 1-713
- COMPREHENSIVE RURAL OPERATIONS SERVICE SOCIETY, (CROSS) [SA-25] INDIA
1-116, 1-120, 1-218, 1-304, 1-306, 1-322, 1-415, 1-418, 1-426, 1-706, 1-710, 1-722
- COMPUTER ASSISTED LEARNING WITH VIDEODISK, [EU-29] FRANCE
1-628
- CONGREGACION DE POMAS, [LA-38] MEXICO
1-609
- CONSERVATION OF HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT IN TSUMAGO, [SP-29] JAPAN
1-102, 1-106, 1-803

SOURCES FOR PART I

C. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

- COORDINACION RURAL, A.C., (CRAC) [LA-01] MEXICO
1-805
- COUNTRY WOMEN ASSOCIATION, (COWA) [BA-22] NIGERIA
1-104, 1-410, 1-423
- CREATIVE HANDS WORKSHOP, [EU-33] U.K.
1-702, 1-724, 1-725
- DASHOLI GRAMA SWARAJYA MANDAL-THE CHIPKO EXPERIENCE, (DGSM) [SA-77] INDIA
1-309, 1-330, 1-332, 1-409, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716, 1-717, 1-718, 1-719,
1-720
- DE KLEINE AARDE, [EU-12] NETHERLANDS
1-207, 1-724
- DELPH COMMUNITY PROJECT, [EU-32] U.K.
1-408
- DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR MIDDLE DISTANCE, [EU-36] HUNGARY
1-425
- DEVELOPMENT-COUNTY BACS-KISCUN, [EU-40] HUNGARY
1-310, 1-325
- DHANAK-SHIRUR CO-OPERATIVE JOINT FARMING SOCIETY LTD., [SA-70] INDIA
1-216
- DINEH COOPERATIVES, INCORPORATED, [NA-15] U.S.A.
1-307, 1-314
- EDGEMONT SOLAR GARDEN, [NA-16] U.S.A.
1-222
- EL AULA ABIERTA, [LA-29] PERU
1-629
- ELDERS AND YOUTH PROGRAMME, [LA-16] JAMAICA
1-419, 1-621
- ELKFORD COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [NA-02] CANADA
1-810
- EMPLOYMENT OF RURAL WOMEN IN PAKISTAN, [SA-34] PAKISTAN
1-406
- ESTRATEGIA PARA EL DESAROLLO RURAL INTEGRAL, (EPEDRI) [LA-34] MEXICO
1-615
- ETAH INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, [SA-71] INDIA
1-221
- FARMERS' ASSOCIATION AND INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TAIWAN, [SP-09]
TAIWAN (ROC)
1-216
- FIFTH CITY HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, (5TH CITY) [NA-17] U.S.A.
1-808, 1-809
- FIRST RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [LA-14] JAMAICA
1-209
- FONDO ROTATORIO PARA PROYECTOS PRODUCTIVOS, (FEHMUC) [LA-45] HONDURAS
1-317, 1-405, 1-411
- GENERAL RICARTE VILLAGE PROJECT, [SP-10] PHILIPPINES
1-223
- GERARD ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY, [SP-11] AUSTRALIA
1-709, 1-710
- GHANDIGRAM, [SA-24] INDIA
1-118, 1-605, 1-623, 1-624, 1-809
- GONDA GRAMODYA PRAKALP-DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, (DRI) [SA-06] INDIA
1-211, 1-310, 1-814, 1-815, 1-816
- GRAM VIKAS KENDRA JAMSHEDPUR, TELCO, [SA-08] INDIA
1-228, 1-326

SOURCES FOR PART I

C. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

- GRANJAS INTERGRADES, [LA-12] MEXICO
1-215, 1-611, 1-619
- GREEN BELT MOVEMENT, [BA-15] KENYA
1-110, 1-204, 1-409, 1-613, 1-714, 1-714, 1-715, 1-717, 1-718, 1-719 .PA
- GRUPO SPECIAL, [LA-51] COLOMBIA
1-308, 1-315, 1-327
- GRUPOS DE SAN BARTOLO, [LA-33] MEXICO
1-221, 1-609
- GUARDERIAS INFANTILES-PROGRAMA ANDALUCIA, [EU-43] SPAIN
1-421, 1-620
- GUJARAT STATE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., [SA-26] INDIA
1-109, 1-611
- HA'ASINI-HAMULA COOPERATIVE SOCIETY, [SP-13] TONGA
1-508, 1-804
- HEALTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES PROJECT, [NA-28] U.S.A.
1-519
- HISAR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES: DISTRICT RURAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY, (DRDA) [SA-29]
INDIA
1-107
- HOME EDUCATION LIVELIHOOD PROGRAMME, (HELP) [NA-18] U.S.A.
1-420
- HONEYBEE PROJECT, [LA-26] JAMAICA
1-306, 1-309, 1-310
- INDIA DEVELOPMENT SERVICE, (IDS) [SA-22] INDIA
1-125, 1-206, 1-209, 1-213, 1-217, 1-220, 1-223, 1-224, 1-304, 1-308,
1-310, 1-327, 1-330, 1-334, 1-404, 1-411, 1-427, 1-428, 1-516, 1-517,
1-625, 1-713, 1-721
- INDIA'S NEW GROUP FOR RAICHUR'S INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT, (INGRID) [SA-05]
INDIA
1-426, 1-504, 1-506, 1-603, 1-609, 1-807, 1-808
- INSTITUTE OF ENGINEERING AND RURAL TECHNOLOGY, (IERT) [SA-18] INDIA
1-322, 1-404, 1-507, 1-508, 1-622, 1-623, 1-721, 1-725
- INTEGRATED COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [SA-65] NEPAL
1-501
- INTEGRATED FAMILY PLANNING PROJECT, SMALL RURAL COMMUNITY, [EU-27]
PORTUGAL
1-410
- IRIS DRUKKERIJ STICHTING, [EU-21] NETHERLANDS
1-425
- JAMAICA FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S BASIC SCHOOLS PROJECT, (JFW) [LA-44] JAMAICA
1-416
- JANASIKSHA PROCHAR KENDRA, [SA-75] INDIA
1-602
- JAWALE CLUSTER HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT-ICA, INDIA, (JHDP) [SA-28] INDIA
1-224, 1-312, 1-712, 1-713, 1-811
- KANDITO WOMEN GOAT PROJECT, [BA-20] KENYA
1-213, 1-416
- KAPINI HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, ICA, (KHDP) [BA-12] ZAMBIA
1-616
- KENYA FOOD AND NUTRITION TRAINING PROGRAMME, [BA-13] KENYA
1-425, 1-511, 1-814
- KENYA REPLICATION SCHEME, [BA-19] KENYA
1-304, 1-627, 1-814
- KIBWEZI WOMEN'S GROUP INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [BA-14] KENYA
1-616

SOURCES FOR PART I

C. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

- KIBWEZI COMMUNITY-BASED PRIMARY HEALTH CARE PROJECT, (KCBPHCP) [BA-16] KENYA
1-502, 1-508
- KIPOHTAKAW EDUCATION CENTRE, [NA-03] CANADA
1-612, 1-615
- KOH DO E RI HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, PIGGERY PROJECT, KOREA (ROK)
1-311
- KOKROBITEY EBENEZER FISH CURING COOPERATIVE, [BA-25] GHANA
1-307, 1-309, 1-321, 1-411
- LAC LA RONGE INDIAN BAND, [NA-04] CANADA
1-312, 1-612, 1-612, 1-615, 1-619
- LARDIN GABAS RURAL HEALTH PROGRAMME, (LGRHD) [BA-04] NIGERIA
1-502, 1-503, 1-507, 1-513, 1-814
- LEGAL RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, [SP-31] PHILIPPINES
1-606
- LEWKNOR COMMUNITY SCHOOL, [EU-13] U.K.
1-404, 1-617
- MAHAROGI SEWA SAMITI, [SA-15] INDIA
1-520
- MISSISSIPPI ACTION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION, (MACE) [NA-A] U.S.A.
1-616, 1-626
- MOHAWKS OF THE GIBSON BAND, [NA-05] CANADA
1-309, 1-705
- MULTI-SECTOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, (MSRDP) [BA-35] UGANDA
1-712
- MURANGA SAVINGS AND CREDIT COOPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD., [BA-28] KENYA
1-306, 1-320, 1-333, 1-415
- MWEGAZI HATCHERY, [BA-06] KENYA
1-205
- NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FISHERMEN, (NAF) [SA-69] INDIA
1-204
- NATIONAL DAIRY DEVELOPMENT BOARD: OPERATION FLOOD, (NDDB) [SA-33] INDIA
1-102, 1-105, 1-210, 1-214, 1-223, 1-225, 1-411, 1-418, 1-427, 1-605,
1-624, 1-625, 1-629, 1-633
- NATIONAL FARMERS ASSOCIATION OF ZIMBABWE, [BA-33] ZIMBABWE
1-104, 1-610
- NEWMARKET REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [LA-18] JAMAICA
1-709
- NORDWIJK SCHOOL, GRONINGEN, [EU-XLV] NETHERLANDS
1-317
- NORTH CLARENDON DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [LA-10] JAMAICA
1-309
- NUTRITION AND PRIMARY HEALTH PROJECT, [LA-36] MEXICO
1-501, 1-510
- OUR VILLAGE-A GREAT PLACE TO LIVE-HAYNA, [EU-02] GERMANY (BRD)
1-711, 1-712, 1-802
- OUR VILLAGE-A GREAT PLACE TO LIVE-IDSTEIN-LENZHAWN, [EU-04] GERMANY (BRD)
1-711
- OUR VILLAGE-A GREAT PLACE TO LIVE-MILCHENBACH, [EU-01] GERMANY (BRD)
1-711
- OUR VILLAGE-A GREAT PLACE TO LIVE-STERNENFELS, [EU-05] GERMANY (BRD)
1-711, 1-712
- PALESTINIAN NEEDLEWORK PROGRAMME, [NM-01] ISRAEL
1-308, 1-326, 1-329, 1-331, 1-334, 1-412

SOURCES FOR PART I

C. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

- PARENT-CHILD HOME STIMULATION CLASS, MARSHALLTOWN, IA., [NA-D] U.S.A.
1-420, 1-620
- PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT, (PROMUDER) [LA-39] MEXICO
1-418
- PEACE HILLS TRUST COMPANY IN CANADA, [CAN-62] CANADA
1-324
- PEOPLE'S COLLEGE IN UTTAR PRADESH, [SA-19] INDIA
1-213, 1-428, 1-510, 1-513, 1-604, 1-608, 1-610, 1-611, 1-614
- PEOPLE'S CREDIT COOPERATIVE SOCIETY, [SP-06] MALAYSIA
1-320 1-804
- PIAXTLA AND PROJIMO PROJECTS, (PPP) [LA-37] MEXICO
1-110
- PLATTELANDSONTWIKKELING VZW ASSOCIATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, [EU-30]
BELGIUM
1-221, 1-314
- PROJECT COMPASSION-ILAW, [SP-18] PHILIPPINES
1-207, 1-610, 1-611
- PROJECT KANITA, [SP-21] MALAYSIA
1-416, 1-426
- PROJECTO ESPECIAL ALTO HUALLCA, (PEAH) [LA-30] PERU
1-210
- PROSHIKA MONOBIK UNNAYAN KENDRA, (PMUK) [SA-35] BANGLADESH
1-203, 1-606
- PROYECTO MEDICO-EDUCATIVO DE PACARAN, [LA-24] PERU
1-518
- PROYECTO MICRO-REGIONAL DE DESARROLLO RURAL EN HUANCAUELICA, [LA-31]
PERU
1-303, 1-611
- PUBLIC SCHOOL: THE TOWN OF GENEVA, NEBRASKA, [NA-XVIII] U.S.A.
1-617
- READING AND WRITING TUTORING PROJECT, [NA-07] CANADA
1-421, 1-429, 1-602, 1-614
- RURAL DEVELOPMENT CELL SYNDICATE AGRICULTURAL FOUNDATION, [SA-12] INDIA
1-214, 1-224
- RURAL EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, (REDA) [CAN-63] CANADA
1-606
- RURAL FAMILY CENTRE, FERROLES, [EU-06] FRANCE
1-608
- RURAL FAMILY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [NA-XXVI] U.S.A.
1-420
- RURAL MULTIPLIERS PROGRAMME, [LA-03] BRAZIL
1-619, 1-813
- RURAL UNIT FOR HEALTH AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, (RUHSA) [SA-27] INDIA
1-124, 1-125, 1-501, 1-502, 1-511, 1-518, 1-624
- SAEMAUL UNDONG (NEW COMMUNITY MOVEMENT), [SP-33] KOREA (ROK)
1-226, 1-304, 1-307, 1-330, 1-334 1-625
- SAN LUIS VALLEY SOLAR ENERGY PROJECTS, [NA-21] U.S.A.
1-222, 1-409, 1-723, 1-724
- SANJIVANI TRUST, [SA-58] INDIA
1-521
- SARILAKAS, [SP-32] PHILIPPINES
1-317, 1-321, 1-332, 1-605, 1-621
- SASKATCHEWAN COOPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD, [CAN-69] CANADA
1-412

SOURCES FOR PART I

C. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

- SAWAUCHI VILLAGE, [SP-28] JAPAN
1-423, 1-507, 1-710
- SELF-EMPLOYED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, (SEWA) [SA-32] INDIA
1-118, 1-205, 1-220, 1-317, 1-318, 1-320, 1-331, 1-334, 1-335, 1-402,
1-403, 1-414, 1-415, 1-420, 1-422, 1-602, 1-610, 1-628
- SELF-HELP ENTERPRISE, (SHE) [NA-22] U.S.A.
1-110, 1-705, 1-707
- SERVICIO, DESARROLLO Y PAZ, [LA-43] MEXICO
1-610
- SIKEB DAIRY AND AGRICULTURAL PROJECT, NORTH SUMATRA, (SDAP) [SP-04]
INDONESIA
1-210
- SMALL FARMER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, [SA-36] NAPAL
1-114, 1-218, 1-422, 1-425, 1-426
- SMALL FARMERS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [SP-19] PHILIPPINES
1-216
- SOIL CONSERVATION PROJECT, [BA-18] KENYA
1-208, 1-811
- SOLIDARITY: FRANCE COMTE/BOURGOGNE-CASAMANCE, [EU-24] FRANCE
1-222
- SOUTH GUTHERIE COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, [NA-23] U.S.A.
1-706
- ST. JOHN'S CHURCH IN WALES YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME, [EU-07] WALES U.K.
1-408
- STIENKENS HOF FARM FOR ACTIVE LIVING AND LEARNING, [EU-03] GERMANY (BRD)
1-214, 1-607, 1-724
- SU CLINICA FAMILIAR, [NA-24] U.S.A.
1-507, 1-522
- SUPERVISED CREDIT SCHEME, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT BANK, [SA-87] PAKISTAN
1-318
- SURAT AND STANDARD COTTON MILLS RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [SA-10] INDIA
1-208, 1-211, 1-213, 1-226
- SURUCHI CAMPUS, CHAPSHALA AND AGRICULTURAL TOOLS RESEARCH CENTRE, (ATRC)
[SA-13]
INDIA
1-223, 1-404, 1-616, 1-723, 1-724
- TAKUNDA HONU INDUSTRY, [BA-05] ZIMBABWE
1-310
- TATA STEEL RURAL DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY, (TSRDS) [SA-17] INDIA
1-124, 1-227, 1-321, 1-711, 1-722
- TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL FARM MANAGEMENT ASSISTED BY COMPUTER, [EU-23]
FRANCE
1-222
- THREE-M DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: MAIDSTONE, MAYFIELD, MEDINA, [LA-05] JAMAICA
1-224
- TIGNISH CREDIT UNION, [NA-08] CANADA
1-204, 1-220, 1-315
- TILTH, [NA-30] U.S.A.
1-207, 1-724
- TOWN OF LAMAR, COLORADO, [NA-26] U.S.A.
1-309, 1-335
- TREWORK SERVICES, [EU-35] U.K.
1-208, 1-715
- TRICKLE UP PROGRAMME, (TUP) [NA-32] U.S.A.
1-205, 1-317, 1-401, 1-407, 1-419

SOURCES FOR PART I

C. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

- UBOMA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, [BA-01] NIGERIA
1-322
- UMUANUNU NSU COOPERATIVE CENTRE PROJECT, [BA-02] NIGERIA
1-804
- VAISHALI AREA SMALL FARMERS' ASSOCIATION, (VASFA) [SA-20] INDIA
1-106, 1-203, 1-213, 1-217, 1-220
- VEDCHHI PRADESH SEVA SAMITI-INTENSIVE AREA SCHEME, (VIAS) [SA-14] INDIA
1-302, 1-303, 1-305, 1-307, 1-313, 1-319, 1-323, 1-325, 1-329, 1-330,
1-333, 1-402, 1-704, 1-705, 1-706, 1-707, 1-713, 1-725
- VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, (VACD) [NA-09] CANADA
1-603
- WALCHANDNAGAR INDUSTRIES LIMITED, (WIL) [SA-16] INDIA
1-228
- WARREN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROJECT, [NA-C] U.S.A.
1-617
- MEDIA: WESTMAN MEDIA COOPERATIVE LTD., [NA-10] CANADA
1-615, 1-629, 1-630
- XAVIER INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SERVICE, (XISS) [SA-07] INDIA
1-107, 1-113, 1-128, 1-303, 1-307, 1-315, 1-323, 1-324, 1,622,
1-623
- YOUNG FARMERS CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, [SP-25] TAIWAN (ROC)
1-304

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KENYA
1-627
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1-403, 1-405
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1-713
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1-316

SOURCES FOR PART I

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1-517, 1-522, 1-523
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1-403
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1-212
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1-404, 1-410

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REPORT: STATE OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN, THE: GRANT, J., 1984
1-404, 1-508, 1-509, 1-511, 1-512, 1-514

REPORT: VILLAGE IN ANDHRA PRADESH, ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMME, INDIA
1-614

RESOURCE: GUIDELINES FOR TREE PLANTING
1-718

RESOURCE: ONE ACRE TECHNOLOGY, MAFATLAL GROUP, INDIA
1-311

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

ABORIGINAL 1-327, 1-709, 1-710
ACADEMIC 1-102, 1-115, 1-322, 1-515, 1-609, 1-612, 1-623
ACADEMY 1-809
ACCELERATING 1-102, 1-103, 1-115, 1-117, 1-123, 1-126
ACCELERATION 1-124, 1-812
ACCOUNT 1-120, 1-229, 1-405, 1-412, 1-604, 1-612, 1-705, 1-724,
1-809
ACCOUNTABILITY 1-314, 1-316, 1-320, 1-511, 1-513, 1-812
ACCOUNTABLE 1-121, 1-333, 1-513, 1-615
ACCOUNTING 1-110, 1-315, 1-423, 1-607, 1-615, 1-620, 1-628, 1-706
ACCOUNTS 1-217, 1-219, 1-426
ACID 1-701
ACRE 1-206, 1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-211, 1-215, 1-217, 1-226,
1-228,
1-309, 1-311, 1-312, 1-322, 1-329, 1-335, 1-709, 1-724
ACTINOMYCETES 1-206
ACTION-RESEARCH 1-426
ACUPUNCTURE 1-505
ADIVASI 1-227, 1-327
ADMINISTRATION 1-212, 1-628, 1-705, 1-711, 1-712, 1-712, 1-717
ADMINISTRATIVE 1-320, 1-616, 1-625
ADMINISTRATOR 1-323, 1-332, 1-506
ADOBE 1-724
ADOLESCENTS 1-514
ADULT 1-114, 1-115, 1-117, 1-218, 1-328, 1-329, 1-404, 1-417,
1-420,
1-427, 1-428, 1-429, 1-512, 1-515, 1-601, 1-602, 1-614,
1-617,
1-623, 1-804, 1-807, 1-808, 1-814
ADVANTAGED 1-120
ADVERTISEMENT 1-504
ADVERTISING 1-229
ADVICE 1-111, 1-120, 1-121, 1-126, 1-224
ADVISES 1-410, 1-520
ADVISOR 1-230, 1-333
ADVISORY 1-327, 1-518
ADVOCACY 1-512, 1-515
AESTHETIC 1-209
AFFILIATES 1-626, 1-424
AFFLUENT 1-221
AFFORDABLE 1-503
AFFORDED 1-412
AFFORESTATION 1-223, 1-330, 1-409, 1-715, 1-716, 1-717, 1-718, 1-720
AGED 1-406
AGRARIAN 1-401
AGRI-RESEARCH 1-724
AGRI-SCHOOL 1-613
AGRICULTURE 1-103, 1-104, 1-105, 1-109, 1-111, 1-121, 1-126, 1-127,
1-201,
1-202, 1-204, 1-205, 1-207, 1-208, 1-210, 1-211, 1-212,
1-213,
1-214, 1-215, 1-216, 1-217, 1-218, 1-219, 1-220, 1-221,
1-222,
1-223, 1-224, 1-225, 1-226, 1-228, 1-229, 1-230, 1-302,
1-305,
1-306, 1-310, 1-312, 1-313, 1-315, 1-317, 1-318, 1-322,
1-323,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-411,	1-328, 1-329, 1-335, 1-401, 1-402, 1-404, 1-408, 1-410,
1-425,	1-414, 1-415, 1-416, 1-418, 1-419, 1-420, 1-421, 1-422,
1-611,	1-426, 1-429, 1-310, 1-602, 1-606, 1-607, 1-609, 1-610,
1-703,	1-613, 1-614, 1-616, 1-619, 1-625, 1-627, 1-629, 1-702,
1-805,	1-707, 1-712, 1-721, 1-723, 1-724, 1-802, 1-802, 1-804,
AGRICULTURISTS	1-809, 1-814
AGRO-BUSINESS	1-210
AGRO-FORESTRY	1-802
AGRO-INDUSTRIAL	1-208, 1-210
AGRO-INDUSTRIES	1-418
AGRO-SERVICE	1-209, 1-210, 1-223, 1-226, 1-230
AGRONOMIST	1-329, 1-806
AILMENTS	1-329
AIR	1-514, 1-516, 1-519
ALCOHOLISM	1-207, 1-310, 1-604, 1-630
ALKALINITY	1-407, 1-609
ALKALOIDS	1-714
ALLIANCE	1-311
ALLIED	1-413
ALLYING	1-325, 1-408
ALTERNATIVE	1-323
1-328,	1-104, 1-112, 1-116, 1-119, 1-215, 1-221, 1-222, 1-305,
1-519,	1-314, 1-331, 1-404, 1-409, 1-422, 1-428, 1-505, 1-508,
1-724,	1-522, 1-607, 1-611, 1-612, 1-619, 1-711, 1-722, 1-723,
AMALGAMATED	1-725
AMALGAMATIONS	1-802
AMATEURS	1-213
ANATOMY	1-416
ANCESTORS	1-515
ANCIENT	1-614
ANCILLARY	1-206, 1-307
ANIMAL	1-203, 1-228
1-307,	1-104, 1-107, 1-111, 1-204, 1-206, 1-207, 1-215, 1-223,
1-613,	1-318, 1-319, 1-402, 1-426, 1-428, 1-508, 1-511, 1-612,
ANIMATOR	1-703, 1-705, 1-716, 1-717, 1-724, 1-801, 1-814
ANOPHELES	1-121, 1-601, 1-605, 1-617, 1-618, 1-623
ANTIBIOTICS	1-713
ANTITOXIN	1-206
ANTS	1-520
APATHY	1-708
APPRENTICESHIP	1-212, 1-510
APPROACH	1-315, 1-805
1-207,	1-105, 1-106, 1-111, 1-114, 1-118, 1-125, 1-126, 1-203,
1-301,	1-212, 1-218, 1-221, 1-223, 1-224, 1-226, 1-229, 1-230,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

- 1-323,
1-335,
1-419,
1-505,
1-605,
1-625,
1-715,
1-806,
AQUACULTURE
ARABLE
ARBITRATOR
ARBORICULTURE
ARCHITECT
ARCHITECTURE
ARID
ARITHMETIC
AROMATIC
ART
ARTIFICIAL
ARTISAN
1-410,
ARTISTIC
ARTWORK
ASHRAM
1-327,
ASSEMBLIES
ASSESS
ASSETS
1-509,
ASSOCIATED
ASTHMA
ATMOSPHERE
ATOMIC
ATTITUDE
1-335,
1-513,
1-629,
AUDIO-VISUAL
AUTODIDACTISMO
AUTOMATIC
AUTOMOBILE
AUTONOMOUS
- 1-302, 1-303, 1-304, 1-309, 1-311, 1-318, 1-319, 1-322,
1-324, 1-327, 1-328, 1-329, 1-330, 1-332, 1-333, 1-334,
1-401, 1-404, 1-405, 1-406, 1-410, 1-411, 1-413, 1-417,
1-420, 1-421, 1-422, 1-423, 1-429, 1-501, 1-502, 1-503,
1-507, 1-508, 1-518, 1-519, 1-522, 1-512, 1-601, 1-603,
1-608, 1-609, 1-610, 1-611, 1-614, 1-617, 1-620, 1-624,
1-627, 1-630, 1-701, 1-702, 1-705, 1-707, 1-711, 1-712,
1-716, 1-718, 1-721, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724, 1-801, 1-805,
1-807, 1-808, 1-809, 1-810, 1-813, 1-814, 1-815
1-204, 1-724
1-208
1-604
1-209
1-705
1-331
1-223, 1-426, 1-713, 1-725
1-807
1-210, 1-311
1-114, 1-117, 1-308, 1-422
1-105, 1-223, 1-225
1-118, 1-204, 1-223, 1-228, 1-310, 1-334, 1-402, 1-404,
1-611, 1-724, 1-816
1-115
1-307
1-101, 1-208, 1-211, 1-215, 1-224, 1-303, 1-322, 1-325,
1-604, 1-607, 1-608, 1-722, 1-805, 1-816
1-228, 1-307, 1-301, 1-303
1-326, 1-333, 1-334, 1-428, 1-630
1-201, 1-203, 1-210, 1-212, 1-217, 1-303, 1-318, 1-412,
1-803, 1-805
1-101, 1-304, 1-404, 1-409, 1-413, 1-417
1-128, 1-505
1-331, 1-810
1-701
1-107, 1-108, 1-116, 1-125, 1-208, 1-214, 1-218, 1-334,
1-404, 1-405, 1-418, 1-422, 1-423, 1-429, 1-430, 1-505,
1-601, 1-603, 1-608, 1-614, 1-615, 1-620, 1-622, 1-628,
1-807, 1-816
1-124, 1-422, 1-511
1-618, 1-619, 1-628
1-311, 1-326, 1-401, 1-522, 1-718
1-315, 1-608
1-111, 1-325, 1-333, 1-414

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

AUXILIARY	1-419, 1-515, 1-517, 1-627
AWAKEN	1-120, 1-201, 1-202, 1-206, 1-211, 1-224, 1-304, 1-313,
1-322,	
AWARE	1-407, 1-418, 1-508, 1-605, 1-609, 1-613, 1-619
1-304,	1-104, 1-112, 1-114, 1-120, 1-125, 1-206, 1-213, 1-224,
1-333,	1-316, 1-317, 1-320, 1-321, 1-322, 1-323, 1-328, 1-332,
1-518,	1-335, 1-401, 1-405, 1-407, 1-411, 1-429, 1-430, 1-505,
1-625,	1-601, 1-602, 1-605, 1-609, 1-611, 1-618, 1-619, 1-620,
AWARENESS	1-626, 1-627, 1-628, 1-709, 1-807, 1-808, 1-815, 1-816
1-418,	1-105, 1-106, 1-116, 1-117, 1-209, 1-227, 1-307, 1-408,
1-613,	1-422, 1-426, 1-507, 1-517, 1-519, 1-521, 1-603, 1-606,
AYURVEDIC	1-701, 1-702, 1-716, 1-721
BABY	1-128, 1-505
BACTERIA	1-230, 1-512, 1-516
BAKERIES	1-206
BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS	1-411, 1-419
BAMBOO	1-112
BANANA	1-128, 1-703, 1-706, 1-706, 1-707
BANK	1-510
1-216,	1-107, 1-118, 1-124, 1-125, 1-209, 1-211, 1-213, 1-214,
1-312,	1-217, 1-219, 1-220, 1-224, 1-227, 1-228, 1-304, 1-306,
1-414,	1-317, 1-318, 1-319, 1-320, 1-324, 1-326, 1-327, 1-331,
BAPTIST	1-415, 1-417, 1-602, 1-609, 1-619, 1-622, 1-703, 1-708
BAREFOOT	1-519
BARGAINING	1-323, 1-407, 1-515, 1-620
BASELINE	1-119, 1-221, 1-402
BASKET	1-226, 1-326
BATHING	1-227
BATHROOMS	1-705
BATHS	1-403, 1-709, 1-710
BEAUTIFICATION	1-420
BEAUTIFUL	1-124, 1-408, 1-708, 1-711, 1-802
BEAUTIFYING	1-301, 1-504
BEAUTY	1-408, 1-709
BEAVER	1-409, 1-612
BEDS	1-706, 1-707
BEE	1-517
BEE-HIVES	1-306, 1-311, 1-511
BEE-KEEPING	1-311, 1-423
BEET	1-210, 1-217, 1-310, 1-417, 1-423, 1-425
BEHAVIOUR	1-309
BELTS	1-101, 1-327, 1-405, 1-423, 1-505, 1-816
BENEFICIARIES	1-715
BENEFIT	1-102, 1-317, 1-406, 1-504, 1-816
1-221,	1-103, 1-105, 1-111, 1-114, 1-121, 1-209, 1-219, 1-220,
1-317,	1-224, 1-225, 1-228, 1-229, 1-302, 1-307, 1-308, 1-314,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

- 1-423,
1-705,
BENEFITED
BENEFITING
BENEFITS
1-312,
1-515,
BICYCLE
BIDI
BIENNIAL
BIOGAS
1-724,
BIOLOGICAL
BIOMASS
BIOSPHERE
BIOTIC
BIRTH
BIRTHRATES
BLACKSMITHS
BLIND
BLOOD
BLUEPRINTS
BOATS
BORN
BORROW
BOTTOM-UP
BOYS
BRANCH-BASED
BREAST-FEED
BREED
BREEDING
BRIBES
BRICKS
BROADCAST
BROCHURES
BRONCHIAL
BUFFALO
BUGS
BUILDING
1-121,
1-226,
1-312,
1-412,
1-506,
1-624,
1-328, 1-332, 1-401, 1-404, 1-405, 1-409, 1-410, 1-422,
1-425, 1-428, 1-430, 1-517, 1-614, 1-619, 1-622, 1-624,
1-726, 1-814
1-105, 1-120, 1-229, 1-410, 1-425, 1-428, 1-709
1-218, 1-225, 1-424, 1-511, 1-801
1-102, 1-119, 1-125, 1-205, 1-207, 1-213, 1-301, 1-306,
1-314, 1-319, 1-333, 1-411, 1-415, 1-421, 1-501, 1-508,
1-602, 1-620, 1-707, 1-715, 1-801
1-228, 1-306, 1-315, 1-426
1-307
1-720
1-113, 1-128, 1-205, 1-223, 1-409, 1-607, 1-707, 1-722,
1-725
1-405
1-701
1-724
1-618
1-105, 1-416, 1-512, 1-513, 1-519, 1-613, 1-806
1-616
1-310
1-520, 1-521, 1-803
1-310, 1-410, 1-512, 1-515, 1-603
1-103, 1-104, 1-323
1-204, 1-220, 1-315
1-421, 1-503, 1-725
1-316, 1-317, 1-318, 1-319, 1-415
1-230, 1-405
1-209, 1-219, 1-607
1-318, 1-319
1-415, 1-511, 1-512
1-230
1-210, 1-217, 1-311, 1-417, 1-608
1-112
1-128, 1-217, 1-230, 1-706, 1-707, 1-708
1-629, 1-630
1-618, 1-628
1-505
1-209, 1-210, 1-217, 1-224, 1-312, 1-318, 1-319
1-718
1-104, 1-106, 1-107, 1-110, 1-112, 1-113, 1-117, 1-120,
1-122, 1-125, 1-203, 1-208, 1-221, 1-222, 1-224, 1-225,
1-228, 1-229, 1-230, 1-302, 1-303, 1-306, 1-307, 1-308,
1-317, 1-318, 1-320, 1-322, 1-323, 1-327, 1-330, 1-335,
1-413, 1-416, 1-418, 1-419, 1-420, 1-426, 1-503, 1-505,
1-509, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-522, 1-605, 1-616, 1-617,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-707,	1-625, 1-627, 1-628, 1-631, 1-701, 1-703, 1-705, 1-706,
1-802,	1-708, 1-709, 1-711, 1-712, 1-716, 1-721, 1-724, 1-801,
BUILT	1-803, 1-804, 1-805, 1-807, 1-808, 1-810, 1-812, 1-816
1-310,	1-110, 1-120, 1-208, 1-212, 1-222, 1-228, 1-304, 1-305,
1-516,	1-320, 1-321, 1-335, 1-407, 1-412, 1-419, 1-420, 1-501,
1-724,	1-616, 1-617, 1-619, 1-620, 1-704, 1-705, 1-707, 1-711,
BULLDOZER	1-725, 1-806
BULLOCK	1-710
BULLS	1-211, 1-404, 1-814
BUNDS	1-105
BUREAUCRACY	1-208, 1-211, 1-216, 1-303, 1-808
BUS-BUILDING	1-121, 1-126, 1-224, 1-308
BUSES	1-310
BUSINESS	1-710, 1-802
1-230,	1-102, 1-105, 1-107, 1-125, 1-204, 1-220, 1-227, 1-229,
1-333,	1-309, 1-312, 1-315, 1-320, 1-323, 1-326, 1-330, 1-332,
1-622,	1-335, 1-402, 1-413, 1-419, 1-421, 1-424, 1-609, 1-620,
BUSINESS-BASED	1-707, 1-712, 1-719, 1-803, 1-810
BUSINESS-SPONSORED	1-327
BUY	1-325
1-708,	1-209, 1-229, 1-230, 1-301, 1-312, 1-314, 1-510, 1-605,
CABBAGE	1-709, 1-808
CABINETS	1-328
CABLE	1-705
CADRE	1-117, 1-124, 1-610, 1-615, 1-628, 1-629, 1-630
CALF	1-627
CALORIES	1-318
CAMPAIGN	1-216, 1-325, 1-509, 1-510
1-602,	1-330, 1-422, 1-427, 1-509, 1-510, 1-514, 1-630, 1-516,
CAMPESINAS	1-603, 1-709, 1-804
CAMPESINO	1-405
CAMPS	1-312, 1-314, 1-323, 1-333, 1-404, 1-618
1-504,	1-117, 1-206, 1-126, 1-323, 1-330, 1-407, 1-409, 1-427,
1-714,	1-510, 1-519, 1-521, 1-605, 1-625, 1-626, 1-631, 1-713,
CAMPUS	1-715, 1-716, 1-717, 1-718, 1-719, 1-810, 1-814
CANALS	1-616, 1-723, 1-724
CANNING	1-721, 1-802
CAPITAL	1-229, 1-411
1-227,	1-101, 1-111, 1-112, 1-120, 1-124, 1-203, 1-210, 1-221,
1-517,	1-229, 1-301, 1-302, 1-306, 1-312, 1-317, 1-415, 1-508,
1-721,	1-522, 1-609, 1-611, 1-629, 1-705, 1-708, 1-709, 1-717,
	1-802, 1-804, 1-805

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

CAPITALISED	1-225
CAREER	1-304, 1-428
CARETAKER	1-326, 1-425, 1-515
CARPENTERS	1-310, 1-315, 1-607, 1-608
CASH	1-108, 1-112, 1-209, 1-211, 1-212, 1-217, 1-221, 1-230,
1-306,	
	1-317, 1-414, 1-416, 1-425, 1-511, 1-714, 1-716, 1-808
CASTE	1-102, 1-105, 1-106, 1-218, 1-220, 1-330, 1-516, 1-603,
1-605,	
	1-609, 1-708
CATALYSE	1-116, 1-203, 1-307, 1-322, 1-323, 1-330, 1-416, 1-504,
1-507,	
	1-627, 1-709, 1-816
CATALYST	1-102, 1-103, 1-107, 1-314, 1-325, 1-328, 1-331, 1-335,
1-427,	
	1-506, 1-702, 1-716, 1-717, 1-815, 1-816
CATCHMENT	1-228, 1-713
CATTLE	1-105, 1-215, 1-220, 1-223, 1-305, 1-306, 1-408, 1-409,
1-610,	
	1-618
CELEBRATIONS	1-303, 1-716
CEMETERY	1-709
CEREALS	1-511
CERTIFICATES	1-610, 1-612
CERTIFICATION	1-425
CHAIRPERSON	1-411
CHARCHA	1-608
CHARITABLE	1-230, 1-305, 1-327, 1-520, 1-521
CHARKHAS	1-424
CHECK-UP	1-519
CHEESE	1-224
CHEMICAL	1-127, 1-206, 1-207, 1-218, 1-220, 1-301, 1-611, 1-613
CHEST	1-504
CHICKENS	1-611
CHIEF	1-312, 1-327, 1-421, 1-507, 1-513, 1-522, 1-612, 1-619,
1-620,	
	1-625, 1-815
CHILD	1-105, 1-110, 1-116, 1-117, 1-119, 1-204, 1-205, 1-209,
1-211,	
	1-213, 1-222, 1-307, 1-332, 1-402, 1-404, 1-406, 1-408,
1-410,	
	1-411, 1-414, 1-415, 1-416, 1-417, 1-418, 1-419, 1-420,
1-421,	
	1-422, 1-425, 1-426, 1-427, 1-428, 1-429, 1-430, 1-501,
1-505,	
	1-506, 1-508, 1-509, 1-510, 1-511, 1-512, 1-513, 1-514,
1-516,	
	1-519, 1-521, 1-522, 1-522, 1-601, 1-602, 1-608, 1-609,
1-612,	
	1-613, 1-615, 1-616, 1-617, 1-618, 1-620, 1-624, 1-711,
1-715,	
	1-716, 1-721, 1-802, 1-805, 1-806, 1-807, 1-808, 1-811,
1-814	
CHULAS	1-725
CHURCH	1-122, 1-327, 1-408, 1-503, 1-518, 1-519, 1-609, 1-613,
1-629,	
	1-716, 1-803

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

CHUTNEYS	1-229
CIRCUITS	1-126, 1-815
CISTERNS	1-128, 1-616, 1-713
CITIES	1-201, 1-205, 1-212, 1-310, 1-330, 1-403, 1-422, 1-506,
1-517	
CITY	1-104, 1-111, 1-119, 1-218, 1-309, 1-328, 1-329, 1-422,
1-601,	
	1-608, 1-610, 1-623, 1-802, 1-808, 1-809
CLASS	1-113, 1-115, 1-307, 1-329, 1-420, 1-605, 1-620
CLASSES	1-106, 1-312, 1-322, 1-323, 1-407, 1-415, 1-416, 1-421,
1-422,	
	1-423, 1-427, 1-428, 1-514, 1-516, 1-602, 1-605, 1-607,
1-610,	
	1-613, 1-615, 1-616, 1-623, 1-801, 1-804, 1-807, 1-808,
1-814	
CLASSROOM	1-518, 1-604, 1-608, 1-612, 1-617, 1-623
CLEANLINESS	1-408, 1-415, 1-713
CLIENT	1-332, 1-420, 1-816
CLIENTELE	1-324, 1-331
CLIMATE	1-114, 1-128, 1-211, 1-305, 1-630, 1-709, 1-723, 1-805
CLINIC	1-122, 1-214, 1-224, 1-420, 1-422, 1-501, 1-502, 1-505,
1-507,	
	1-509, 1-514, 1-515, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-522,
1-522,	
	1-722
CLOTH	1-227, 1-404, 1-607
CLOTHING	1-205, 1-419
CLUBS	1-106, 1-117, 1-121, 1-122, 1-126, 1-210, 1-218, 1-224,
1-328,	
	1-329, 1-405, 1-413, 1-427, 1-504, 1-508, 1-606, 1-610,
1-709,	
	1-712, 1-803, 1-804
CLUSTER	1-122, 1-125, 1-126, 1-203, 1-224, 1-226, 1-322, 1-328,
1-329,	
	1-509, 1-511, 1-516, 1-620, 1-623, 1-625, 1-713, 1-720,
1-723,	
	1-725, 1-801, 1-806, 1-811, 1-813, 1-814, 1-815
CO-OPERATE	1-103, 1-105, 1-106, 1-124, 1-125, 1-206, 1-216, 1-221,
1-223,	
	1-226, 1-229, 1-314, 1-301, 1-304, 1-327, 1-304, 1-306,
1-307,	
	1-407, 1-409, 1-416, 1-429, 1-518, 1-606, 1-609, 1-620,
1-627,	
	1-628, 1-708, 1-714, 1-719, 1-803, 1-804, 1-815
CO-OPERATIVE	1-105, 1-106, 1-114, 1-118, 1-120, 1-121, 1-122, 1-123,
1-202,	
	1-204, 1-207, 1-210, 1-211, 1-213, 1-216, 1-217, 1-218,
1-219,	
	1-220, 1-224, 1-225, 1-228, 1-229, 1-230, 1-306, 1-307,
1-308,	
	1-309, 1-311, 1-312, 1-313, 1-314, 1-315, 1-317, 1-319,
1-320,	
	1-321, 1-325, 1-328, 1-329, 1-332, 1-333, 1-406, 1-408,
1-410,	
	1-411, 1-412, 1-414, 1-415, 1-417, 1-418, 1-419, 1-423,
1-508,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-625,	1-522, 1-602, 1-605, 1-606, 1-607, 1-615, 1-616, 1-620,
1-814	1-627, 1-629, 1-630, 1-631, 1-723, 1-801, 1-804, 1-808,
CO-ORDINATE	1-113, 1-121, 1-125, 1-126, 1-220, 1-226, 1-229, 1-326,
1-327,	1-518, 1-620, 1-624, 1-809, 1-812
CO-ORDINATOR	1-429, 1-520, 1-617
CO-SPONSORED	1-208, 1-230
COACHING	1-623
COAL	1-407, 1-629, 1-810
COALITION	1-309, 1-327, 1-626
COAST	1-222, 1-312, 1-321, 1-625
COBBLERS	1-624
COCOA	1-205, 1-210, 1-226
COCONUT	1-611, 1-804
COFFEE	1-203, 1-226
COINS	1-230
COLD	1-504, 1-724
COLEGIO	1-418
COLLABORATION	1-221, 1-228, 1-325, 1-410, 1-424, 1-504, 1-505, 1-705,
1-719	
COLLATERAL	1-319, 1-414
COLLECTIVE	1-121, 1-307, 1-408, 1-415, 1-504, 1-506, 1-605, 1-606,
1-801,	
COLLEGE	1-805, 1-806, 1-816
1-517,	1-213, 1-408, 1-412, 1-428, 1-502, 1-505, 1-510, 1-513,
1-614,	1-518, 1-519, 1-521, 1-601, 1-604, 1-608, 1-610, 1-611,
COLLIERIES	1-622
COLONIAL	1-227
COLONIES	1-506
COMMERCE	1-306
COMMERCIAL	1-125, 1-230, 1-309, 1-325, 1-328, 1-329, 1-703
1-309,	1-101, 1-204, 1-210, 1-221, 1-226, 1-230, 1-301, 1-302,
1-810,	1-314, 1-320, 1-324, 1-328, 1-709, 1-715, 1-717, 1-719,
COMMODITY	1-812
COMMUNAL	1-221, 1-225, 1-302, 1-305
COMMUNICATE	1-212, 1-218, 1-711, 1-723
COMMUNICATION	1-110, 1-214, 1-331, 1-332, 1-505, 1-513, 1-613, 1-713
1-505,	1-110, 1-123, 1-124, 1-126, 1-222, 1-315, 1-405, 1-501,
1-629,	1-514, 1-614, 1-615, 1-618, 1-620, 1-623, 1-627, 1-628,
COMMUNITIES	1-630, 1-631, 1-711
1-405,	1-304, 1-314, 1-321, 1-324, 1-329, 1-332, 1-333, 1-404,
1-501,	1-406, 1-407, 1-410, 1-412, 1-418, 1-420, 1-421, 1-425,
COMMUNITY-BASED	1-502, 1-503, 1-504, 1-509, 1-511, 1-518, 1-519, 1-522
COMMUNITY-CONTROLLED	1-416, 1-508
COMMUNITY-ELECTED	1-117
COMMUNITY-HOUSING	1-507
	1-222

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

COMMUNITY-IDENTIFIED	1-410
COMMUNITY-RUN	1-127
COMMUNITY-WIDE	1-120, 1-216
COMPANY	1-210, 1-221, 1-226, 1-227, 1-228, 1-230, 1-310, 1-311, 1-312,
	1-324, 1-325, 1-326, 1-327, 1-615, 1-629, 1-706, 1-713,
	1-722,
	1-804
COMPETITION	1-121, 1-124, 1-201, 1-203, 1-216, 1-221, 1-310, 1-312,
1-324,	
	1-609, 1-711, 1-712, 1-712, 1-719, 1-802
COMPOST	1-508
COMPREHENSIVE	1-106, 1-107, 1-113, 1-116, 1-118, 1-122, 1-215, 1-218,
1-219,	
	1-228, 1-304, 1-306, 1-309, 1-312, 1-316, 1-317, 1-322,
1-326,	
	1-331, 1-335, 1-401, 1-415, 1-418, 1-426, 1-427, 1-501,
1-502,	
	1-503, 1-504, 1-513, 1-515, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521,
1-522,	
	1-602, 1-603, 1-613, 1-706, 1-707, 1-713, 1-721, 1-723,
1-808,	
	1-809, 1-810
COMPUTER	1-128, 1-222, 1-608, 1-628
CONFIDENCE	1-107, 1-114, 1-213, 1-220, 1-221, 1-224, 1-228, 1-306,
1-335,	
	1-404, 1-407, 1-410, 1-422, 1-423, 1-425, 1-427, 1-429,
1-507,	
	1-511, 1-513, 1-515, 1-516, 1-602, 1-604, 1-630, 1-702
CONSCIENCE	1-721
CONSCIENTIOUSLY	1-513
CONSCIENTISATION	1-111, 1-114, 1-605, 1-618
CONSCIOUS	1-207, 1-301, 1-306, 1-307, 1-426, 1-603, 1-612, 1-709,
1-720,	
	1-721
CONSCIOUSNESS	1-114, 1-116, 1-304, 1-419, 1-509, 1-512, 1-603, 1-607,
1-617,	
	1-710, 1-724
CONSENSUS	1-110, 1-116, 1-121, 1-218, 1-407, 1-424, 1-427, 1-604
CONSERVATION	1-102, 1-106, 1-110, 1-206, 1-208, 1-209, 1-223, 1-325,
1-404,	
	1-613, 1-715, 1-720, 1-720, 1-803, 1-808
CONSERVE	1-711, 1-713
CONSOLIDATED	1-617, 1-802, 1-803
CONSTRUCT	1-121, 1-208, 1-209, 1-211, 1-216, 1-217, 1-228, 1-304,
1-311,	
	1-408, 1-409, 1-616, 1-705, 1-713, 1-717, 1-723, 1-725
CONSTRUCTION	1-113, 1-211, 1-212, 1-221, 1-227, 1-303, 1-328, 1-407,
1-408,	
	1-409, 1-415, 1-416, 1-420, 1-602, 1-607, 1-615, 1-703,
1-704,	
	1-705, 1-706, 1-707, 1-708, 1-709, 1-711, 1-712, 1-713,
1-717,	
	1-723, 1-724, 1-803, 1-804, 1-806, 1-808
CONSULTANT	1-209, 1-506, 1-811
CONSULTATION	1-414, 1-417, 1-428, 1-520, 1-804, 1-810, 1-811

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

CONSUMER	1-221, 1-226, 1-230, 1-230, 1-313, 1-314, 1-315, 1-410,
1-613,	
	1-804
CONSUMPTION	1-112, 1-204, 1-205, 1-215, 1-425, 1-426, 1-702, 1-721,
1-802	
CONTRACEPTIVES	1-512
CONTRACT	1-216, 1-221, 1-229, 1-307, 1-312, 1-715
CONTRACTORS	1-220, 1-309, 1-409, 1-415, 1-416
CONTRIBUTE	1-103, 1-109, 1-118, 1-125, 1-204, 1-211, 1-307, 1-312,
1-317,	
	1-335, 1-404, 1-421, 1-423, 1-518, 1-522, 1-609, 1-616,
1-618,	
	1-627, 1-708, 1-709, 1-714, 1-805, 1-808
CONTRIBUTION	1-114, 1-115, 1-205, 1-226, 1-230, 1-317, 1-403, 1-409,
1-416,	
	1-518, 1-620, 1-705, 1-707, 1-711, 1-713, 1-717, 1-804,
1-812	
CONVENIENT	1-704, 1-705, 1-716
COOK	1-113, 1-204, 1-401, 1-402, 1-607, 1-710, 1-712, 1-725
COOKERS	1-113, 1-223, 1-409, 1-725
COPRA	1-804
CORAL	1-611
CORD	1-603
CORN	1-411, 1-415
CORPORATE	1-227, 1-313, 1-314, 1-326, 1-330, 1-712
CORPORATION	1-125, 1-209, 1-220, 1-222, 1-226, 1-307, 1-314, 1-327,
1-611,	
	1-707, 1-709
CORPS	1-623
COSTUME	1-712
COTTAGE	1-307, 1-406, 1-811
COTTON	1-208, 1-211, 1-213, 1-226
COUGH	1-504, 1-510
COUNCILS	1-811
COUNSELLING	1-420, 1-719
COURSE	1-107, 1-113, 1-117, 1-205, 1-207, 1-208, 1-217, 1-220,
1-221,	
	1-303, 1-304, 1-315, 1-317, 1-320, 1-412, 1-420, 1-426,
1-428,	
	1-503, 1-508, 1-509, 1-514, 1-517, 1-518, 1-608, 1-618,
1-620,	
	1-622, 1-623, 1-624, 1-625, 1-724, 1-725, 1-811
COURT	1-604, 1-609, 1-803, 1-816
COURTHOUSE	1-630
COW	1-209, 1-210, 1-217, 1-223, 1-311, 1-312, 1-318, 1-611,
1-716	
CRAFTS	1-114, 1-127, 1-209, 1-227, 1-412, 1-419, 1-421, 1-424,
1-608,	
	1-805
CRAFTSMEN	1-610, 1-616, 1-702
CRANBERRIES	1-309
CRECHE	1-105, 1-122, 1-128, 1-332, 1-414, 1-415, 1-416, 1-420
CREDIT	1-110, 1-111, 1-112, 1-122, 1-125, 1-126, 1-203, 1-205,
1-206,	
	1-209, 1-211, 1-216, 1-219, 1-220, 1-224, 1-227, 1-229,
1-301,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-333,	1-306, 1-313, 1-316, 1-317, 1-318, 1-319, 1-320, 1-326,
1-703,	1-406, 1-412, 1-414, 1-415, 1-423, 1-522, 1-522, 1-609,
CREDITS	1-804, 1-808, 1-812
CROCHETING	1-415
CROFTERS	1-127
CROP	1-328
1-207,	1-106, 1-107, 1-111, 1-117, 1-119, 1-127, 1-201, 1-205,
1-224,	1-210, 1-211, 1-212, 1-215, 1-217, 1-221, 1-222, 1-223,
1-619,	1-229, 1-230, 1-303, 1-311, 1-329, 1-404, 1-426, 1-611,
1-808,	1-713, 1-714, 1-716, 1-717, 1-722, 1-802, 1-804, 1-806,
CROP-LIVESTOCK	1-814
CROSS-BRED	1-202
CROSS-BREEDING	1-210
CROSS-CULTURAL	1-215, 1-223, 1-318
CROSS-GENERATION	1-429
CULINARY	1-418
CULTIVATION	1-419
1-221,	1-203, 1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-212, 1-217, 1-218, 1-220,
1-622,	1-223, 1-225, 1-230, 1-309, 1-406, 1-417, 1-421, 1-611,
CULTURAL	1-703, 1-801, 1-816
1-302,	1-113, 1-114, 1-123, 1-124, 1-218, 1-224, 1-225, 1-301,
1-411,	1-306, 1-307, 1-308, 1-313, 1-321, 1-323, 1-324, 1-410,
1-608,	1-421, 1-425, 1-428, 1-601, 1-602, 1-603, 1-604, 1-607,
1-629,	1-612, 1-615, 1-617, 1-618, 1-619, 1-620, 1-620, 1-627,
CULTURE	1-631, 1-714, 1-716, 1-721, 1-809, 1-810, 1-814, 1-815
1-417,	1-110, 1-305, 1-306, 1-307, 1-308, 1-324, 1-331, 1-404,
1-816	1-422, 1-505, 1-603, 1-604, 1-612, 1-615, 1-619, 1-620,
CURATIVE	1-307, 1-309, 1-321, 1-411, 1-427, 1-501, 1-502, 1-504,
1-513,	1-514, 1-517, 1-520, 1-521, 1-522, 1-602
CURRICULUM	1-114, 1-116, 1-117, 1-119, 1-315, 1-421, 1-428, 1-502,
1-511,	1-514, 1-608, 1-609, 1-611, 1-612, 1-614, 1-620, 1-807,
1-815	1-317
CUSTOMERS	1-114, 1-421, 1-604, 1-607
CUSTOMS	1-103, 1-105, 1-116, 1-210, 1-213, 1-214, 1-217, 1-220,
DAIRY	1-223, 1-224, 1-225, 1-226, 1-228, 1-306, 1-308, 1-312,
1-222,	1-333, 1-408, 1-411, 1-417, 1-427, 1-605, 1-607, 1-629,
1-325,	1-814
1-814	DAIRY-CO-OPERATIVES
DAIRY-CO-OPERATIVES	1-121

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

DAMS	1-208, 1-215, 1-303, 1-311, 1-713, 1-808
DANCE	1-114, 1-117, 1-306, 1-416, 1-716
DAUGHTERS	1-413, 1-428, 1-430
DECENTRALISED	1-212, 1-722
DECISION-MAKING	1-120, 1-216, 1-218, 1-228, 1-322, 1-412, 1-417, 1-427, 1-503,
DECORATIONS	1-604, 1-608, 1-701, 1-705, 1-707, 1-709, 1-723
DEFORESTATION	1-802
DEGENERATION	1-309, 1-409
DEHYDRATION	1-630
DELUGES	1-514
DEMOCRATISATION	1-713
DEMOGRAPHIC	1-201, 1-225, 1-334
DEMOLITION	1-517
DEMYSTIFIED	1-617, 1-630
DENTIST	1-603
DEPENDENCY	1-522
1-623,	1-107, 1-125, 1-309, 1-314, 1-317, 1-323, 1-521, 1-618, 1-816
DEPOSITORS	1-122
DESERT	1-223, 1-402, 1-426, 1-714
DESERTIFICATION	1-208, 1-409, 1-702, 1-714
DIABETES	1-519
DIAGNOSE	1-303, 1-427, 1-503, 1-510, 1-521
DIALECTS	1-421, 1-629, 1-716
DIALOGUE	1-123, 1-219, 1-301, 1-423, 1-615, 1-619, 1-623, 1-702, 1-816
DIAMOND	1-305
DIARRHOEA	1-111, 1-511, 1-512, 1-514
DIESEL	1-211, 1-814
DIET	1-205, 1-410, 1-511
DIGESTIVE	1-505
DIGNITY	1-332, 1-522, 1-522, 1-605, 1-622
DIPHTHERIA	1-504
DIPLOMA	1-622
DISABLED	1-514, 1-520, 1-808
DISADVANTAGE	1-112, 1-127, 1-201, 1-202, 1-403, 1-720
DISADVANTAGED	1-107, 1-114, 1-116, 1-120, 1-122, 1-202, 1-331, 1-401, 1-403,
DISCIPLINES	1-406, 1-711
DISCRIMINATION	1-125, 1-331, 1-609, 1-807
DISEASE	1-102, 1-115, 1-414, 1-415
1-509,	1-101, 1-109, 1-206, 1-421, 1-501, 1-505, 1-507, 1-508, 1-510, 1-512, 1-513, 1-514, 1-515, 1-517, 1-519, 1-520,
1-521,	1-522, 1-813
DISORDERS	1-505
DISPENSARY	1-504, 1-624
DISPOSAL	1-427, 1-508, 1-516, 1-703, 1-713
DISTILLATION	1-311, 1-402, 1-415
DISTRIBUTION	1-111, 1-218, 1-230, 1-301, 1-319, 1-510, 1-517
DISTRICT	1-623, 1-624, 1-629, 1-710, 1-714, 1-717, 1-719, 1-804, 1-807,
	1-808, 1-811, 1-814, 1-815, 1-816

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

DIVERSIFY	1-111, 1-207, 1-227, 1-311, 1-324, 1-426, 1-629, 1-809,
1-814	
DIVIDENDS	1-411
DO-IT-YOURSELF	1-222
DOCTOR	1-111, 1-122, 1-211, 1-330, 1-501, 1-502, 1-503, 1-505,
1-507,	1-512, 1-515, 1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-602,
1-603,	1-620, 1-709
DOCUMENTARY	1-508, 1-509
DOCUMENTATION	1-103, 1-110, 1-115, 1-301, 1-318, 1-702, 1-704, 1-723,
1-726,	1-813
DOMESTIC	1-104, 1-310
DONATIONS	1-209, 1-215, 1-230, 1-322, 1-407, 1-416, 1-519, 1-522,
1-719,	1-802, 1-811,
DONKEY	1-104, 1-222
DONOR	1-125, 1-211, 1-327, 1-628, 1-815
DRAINAGE	1-205, 1-404, 1-508, 1-802, 1-803
DRAINS	1-208, 1-703
DRAMA	1-114, 1-117, 1-224, 1-333, 1-330, 1-404, 1-422, 1-501,
1-522,	1-608, 1-613, 1-614, 1-620, 1-628
DRILLING	1-228, 1-711
DRINK	1-713, 1-803
DRINKING	1-108, 1-205, 1-218, 1-411, 1-713
DRIP	1-223
DRIVING	1-607
DROP-OUTS	1-428, 1-601, 1-623
DRUGS	1-417, 1-514, 1-516, 1-521
DRY	1-127, 1-212, 1-217, 1-713, 1-716, 1-721, 1-724, 1-804,
1-808	
DUCK	1-417
DUNG	1-305, 1-716
DWELLINGS	1-112, 1-121, 1-408, 1-410, 1-508, 1-708, 1-709
DYING	1-516
DYNAMIC	1-103, 1-107, 1-109, 1-110, 1-120, 1-225, 1-302, 1-311,
1-320,	1-426, 1-507, 1-625
DYSENTERY	1-515
EARN	1-105, 1-118, 1-119, 1-205, 1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-214,
1-218,	1-221, 1-402, 1-311, 1-326, 1-334, 1-410, 1-411, 1-412,
1-418,	1-419, 1-425, 1-429, 1-522, 1-616, 1-617, 1-714
EARTH-RISE	1-701
EARTHEN	1-208, 1-215, 1-303, 1-808
EARTHQUAKE	1-701
EARTHWORMS	1-206
ECOLOGY	1-117, 1-201, 1-207, 1-209, 1-306, 1-405, 1-607, 1-701,
1-702,	1-715, 1-716, 1-717, 1-718, 1-802
ECONOMICAL	1-109, 1-111, 1-121, 1-223, 1-318, 1-335, 1-403, 1-411,
1-703,	1-715, 1-801, 1-814
ECONOMISTS	1-314, 1-323

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

ECONOMY	1-111, 1-113, 1-207, 1-209, 1-215, 1-216, 1-226, 1-227,
1-229,	
1-312,	1-230, 1-230, 1-301, 1-305, 1-308, 1-309, 1-310, 1-311,
1-725,	1-315, 1-328, 1-335, 1-412, 1-510, 1-605, 1-613, 1-708,
ECOSYSTEMS	1-802, 1-805, 1-812, 1-808, 1-816
EDUCATE	1-207
1-322,	1-116, 1-121, 1-127, 1-207, 1-209, 1-210, 1-219, 1-321,
1-509,	1-330, 1-333, 1-406, 1-412, 1-413, 1-422, 1-428, 1-429,
EDUCATION	1-601, 1-613, 1-619, 1-802
1-119,	1-105, 1-106, 1-107, 1-108, 1-112, 1-113, 1-115, 1-117,
1-212,	1-122, 1-125, 1-126, 1-128, 1-203, 1-206, 1-208, 1-211,
1-302,	1-213, 1-214, 1-215, 1-218, 1-222, 1-224, 1-227, 1-228,
1-328,	1-304, 1-316, 1-320, 1-322, 1-323, 1-325, 1-326, 1-327,
1-416,	1-329, 1-334, 1-404, 1-405, 1-407, 1-409, 1-411, 1-415,
1-503,	1-417, 1-420, 1-421, 1-425, 1-426, 1-427, 1-501, 1-502,
1-516,	1-504, 1-505, 1-506, 1-507, 1-508, 1-512, 1-514, 1-515,
1-603,	1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-522, 1-522, 1-602,
1-612,	1-604, 1-605, 1-606, 1-607, 1-608, 1-609, 1-610, 1-612,
1-623,	1-613, 1-614, 1-615, 1-616, 1-617, 1-618, 1-620, 1-622,
1-719,	1-626, 1-627, 1-628, 1-629, 1-706, 1-709, 1-714, 1-716,
1-816	1-723, 1-801, 1-804, 1-805, 1-807, 1-808, 1-809, 1-814,
EDUCATORS	1-330, 1-417, 1-515, 1-601, 1-615, 1-617, 1-619
EFFICIENCY	1-608
EFFLUENT	1-206
EGGS	1-205
ELDERS	1-110, 1-114, 1-117, 1-402, 1-419, 1-421, 1-423, 1-507,
1-612,	1-615, 1-620, 1-620, 1-629, 1-630, 1-705, 1-808
ELECT	1-303, 1-314, 1-407, 1-428, 1-429, 1-615, 1-710, 1-801
ELECTRICAL	1-211, 1-222, 1-705, 1-710, 1-722, 1-814
ELECTRICITY	1-205, 1-411, 1-708, 1-722, 1-725
ELITE	1-303, 1-304, 1-307, 1-320, 1-331
EMANCIPATION	1-420
EMBROIDERY	1-408
EMERGENCIES	1-427, 1-503, 1-519, 1-521, 1-616, 1-722
EMIGRATE	1-218
EMPLOYED	1-118, 1-305, 1-309, 1-333, 1-409, 1-429, 1-522, 1-706,
1-714,	1-816
EMPLOYMENT	1-112, 1-113, 1-201, 1-202, 1-203, 1-205, 1-209, 1-210,
1-221,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

- 1-329,
1-417,
1-721,
ENDOWMENT
ENERGY
1-223,
1-702,
1-724,
ENERGY-SAVING
ENGINEERING
1-623,
ENGINEERS
ENTERPRISES
1-226,
1-311,
1-407,
ENTERTAINMENT
ENTHUSIASTIC
ENTHUSIASTS
ENTREPRENEUR
ENVIRONMENT
1-211,
1-313,
1-418,
1-516,
1-613,
1-713,
EQUIPMENT
1-310,
1-724,
EQUIPPED
EQUIPPING
ERODE
1-714,
ETHNIC
EUCALYPTUS
- 1-227, 1-229, 1-305, 1-307, 1-310, 1-314, 1-321, 1-328,
1-335, 1-402, 1-403, 1-404, 1-406, 1-408, 1-409, 1-412,
1-418, 1-425, 1-608, 1-612, 1-622, 1-628, 1-703, 1-705,
1-802, 1-803, 1-805, 1-806, 1-808, 1-814
1-617
1-104, 1-110, 1-117, 1-126, 1-127, 1-205, 1-207, 1-222,
1-310, 1-325, 1-401, 1-404, 1-408, 1-409, 1-424, 1-701,
1-703, 1-705, 1-708, 1-714, 1-720, 1-721, 1-722, 1-723,
1-725, 1-726, 1-813, 1-816
1-702
1-228, 1-230, 1-322, 1-326, 1-331, 1-404, 1-508, 1-622,
1-721, 1-724, 1-725
1-211, 1-702
1-106, 1-110, 1-122, 1-202, 1-203, 1-210, 1-213, 1-216,
1-227, 1-228, 1-301, 1-302, 1-305, 1-306, 1-308, 1-309,
1-313, 1-314, 1-315, 1-316, 1-317, 1-320, 1-327, 1-403,
1-415, 1-608, 1-620, 1-705, 1-707, 1-716
1-214, 1-416, 1-506, 1-602, 1-629
1-715, 1-717
1-207
1-116, 1-228, 1-229, 1-307, 1-315, 1-325, 1-426, 1-623
1-102, 1-106, 1-119, 1-120, 1-128, 1-206, 1-207, 1-209,
1-214, 1-219, 1-222, 1-224, 1-304, 1-306, 1-307, 1-309,
1-401, 1-404, 1-405, 1-407, 1-408, 1-409, 1-415, 1-417,
1-420, 1-421, 1-422, 1-423, 1-425, 1-426, 1-427, 1-505,
1-520, 1-603, 1-605, 1-607, 1-608, 1-609, 1-611, 1-612,
1-614, 1-618, 1-620, 1-620, 1-701, 1-702, 1-709, 1-711,
1-714, 1-715, 1-718, 1-719, 1-722, 1-802, 1-803, 1-805
1-105, 1-110, 1-211, 1-217, 1-220, 1-230, 1-230, 1-305,
1-318, 1-404, 1-414, 1-415, 1-515, 1-519, 1-522, 1-629,
1-725, 1-805, 1-808
1-330, 1-406, 1-412, 1-724, 1-807
1-115, 1-203, 1-627, 1-723
1-201, 1-208, 1-216, 1-409, 1-520, 1-601, 1-611, 1-631,
1-718, 1-720
1-110, 1-114, 1-115, 1-122, 1-319, 1-429
1-208, 1-210

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

EVALUATE 1-107, 1-110, 1-112, 1-113, 1-116, 1-218, 1-304, 1-323,
1-332,
1-334, 1-410, 1-505, 1-611, 1-614, 1-619, 1-624, 1-626,
1-627,
1-630, 1-716
EVOLUTION 1-113, 1-315, 1-323, 1-332, 1-502
EVOLVE 1-103, 1-104, 1-113, 1-120, 1-206, 1-207, 1-216, 1-315,
1-318,
1-319, 1-321, 1-323, 1-331, 1-406, 1-408, 1-604, 1-624,
1-715, 1-724, 1-809, 1-813, 1-814, 1-816
EXCHANGE 1-124, 1-210, 1-221, 1-224, 1-307, 1-403, 1-405, 1-414,
1-423,
1-516, 1-609, 1-610, 1-625, 1-628, 1-724, 1-726
EXCURSION 1-610
EXEMPLARS 1-712
EXEMPLARY 1-610, 1-625
EXHIBITION 1-212, 1-628
EXHIBITS 1-107, 1-202, 1-722
EXODUS 1-205, 1-209
EXPERIMENT 1-112, 1-126, 1-211, 1-215, 1-222, 1-223, 1-321, 1-322,
1-325,
1-414, 1-420, 1-422, 1-511, 1-612, 1-618, 1-620, 1-628,
1-629,
1-718, 1-722, 1-724, 1-725, 1-813
EXPERTISE 1-103, 1-105, 1-120, 1-124, 1-125, 1-126, 1-228, 1-230,
1-325,
1-331, 1-515, 1-518, 1-609, 1-716, 1-719
EXPERTS 1-119, 1-123, 1-125, 1-323, 1-327, 1-618, 1-816
EXPLOITATION 1-101, 1-111, 1-203, 1-204, 1-206, 1-207, 1-220, 1-230,
1-307,
1-311, 1-315, 1-322, 1-324, 1-403, 1-411, 1-415, 1-506,
1-603,
1-605, 1-606, 1-608, 1-622, 1-701, 1-711, 1-717, 1-719,
1-812
EXPORT 1-113, 1-216, 1-221, 1-230, 1-313, 1-314, 1-613
EXPOSITIONS 1-124
EXTENSION 1-119, 1-209, 1-213, 1-216, 1-217, 1-219, 1-321, 1-325,
1-328,
1-333, 1-415, 1-428, 1-510, 1-513, 1-518, 1-601, 1-608,
1-609,
1-619, 1-813, 1-814
EXTINCTION 1-417, 1-419
EXTRACTION 1-315
EYES 1-403, 1-422, 1-427, 1-610, 1-710, 1-814, 1-815
FACILITATE 1-210, 1-211, 1-212, 1-218, 1-219, 1-224, 1-226, 1-302,
1-303,
1-518, 1-610, 1-619, 1-628, 1-710, 1-805
FACILITATOR 1-102, 1-304, 1-332, 1-506, 1-606, 1-810
FACILITY 1-203, 1-205, 1-213, 1-214, 1-221, 1-224, 1-229, 1-307,
1-312,
1-403, 1-404, 1-408, 1-415, 1-416, 1-422, 1-427, 1-503,
1-513,
1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-522, 1-608, 1-608, 1-615, 1-616,
1-617,
1-703, 1-704, 1-708, 1-709, 1-711, 1-712, 1-720, 1-801,
1-806,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

FACTORIES	1-807
FACULTY	1-206, 1-228, 1-309, 1-610
FAIRS	1-611
FALLOW	1-107, 1-222, 1-616
FAMILY	1-311
1-127,	1-105, 1-106, 1-109, 1-111, 1-118, 1-120, 1-121, 1-122,
1-214,	1-203, 1-204, 1-205, 1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-211, 1-213,
1-228,	1-215, 1-217, 1-218, 1-219, 1-220, 1-222, 1-226, 1-227,
1-334,	1-230, 1-302, 1-305, 1-306, 1-311, 1-318, 1-324, 1-325,
1-409,	1-401, 1-402, 1-403, 1-404, 1-405, 1-406, 1-407, 1-408,
1-422,	1-410, 1-411, 1-412, 1-416, 1-417, 1-418, 1-420, 1-421,
1-510,	1-423, 1-424, 1-425, 1-427, 1-428, 1-429, 1-501, 1-508,
1-602,	1-511, 1-512, 1-514, 1-515, 1-516, 1-519, 1-521, 1-522,
1-615,	1-604, 1-608, 1-609, 1-610, 1-611, 1-612, 1-613, 1-614,
1-709,	1-619, 1-620, 1-624, 1-629, 1-704, 1-705, 1-706, 1-707,
1-809,	1-712, 1-721, 1-723, 1-724, 1-801, 1-802, 1-803, 1-806,
FAMINE	1-812, 1-813
FARM	1-208, 1-228, 1-808
1-207,	1-107, 1-122, 1-127, 1-201, 1-202, 1-204, 1-205, 1-207,
1-222,	1-209, 1-213, 1-214, 1-215, 1-216, 1-217, 1-219, 1-22
1-322,	1-223, 1-224, 1-227, 1-230, 1-305, 1-311, 1-313, 1-314,
1-430,	1-328, 1-404, 1-408, 1-412, 1-415, 1-419, 1-420, 1-423,
1-618,	1-606, 1-607, 1-608, 1-609, 1-610, 1-611, 1-613, 1-616,
FARMER	1-627, 1-628, 1-630, 1-707, 1-724, 1-802, 1-803, 1-811
1-117,	1-104, 1-105, 1-106, 1-108, 1-111, 1-112, 1-114, 1-116,
1-207,	1-118, 1-121, 1-122, 1-126, 1-201, 1-202, 1-203, 1-206,
1-216,	1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-211, 1-212, 1-213, 1-214, 1-215,
1-226,	1-217, 1-218, 1-219, 1-220, 1-221, 1-222, 1-223, 1-224,
1-312,	1-229, 1-230, 1-302, 1-303, 1-304, 1-305, 1-309, 1-311,
1-410,	1-313, 1-314, 1-317, 1-318, 1-319, 1-324, 1-404, 1-408,
1-426,	1-411, 1-412, 1-413, 1-414, 1-415, 1-421, 1-422, 1-424,
1-628,	1-427, 1-510, 1-606, 1-610, 1-611, 1-618, 1-619, 1-627

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-805, 1-629, 1-705, 1-718, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724, 1-801, 1-802,
1-808, 1-811
FARMING 1-107, 1-111, 1-121, 1-127, 1-201, 1-203, 1-204, 1-205,
1-206, 1-207, 1-208, 1-210, 1-211, 1-212, 1-214, 1-215, 1-216,
1-217, 1-218, 1-220, 1-221, 1-223, 1-228, 1-229, 1-306, 1-309,
1-314, 1-328, 1-335, 1-404, 1-408, 1-409, 1-410, 1-411, 1-413,
1-417, 1-421, 1-422, 1-425, 1-510, 1-520, 1-602, 1-607, 1-608,
1-610, 1-616, 1-701, 1-722, 1-801, 1-802, 1-814
FASHION 1-228, 1-331
FATHER 1-429, 1-504
FAUNA 1-714
FEDERALLY 1-424
FEDERATED 1-216
FEDERATION 1-119, 1-225, 1-405, 1-410, 1-411, 1-413, 1-416, 1-421
FEE 1-416, 1-522, 1-522, 1-615, 1-616
FEED 1-105, 1-207, 1-222, 1-402, 1-510, 1-607, 1-608
FEED-BACK 1-422
FEEDING 1-511, 1-512, 1-516
FEMALE 1-318, 1-426, 1-427, 1-514
FENCE 1-217, 1-311, 1-508, 1-715, 1-804
FERRO-CEMENT 1-725
FERTILE 1-410
FERTILISER 1-107, 1-111, 1-205, 1-206, 1-207, 1-218, 1-219, 1-301,
1-305, 1-312, 1-421, 1-611, 1-716, 1-725, 1-801, 1-808
FERTILITY 1-207, 1-208, 1-211, 1-611, 1-714
FESTIVAL 1-114, 1-124, 1-609, 1-614, 1-618, 1-628, 1-716
FESTIVE 1-810
FEUDAL 1-506
FIBRE 1-210, 1-311
FIBREGLASS 1-310
FILMS 1-105, 1-508, 1-509, 1-628
FINANCE 1-107, 1-111, 1-112, 1-211, 1-224, 1-318, 1-326, 1-519,
1-602, 1-615, 1-627, 1-704, 1-706, 1-708, 1-802
FINANCIAL 1-109, 1-113, 1-122, 1-205, 1-213, 1-219, 1-220, 1-222,
1-224, 1-226, 1-230, 1-314, 1-412, 1-416, 1-420, 1-516, 1-521,
1-522, 1-608, 1-615, 1-620, 1-706, 1-709, 1-710, 1-711, 1-712,
1-719, 1-802, 1-803, 1-810
FIRE 1-612
FIREWOOD 1-409, 1-413, 1-716
FIRST-AID 1-516, 1-519
FISH 1-204, 1-206, 1-220, 1-307, 1-309, 1-321, 1-411, 1-713,
1-724, 1-806
FISH-CURING 1-128
FISH-PROCESSING 1-309
FISH-SMOKERS 1-411

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

FISHERIES	1-202, 1-204, 1-226, 1-315
FISHER-PEOPLE	1-202, 1-204, 1-220, 1-315, 1-317, 1-414, 1-415, 1-611
FITNESS	1-330
FLANNELGRAPHS	1-422, 1-614
FLASH-CARDS	1-422
FLEECE-LINED	1-305
FLIP-CHARTS	1-422, 1-511
FLOCK	1-230
FLOOD	1-201, 1-208, 1-225, 1-325, 1-520, 1-630, 1-708, 1-709, 1-714, 1-718
FLORA	1-714
FLOUR	1-402
FLOWERS	1-612, 1-613, 1-802, 1-803
FODDER	1-127, 1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-217, 1-223, 1-225, 1-311, 1-409, 1-611, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716, 1-717
FOOD	1-104, 1-105, 1-110, 1-111, 1-127, 1-202, 1-204, 1-205, 1-212, 1-215, 1-217, 1-222, 1-226, 1-229, 1-230, 1-301, 1-401, 1-408, 1-411, 1-416, 1-425, 1-426, 1-428, 1-506, 1-508, 1-509, 1-510, 1-511, 1-522, 1-609, 1-610, 1-613, 1-616, 1-620, 1-712, 1-719, 1-721, 1-724, 1-813, 1-814
FOOD-FOR-WORK	1-716
FOREST	1-104, 1-112, 1-201, 1-210, 1-215, 1-226, 1-307, 1-322, 1-408, 1-409, 1-602, 1-611, 1-612, 1-703, 1-713, 1-714, 1-717, 1-718, 1-719, 1-720
FORESTRY	1-202, 1-208, 1-228, 1-404, 1-409, 1-611, 1-623, 1-624, 1-715, 1-719, 1-720
FORUM	1-302, 1-322, 1-413, 1-516, 1-606, 1-816
FOSSIL	1-702
FOUNDATION	1-108, 1-113, 1-116, 1-201, 1-209, 1-210, 1-214, 1-217, 1-221, 1-223, 1-224, 1-305, 1-313, 1-324, 1-326, 1-427, 1-502, 1-503, 1-513, 1-606, 1-629, 1-705, 1-707, 1-708, 1-718, 1-806, 1-808, 1-812, 1-813
FOX	1-808
FRAGILITY	1-701, 1-702, 1-714, 1-718
FREEZE-DRYING	1-229
FRONTIERS	1-707
FRUIT	1-103, 1-201, 1-202, 1-208, 1-210, 1-215, 1-217, 1-229, 1-309, 1-311, 1-403, 1-409, 1-510, 1-511, 1-611, 1-709, 1-716, 1-724
FUEL	1-201, 1-204, 1-209, 1-210, 1-311, 1-402, 1-409, 1-714, 1-715, 1-725
FUEL-WOOD	1-716

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

FUND	1-107, 1-111, 1-214, 1-217, 1-219, 1-224, 1-303, 1-303,
1-304,	1-317, 1-319, 1-320, 1-324, 1-326, 1-415, 1-424, 1-504,
1-506,	1-508, 1-522, 1-609, 1-616, 1-617, 1-626, 1-705, 1-707,
1-712,	1-723, 1-808, 1-812
FUND-RAISING	1-124, 1-615
FUNDING	1-113, 1-124, 1-220, 1-326, 1-332, 1-424, 1-518, 1-522,
1-616,	1-617, 1-628, 1-629, 1-704, 1-705, 1-706, 1-707, 1-711,
1-715,	1-718, 1-719, 1-719, 1-722
FUNGI	1-206
FURNITURE	1-416
FUTURE	1-102, 1-106, 1-108, 1-109, 1-110, 1-114, 1-123, 1-204,
1-206,	1-210, 1-217, 1-224, 1-229, 1-314, 1-315, 1-317, 1-324,
1-335,	1-402, 1-404, 1-411, 1-417, 1-418, 1-502, 1-601, 1-602,
1-607,	1-624, 1-625, 1-628, 1-708, 1-710, 1-712, 1-723, 1-724,
1-806,	1-809, 1-810, 1-811, 1-812
GALVANISED	1-335
GANDHI	1-211, 1-325, 1-327, 1-329, 1-424, 1-607, 1-612, 1-623
GARDENS	1-105, 1-214, 1-222, 1-303, 1-313, 1-326, 1-416, 1-425,
1-511,	1-609, 1-610, 1-724
GARLIC	1-212, 1-218, 1-221
GEOGRAPHIC	1-120, 1-211, 1-308, 1-322, 1-429, 1-629, 1-721, 1-809,
1-812,	1-813, 1-816
GHETTO	1-706
GIRLS	1-107, 1-209, 1-604, 1-608, 1-616
GLASS	1-616
GLOBAL	1-101, 1-113, 1-123, 1-125, 1-219, 1-303, 1-313, 1-413,
1-509,	1-511, 1-627, 1-628, 1-802
GOAT	1-205, 1-210, 1-213, 1-217, 1-224, 1-416, 1-417
GOLD	1-230
GOODS	1-226, 1-229, 1-230, 1-230
GRADES	1-612, 1-616, 1-620
GRADUATED	1-615
GRADUATES	1-122, 1-310, 1-318, 1-323, 1-518, 1-608, 1-611, 1-612,
1-620,	1-622, 1-625, 1-627, 1-814
GRAFTED	1-311
GRAIN	1-107, 1-217, 1-221, 1-412, 1-509, 1-510
GRANDFATHER	1-703
GRANDPARENTS	1-620
GRANTS	1-111, 1-317, 1-323, 1-326, 1-401, 1-404, 1-407, 1-414,
1-415,	1-416, 1-508, 1-509, 1-511, 1-512, 1-724
GRASS	1-208, 1-311, 1-402, 1-716, 1-720, 1-803
GRASSROOTS	1-106, 1-214, 1-218, 1-225, 1-230, 1-305, 1-322, 1-323,
1-401,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-704,	1-405, 1-406, 1-407, 1-518, 1-620, 1-626, 1-629, 1-702,
	1-705, 1-723, 1-810
GRAZING	1-716
GREENBELT	1-110, 1-409, 1-613, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716, 1-717, 1-718,
1-719	
GREENHOUSES	1-222, 1-223, 1-724
GROWERS	1-221, 1-229, 1-412
GUAVA	1-311, 1-510
GUIDEBOOK	1-511
GUILD	1-412, 1-707, 1-709
GYMNASIUM	1-803
GYNECOLOGIST	1-505
GYPSY	1-417
HABITAT	1-301, 1-703, 1-708
HABITS	1-230, 1-315, 1-426, 1-511, 1-513, 1-609, 1-807
HANDICAP	1-113, 1-816
HANDICAPPED	1-110, 1-122, 1-409, 1-520, 1-714, 1-715
HANDICRAFTS	1-119, 1-313, 1-417, 1-419, 1-426, 1-612, 1-804
HANDLOOM	1-424
HANDOUTS	1-301, 1-305, 1-321
HARIJAN	1-120, 1-219, 1-220, 1-313, 1-609, 1-614, 1-625, 1-807
HARVEST	1-119, 1-303, 1-305, 1-311, 1-318, 1-609, 1-614, 1-713,
1-716,	
	1-718, 1-808
HATCHERY	1-205
HEADMASTER	1-715
HEALER	1-504, 1-505, 1-522
HEALTH	1-101, 1-102, 1-103, 1-105, 1-106, 1-107, 1-108, 1-109,
1-111,	
	1-113, 1-115, 1-117, 1-118, 1-119, 1-121, 1-122, 1-125,
1-126,	
	1-128, 1-206, 1-207, 1-211, 1-212, 1-218, 1-223, 1-228,
1-323,	
	1-325, 1-326, 1-334, 1-402, 1-404, 1-405, 1-406, 1-407,
1-410,	
	1-415, 1-416, 1-417, 1-418, 1-420, 1-421, 1-422, 1-425,
1-426,	
	1-427, 1-430, 1-501, 1-502, 1-503, 1-504, 1-505, 1-506,
1-507,	
	1-508, 1-509, 1-510, 1-511, 1-512, 1-513, 1-514, 1-515,
1-516,	
	1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-522, 1-522, 1-601,
1-602,	
	1-603, 1-610, 1-612, 1-613, 1-614, 1-618, 1-620, 1-620,
1-623,	
	1-624, 1-627, 1-629, 1-703, 1-706, 1-709, 1-710, 1-713,
1-721,	
	1-806, 1-807, 1-809, 1-814
HEATING	1-723, 1-724, 1-725
HECTARES	1-720, 1-721
HERBAL	1-128, 1-504, 1-603
HERDS	1-222, 1-230, 1-306
HERITAGE	1-113, 1-114, 1-417, 1-601, 1-602, 1-620
HEROIC	1-604, 1-614
HIGHLANDS	1-104, 1-317, 1-328
HIGHWAYS	1-802

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

HILL-SLOPES 1-208, 1-324, 1-428, 1-604, 1-717
HIMALAYAN 1-309, 1-409, 1-604, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716, 1-717
HISTORICAL 1-101, 1-102, 1-106, 1-114, 1-321, 1-326, 1-332, 1-335,
1-506,
1-610, 1-618, 1-627, 1-711, 1-803
HOLIDAYS 1-330, 1-413
HOLY 1-421
HOME 1-105, 1-117, 1-205, 1-212, 1-213, 1-222, 1-230, 1-307,
1-313, 1-327, 1-330, 1-332, 1-402, 1-403, 1-408, 1-409,
1-412, 1-416, 1-417, 1-419, 1-420, 1-421, 1-424, 1-425, 1-427,
1-510, 1-514, 1-516, 1-520, 1-521, 1-615, 1-617, 1-620, 1-624,
1-626, 1-628, 1-704, 1-705, 1-706, 1-707, 1-713, 1-724, 1-804,
1-805
HOME-BASED 1-419, 1-420, 1-424
HOME-KNITTING 1-306
HOME-MADE 1-422, 1-614
HOME-MAKERS 1-410
HOMELAND 1-419
HOMELESS 1-804
HOMESTEADS 1-411, 1-724
HONEY 1-127, 1-205, 1-217, 1-309, 1-423
HONEYBEE 1-306, 1-309, 1-310
HORSE 1-104, 1-204, 1-422
HORTICULTURE 1-210, 1-328, 1-717
HOSPITALS 1-111, 1-422, 1-501, 1-502, 1-509, 1-515, 1-517, 1-518,
1-519,
1-520, 1-521, 1-710
HOSTEL 1-518
HOTELS 1-306, 1-701
HOUSE 1-106, 1-110, 1-113, 1-121, 1-204, 1-209, 1-213, 1-330,
1-413, 1-604, 1-607, 1-703, 1-704, 1-705, 1-706, 1-707,
1-708, 1-709, 1-712, 1-713, 1-724, 1-725, 1-802, 1-803, 1-804,
1-805, 1-806
HOUSEHOLD 1-113, 1-128, 1-204, 1-213, 1-218, 1-401, 1-402, 1-426,
1-613,
1-704, 1-713, 1-723
HOUSEKEEPING 1-418
HOUSEPERSONSHIP 1-624
HOUSEWIFE 1-224, 1-402, 1-428, 1-613, 1-813
HOUSING 1-106, 1-112, 1-113, 1-121, 1-128, 1-205, 1-309, 1-325,
1-408, 1-420, 1-508, 1-522, 1-608, 1-701, 1-702, 1-703, 1-704,
1-705, 1-706, 1-707, 1-708, 1-709, 1-710, 1-711, 1-721, 1-725,
1-802, 1-808
HUMANISM 1-814
HUMUS 1-206
HUSBAND 1-204, 1-402, 1-422, 1-423, 1-429, 1-507, 1-512, 1-604
HUSBANDRY 1-318, 1-426, 1-610, 1-801, 1-814

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

HUSK	1-207
HUTS	1-327, 1-416, 1-808
HYBRID	1-311
HYDRO-ELECTRIC	1-720
HYDROPONIC	1-127
HYGIENE	1-105, 1-415, 1-417, 1-506, 1-508, 1-514, 1-516, 1-804,
1-807	
HYPERTENSION	1-128, 1-505, 1-519
IDENTITY	1-110, 1-114, 1-120, 1-216, 1-217, 1-218, 1-302, 1-306,
1-307,	
	1-308, 1-324, 1-407, 1-603, 1-612, 1-616, 1-617, 1-627,
1-631,	
	1-709, 1-711, 1-801, 1-802, 1-809
IDEOLOGY	1-102, 1-321, 1-325, 1-626
IDIOM	1-107, 1-614
IGNORANT	1-327, 1-513, 1-521, 1-522
ILL	1-714
ILL-HEALTH	1-512
ILLEGAL	1-402
ILLITERATE	1-101, 1-106, 1-220, 1-317, 1-329, 1-403, 1-413, 1-414,
1-427,	
	1-428, 1-512, 1-513, 1-601, 1-613, 1-813
ILLNESSES	1-122, 1-416, 1-501, 1-502, 1-513, 1-514, 1-515, 1-516,
1-518,	
	1-521, 1-522
IMAGE	1-110, 1-112, 1-113, 1-115, 1-118, 1-125, 1-206, 1-212,
1-213,	
	1-321, 1-323, 1-325, 1-327, 1-333, 1-335, 1-403, 1-404,
1-422,	
	1-614, 1-616, 1-617, 1-702, 1-709, 1-711, 1-716, 1-806,
1-813,	
	1-816, 1-816
IMAGINATION	1-329, 1-408, 1-421, 1-806
IMAGINE	1-209, 1-213
IMITATION	1-506, 1-721
IMMATURE	1-809
IMMUNISATION	1-105, 1-422, 1-427, 1-501, 1-502, 1-504, 1-506, 1-508,
1-509,	
	1-511, 1-512, 1-516, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521
IMMUNITY	1-206
IMPLEMENTATION	1-103, 1-104, 1-108, 1-109, 1-114, 1-120, 1-121, 1-208,
1-209,	
	1-216, 1-218, 1-223, 1-316, 1-319, 1-322, 1-327, 1-329,
1-332,	
	1-401, 1-407, 1-410, 1-418, 1-426, 1-427, 1-606, 1-619,
1-624,	
	1-627, 1-710, 1-712, 1-723, 1-806, 1-807, 1-811, 1-812,
1-815	
IMPLEMENTING	1-110, 1-122, 1-219, 1-225, 1-326, 1-413, 1-502, 1-715
IMPORT	1-112, 1-212, 1-309
IMPOUNDED	1-208
IMPOVERISHES	1-318
IN-KIND	1-416
IN-PATIENT	1-427, 1-503
IN-SERVICE	1-323, 1-624, 1-625
INCENTIVE	1-116, 1-202, 1-217, 1-226, 1-230, 1-335, 1-419, 1-511,
1-522	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

INCOME-EARNING	1-611
INCOME-GENERATING	1-335, 1-407, 1-806, 1-809
INCOME-GENERATION	1-201, 1-401
INCOME-PRODUCING	1-402, 1-408, 1-420, 1-608
INCOME-SUPPLEMENTING	1-229
INCORPORATE	1-215, 1-225, 1-613, 1-620, 1-628, 1-724, 1-806
INDEBTED	1-305, 1-306
INDEPENDENCE	1-314, 1-330, 1-331, 1-419, 1-428, 1-504, 1-714, 1-805
INDIGENOUS	1-303, 1-318, 1-324, 1-417, 1-603, 1-612
INDIGENT	1-522
INDIVIDUALIST	1-606
INDIVIDUALLY-OWNED	1-221
INDO-GANGETIC	1-714
INDOCTRINATION	1-114
INDUSTRIAL	1-101, 1-112, 1-201, 1-215, 1-226, 1-228, 1-230, 1-309, 1-322, 1-323, 1-325, 1-335, 1-408, 1-413, 1-506, 1-610, 1-622, 1-625, 1-709, 1-802, 1-810
INDUSTRY	1-107, 1-116, 1-125, 1-201, 1-203, 1-206, 1-209, 1-210, 1-215, 1-219, 1-220, 1-221, 1-223, 1-226, 1-227, 1-228, 1-230, 1-301, 1-302, 1-305, 1-306, 1-307, 1-309, 1-310, 1-312, 1-313, 1-322, 1-325, 1-327, 1-328, 1-329, 1-335, 1-406, 1-408, 1-411, 1-415, 1-422, 1-424, 1-425, 1-510, 1-606, 1-608, 1-618, 1-627, 1-703, 1-713, 1-714, 1-719, 1-721, 1-808, 1-811
INEQUITABLE	1-112
INFANT	1-101, 1-415, 1-416, 1-420, 1-501, 1-504, 1-509, 1-511, 1-512, 1-514, 1-518, 1-519
INFECTIOUS	1-507
INFERIOR	1-106, 1-114
INFLATION	1-230, 1-302, 1-708
INFORMATICS	1-222
INFORMATION	1-105, 1-110, 1-116, 1-123, 1-126, 1-214, 1-219, 1-222, 1-224, 1-227, 1-320, 1-408, 1-413, 1-414, 1-416, 1-418, 1-421, 1-422, 1-423, 1-430, 1-513, 1-518, 1-520, 1-522, 1-602, 1-606, 1-607, 1-611, 1-619, 1-619, 1-620, 1-623, 1-624, 1-628, 1-629, 1-630, 1-711, 1-722, 1-722, 1-726, 1-807
INFRASTRUCTURE	1-101, 1-108, 1-118, 1-203, 1-205, 1-209, 1-212, 1-227, 1-302, 1-303, 1-304, 1-322, 1-325, 1-329, 1-407, 1-521, 1-601, 1-616, 1-628, 1-629, 1-710, 1-802
INITIATIVE	1-213, 1-221, 1-226, 1-227, 1-305, 1-319, 1-323, 1-407, 1-412, 1-421, 1-601, 1-602, 1-605, 1-614, 1-617, 1-620, 1-711, 1-712,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

- INJECTION** 1-726, 1-801, 1-803, 1-816
1-328, 1-509
- INJUSTICE** 1-604, 1-606, 1-608, 1-615, 1-622
- INLAND** 1-204, 1-220
- INNOVATION** 1-107, 1-110, 1-113, 1-116, 1-123, 1-126, 1-127, 1-212,
1-213,
1-214, 1-215, 1-222, 1-319, 1-320, 1-401, 1-409, 1-504,
1-610,
1-616, 1-619, 1-628, 1-723, 1-806
- INSECT** 1-427, 1-516
- INSEMINATION** 1-105, 1-223, 1-225
- INSEMINATOR** 1-223
- INSTALLMENTS** 1-318, 1-415, 1-707
- INSTITUTIONAL** 1-112, 1-218, 1-411, 1-601, 1-616, 1-620, 1-623
- INSTITUTIONALISED** 1-503, 1-812
- INSTITUTIONS** 1-102, 1-111, 1-112, 1-125, 1-201, 1-213, 1-219, 1-220,
1-222,
1-225, 1-304, 1-317, 1-324, 1-325, 1-327, 1-333, 1-502,
1-504,
1-521, 1-601, 1-618, 1-623, 1-725
- INSTRUCTION** 1-416, 1-421, 1-511, 1-513, 1-514, 1-515, 1-612, 1-614,
1-724
- INSTRUCTORS** 1-330, 1-425, 1-514, 1-618, 1-620
- INSURANCE** 1-208, 1-216, 1-522
- INTEGRADES** 1-215
- INTEGRAL** 1-204, 1-215, 1-324, 1-325, 1-515, 1-520, 1-522, 1-601,
1-806, 1-814
- INTEGRATE** 1-305, 1-316, 1-317, 1-418, 1-505, 1-604, 1-723
- INTEGRATED** 1-125, 1-126, 1-202, 1-212, 1-215, 1-217, 1-220, 1-221,
1-224, 1-311, 1-322, 1-325, 1-326, 1-331, 1-410, 1-426,
1-427,
1-501, 1-502, 1-503, 1-504, 1-509, 1-513, 1-603, 1-605,
1-609,
1-611, 1-615, 1-616, 1-618, 1-620, 1-623, 1-624, 1-709,
1-713,
1-722, 1-805, 1-806, 1-807, 1-809, 1-811, 1-812, 1-813,
1-814,
1-812
- INTEGRATION** 1-123, 1-207, 1-311, 1-312, 1-318, 1-504, 1-628, 1-805,
1-806,
1-807, 1-809
- INTEGRITY** 1-326
- INTELLECTUALS** 1-625
- INTELLIGENCE** 1-803, 1-805
- INTENSIFIED** 1-611, 1-701, 1-816
- INTER-CROPPING** 1-207, 1-210, 1-611
- INTER-DEPENDENCE** 1-301, 1-522, 1-618
- INTER-RELATED** 1-103, 1-105, 1-522, 1-708, 1-809, 1-812
- INTER-RELATIONSHIP** 1-108
- INTER-VILLAGE** 1-124, 1-322
- INTERACT** 1-222, 1-330, 1-420, 1-608, 1-725
- INTERACTIVE** 1-222
- INTERCASTE** 1-708

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

INTERCHANGE 1-506,	1-102, 1-110, 1-123, 1-124, 1-213, 1-301, 1-326, 1-421,
INTERMEDIARY	1-610, 1-618, 1-625, 1-631, 1-631, 1-701
INTERMEDIATE	1-107, 1-220, 1-314
INTERNSHIP	1-211, 1-616, 1-724
INTERVENTION	1-624, 1-626
INTUITIVE	1-102, 1-427
INVENTION	1-212
INVENTORY	1-211, 1-318, 1-508, 1-606, 1-814
INVEST	1-504
INVESTIGATORS	1-122, 1-210, 1-229, 1-321, 1-335, 1-415, 1-712, 1-803
INVESTMENT 1-228,	1-620
1-609,	1-109, 1-111, 1-112, 1-118, 1-120, 1-203, 1-220, 1-221,
	1-305, 1-306, 1-316, 1-317, 1-317, 1-320, 1-321, 1-401,
	1-704, 1-708, 1-802
IRON	1-227
IRRIGATION 1-213,	1-108, 1-127, 1-203, 1-206, 1-208, 1-211, 1-211, 1-212,
1-404,	1-217, 1-223, 1-226, 1-228, 1-303, 1-311, 1-312, 1-329,
1-805,	1-408, 1-506, 1-607, 1-615, 1-713, 1-720, 1-721, 1-801,
ISLAND-WIDE	1-806, 1-814, 1-816
ISLANDS	1-416
ISSUE-ORIENTED	1-314, 1-328, 1-625
JACKFRUIT	1-116
JAMS	1-510
JARS	1-221, 1-229
JEEPS	1-713
JOB 1-301,	1-710
1-419,	1-101, 1-104, 1-105, 1-112, 1-204, 1-205, 1-210, 1-217,
1-707,	1-310, 1-314, 1-321, 1-335, 1-401, 1-402, 1-407, 1-415,
	1-420, 1-424, 1-425, 1-426, 1-506, 1-608, 1-622, 1-706,
	1-721, 1-722, 1-816
JOURNAL	1-207
JOURNEY 1-323,	1-103, 1-104, 1-106, 1-125, 1-201, 1-308, 1-314, 1-323,
	1-332, 1-502, 1-503, 1-521, 1-619
JOWAR	1-311
JUDGE	1-107
JURY	1-604
JUSTICE	1-324, 1-330, 1-604, 1-605, 1-607, 1-816
JUTE	1-422, 1-614
KEROSENE	1-230
KEY 1-309,	1-119, 1-122, 1-123, 1-124, 1-125, 1-221, 1-302, 1-308,
1-605,	1-320, 1-330, 1-404, 1-428, 1-429, 1-501, 1-503, 1-515,
1-718,	1-610, 1-615, 1-619, 1-623, 1-626, 1-707, 1-709, 1-715,
	1-722, 1-723, 1-804, 1-809, 1-815, 1-816
KEYSTONE	1-115

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

KEYSTONES	1-115
KHADI	1-424
KILLING	1-713
KINDERGARTEN	1-122, 1-411, 1-415, 1-422, 1-811
KITCHEN	1-404, 1-508, 1-515, 1-609, 1-804
KITCHEN-GARDENING	1-426
KNITTING	1-119, 1-127, 1-421, 1-426
LAB	1-103, 1-705, 1-725
LABOUR	1-101, 1-127, 1-201, 1-204, 1-210, 1-211, 1-212, 1-216,
1-218,	1-221, 1-305, 1-307, 1-312, 1-314, 1-317, 1-327, 1-402,
1-404,	1-408, 1-415, 1-420, 1-615, 1-704, 1-705, 1-707, 1-708,
1-711,	1-712, 1-716, 1-719, 1-721, 1-801, 1-803, 1-804, 1-805
LABOUR-SAVING	1-403, 1-404
LABOURERS	1-120, 1-202, 1-204, 1-205, 1-209, 1-210, 1-309, 1-310,
1-324,	1-332, 1-402, 1-415, 1-424, 1-601, 1-602, 1-703, 1-801
LACTATING	1-806
LAKES	1-201, 1-208, 1-213, 1-417
LAND-BASED	1-204, 1-309, 1-310
LAND-USE	1-213
LANDED	1-604
LANDHOLDING	1-202, 1-802
LANDLESS	1-112, 1-120, 1-122, 1-127, 1-201, 1-202, 1-203, 1-203,
1-204,	1-209, 1-210, 1-216, 1-218, 1-220, 1-228, 1-305, 1-309,
1-324,	1-329, 1-332, 1-601, 1-606, 1-801
LANDLORD	1-203, 1-220, 1-407, 1-619, 1-629
LANDOWNER	1-201, 1-208, 1-415, 1-801
LANDSCAPING	1-207, 1-711
LANGUAGE	1-122, 1-314, 1-424, 1-511, 1-612, 1-619, 1-620, 1-623,
1-628	
LARVAE	1-713
LATERAL	1-123, 1-322, 1-609, 1-610, 1-628, 1-724
LATRINES	1-506, 1-508, 1-607
LAW	1-315, 1-417, 1-426, 1-429, 1-626, 1-803, 1-804
LAWYER	1-412
LEADERSHIP	1-106, 1-109, 1-110, 1-116, 1-117, 1-121, 1-122, 1-203,
1-211,	1-216, 1-219, 1-224, 1-225, 1-228, 1-230, 1-110, 1-303,
1-305,	1-323, 1-323, 1-332, 1-333, 1-334, 1-335, 1-404, 1-406,
1-407,	1-412, 1-420, 1-425, 1-426, 1-427, 1-513, 1-606, 1-608,
1-609,	1-618, 1-619, 1-623, 1-626, 1-627, 1-711, 1-804, 1-807,
1-808,	1-810, 1-811, 1-812, 1-815, 1-816
LEATHER	1-310
LEGAL	1-108, 1-116, 1-117, 1-118, 1-119, 1-120, 1-312, 1-314,
1-323,	1-407, 1-412, 1-414, 1-420, 1-429, 1-606, 1-615, 1-620,
1-623,	1-624, 1-626, 1-706

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

LEGISLATION	1-420, 1-424, 1-429, 1-707
LEGUMES	1-510, 1-511
LEISURE	1-410, 1-803
LENDING	1-112, 1-210, 1-224, 1-318, 1-319, 1-415, 1-706
LEPROSY	1-115, 1-427, 1-515, 1-516, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521
LEUCENA	1-209, 1-210
LIBERATE	1-404, 1-618
LICE	1-505
LIFE-JOURNEY	1-116
LIFE-ORIENTED	1-614
LIFESTYLE	1-113, 1-405, 1-408, 1-415, 1-607, 1-724
LIFT-IRRIGATION	1-224
LIME	1-311, 1-708
LINGUISTIC	1-603
LINK	1-104, 1-109, 1-110, 1-117, 1-122, 1-124, 1-125, 1-126,
1-214,	
1-333,	1-219, 1-222, 1-302, 1-314, 1-318, 1-320, 1-327, 1-330,
1-515,	1-410, 1-413, 1-414, 1-417, 1-423, 1-427, 1-501, 1-502,
1-706,	1-516, 1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-603, 1-620, 1-701,
	1-708, 1-711, 1-715, 1-717, 1-722
LINKAGE	1-110, 1-110, 1-115, 1-120, 1-121, 1-124, 1-125, 1-126,
1-206,	
1-325,	1-216, 1-219, 1-220, 1-225, 1-226, 1-311, 1-312, 1-322,
	1-326, 1-413, 1-714, 1-719
LION	1-508
LIQUEURS	1-620
LIQUIDATION	1-603
LIQUOR	1-402
LITERACY	1-105, 1-109, 1-113, 1-118, 1-119, 1-329, 1-334, 1-406,
1-407,	
1-428,	1-410, 1-414, 1-417, 1-418, 1-421, 1-422, 1-426, 1-427,
1-605,	1-429, 1-511, 1-512, 1-520, 1-601, 1-602, 1-603, 1-603,
	1-605, 1-613, 1-614, 1-615, 1-623
LITERATE	1-118, 1-413, 1-427, 1-428, 1-628, 1-804
LITERATURE	1-101, 1-613
LIVELIHOODS	1-219
LIVESTOCK	1-201, 1-203, 1-208, 1-210, 1-211, 1-216, 1-217, 1-223,
1-309,	
	1-416, 1-418, 1-423, 1-426, 1-611, 1-619, 1-703, 1-806
LOANING	1-221
LOANS	1-107, 1-111, 1-119, 1-126, 1-209, 1-217, 1-220, 1-224,
1-228,	
1-320,	1-304, 1-308, 1-312, 1-315, 1-316, 1-317, 1-318, 1-319,
1-705,	1-326, 1-408, 1-409, 1-414, 1-415, 1-428, 1-609, 1-611,
	1-706, 1-708, 1-804
LOBBYING	1-414
LOCAL-BASED	1-603, 1-616, 1-630
LOCAL-SELECTED	1-109
LOCAL-TO-LOCAL	1-123

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

LOCALLY-CONTROLLED	1-112
LOCOMOTIVE	1-228, 1-326
LORRY	1-228
LOW-COST	1-113, 1-222, 1-404, 1-408, 1-409, 1-504, 1-610, 1-707,
1-723	
LOW-INCOME	1-304, 1-420, 1-705, 1-707, 1-802
LOW-SKILLED	1-426
LUCRATIVE	1-306, 1-518
LUNCH	1-616, 1-807
MACE	1-626
MACHINERY	1-216, 1-220, 1-224, 1-230, 1-301, 1-302, 1-328, 1-424,
1-429,	
	1-607, 1-626, 1-710, 1-717, 1-721, 1-724, 1-814
MACRO-ECONOMIC	1-110
MACRO-ISSUES	1-702
MAGIC	1-230, 1-328, 1-603
MAHILA	1-219, 1-224, 1-407, 1-408, 1-413, 1-417, 1-418, 1-421,
1-428,	
	1-613
MAIZE	1-205, 1-311
MALARIA	1-515, 1-713
MALNUTRITION	1-101, 1-105, 1-109, 1-416, 1-506, 1-510, 1-512, 1-521,
1-620	
MANAGE	1-120, 1-202, 1-213, 1-217, 1-215, 1-219, 1-222, 1-302,
1-304,	
	1-315, 1-320, 1-325, 1-410, 1-411, 1-424, 1-425, 1-503,
1-520,	
	1-601, 1-602, 1-605, 1-611, 1-615, 1-618, 1-625, 1-629,
1-706,	
	1-707, 1-710, 1-721, 1-723, 1-805, 1-808, 1-810
MANAGEMENT	1-106, 1-115, 1-117, 1-212, 1-215, 1-216, 1-217, 1-218,
1-222,	
	1-223, 1-225, 1-226, 1-227, 1-230, 1-307, 1-313, 1-314,
1-315,	
	1-320, 1-326, 1-328, 1-329, 1-331, 1-333, 1-334, 1-406,
1-407,	
	1-412, 1-414, 1-417, 1-420, 1-424, 1-425, 1-427, 1-522,
1-607,	
	1-610, 1-614, 1-615, 1-618, 1-620, 1-623, 1-627, 1-628,
1-715,	
	1-718, 1-719, 1-719, 1-804, 1-805
MANAGER	1-120, 1-125, 1-220, 1-223, 1-226, 1-325, 1-327, 1-328,
1-331,	
	1-333, 1-334, 1-420, 1-424
MANAGERIAL	1-326,
MANDAL	1-309, 1-330, 1-332, 1-407, 1-409, 1-413, 1-417, 1-418,
1-428,	
	1-608, 1-714, 1-715, 1-717, 1-720
MANGO	1-510
MANUALS	1-724
MANUFACTURE	1-127, 1-210, 1-228, 1-229, 1-315, 1-607, 1-713, 1-725
MANURE	1-205, 1-207
MARINE	1-204
MARITAL	1-414
MARKET	1-112, 1-113, 1-115, 1-121, 1-205, 1-207, 1-209, 1-210,
1-213,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

- 1-226, 1-214, 1-216, 1-217, 1-220, 1-221, 1-222, 1-223, 1-225,
1-309, 1-227, 1-228, 1-229, 1-230, 1-301, 1-305, 1-306, 1-308,
1-318, 1-310, 1-311, 1-312, 1-313, 1-314, 1-315, 1-316, 1-317,
1-425, 1-325, 1-332, 1-404, 1-410, 1-411, 1-414, 1-419, 1-424,
1-814, 1-605, 1-608, 1-623, 1-703, 1-711, 1-802, 1-804, 1-808,
1-816
MARKETPLACE 1-230, 1-324
MARRYING 1-414, 1-428, 1-604
MARXIST 1-230
MASK 1-603
MASS-PRODUCED 1-310
MASSES 1-324, 1-601, 1-606, 1-622, 1-726, 1-816
MATERIAL 1-103, 1-109, 1-110, 1-111, 1-113, 1-114, 1-121, 1-128,
1-201, 1-204, 1-214, 1-221, 1-222, 1-226, 1-230, 1-309, 1-312,
1-316, 1-317, 1-318, 1-329, 1-332, 1-414, 1-416, 1-419, 1-504,
1-506, 1-514, 1-519, 1-522, 1-613, 1-614, 1-620, 1-703, 1-704,
1-708, 1-712, 1-721, 1-722, 1-724, 1-725, 1-805
MATERNAL 1-512, 1-514, 1-519, 1-522,
MATERNITY 1-118, 1-119, 1-414, 1-624
MATHEMATICAL 1-602, 1-607, 1-618
MEADOWS 1-803
MEANINGS 1-101, 1-109, 1-805
MEASLES 1-521
MEAT 1-205, 1-207, 1-312, 1-416, 1-702
MECHANICAL 1-206, 1-211, 1-213, 1-216, 1-303, 1-513, 1-809
MECHANISM 1-111, 1-218, 1-301, 1-303, 1-522, 1-614, 1-622, 1-803
MEDIA 1-106, 1-222, 1-330, 1-407, 1-422, 1-430, 1-508, 1-509,
1-614, 1-615, 1-628, 1-630, 1-631
MEDICAL 1-106, 1-111, 1-121, 1-122, 1-230, 1-230, 1-328, 1-416,
1-420, 1-501, 1-502, 1-503, 1-504, 1-505, 1-507, 1-513, 1-515,
1-516, 1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-522, 1-522, 1-711
MEDICINE 1-125, 1-128, 1-311, 1-323, 1-327, 1-331, 1-416, 1-428,
1-502, 1-503, 1-504, 1-505, 1-506, 1-513, 1-518, 1-519, 1-521,
1-603, 1-613, 1-625, 1-814
MEGA-WATTS 1-720
MENNONITE 1-331, 1-429
MENSTRUATION 1-603
MENTAL 1-501, 1-520, 1-602, 1-614
MERCHANDISING 1-216
METAL 1-608
METALCRAFT 1-620
METHOD 1-114, 1-223, 1-319, 1-321, 1-429, 1-512, 1-514, 1-515,
1-618,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

METHODOLOGY	1-619, 1-625, 1-715, 1-716, 1-722, 1-725, 1-810, 1-811
METHODS	1-518, 1-628
1-206,	1-101, 1-106, 1-114, 1-116, 1-119, 1-123, 1-124, 1-203,
1-221,	1-207, 1-208, 1-210, 1-212, 1-213, 1-214, 1-219, 1-220,
1-426,	1-225, 1-228, 1-328, 1-417, 1-420, 1-421, 1-424, 1-425,
1-611,	1-429, 1-502, 1-505, 1-513, 1-520, 1-601, 1-602, 1-607,
1-712,	1-613, 1-613, 1-614, 1-616, 1-620, 1-625, 1-626, 1-627,
1-816	1-713, 1-717, 1-722, 1-726, 1-809, 1-811, 1-812, 1-813,
MICRO	1-101
MICRO-COMPUTER	1-116
MICRO-ISSUES	1-701
MICRO-LEVEL	1-215, 1-809
MICRO-ORGANISATIONS	1-723
MICRO-REGIONAL	1-303, 1-611
MICROSCOPE	1-105
MICROWAVE	1-630
MIDDLE-BUYERS	1-314
MIDDLE-INCOME	1-214, 1-629
MIDDLE-TRADERS	1-121, 1-204, 1-210, 1-213, 1-313, 1-315, 1-316, 1-415
MIDWIVES	1-517, 1-518, 1-522
MIGRANT	1-403, 1-415, 1-707
MIGRATE	1-111, 1-201, 1-202, 1-210, 1-211, 1-212, 1-310, 1-402,
1-403	
MILK	1-105, 1-204, 1-205, 1-209, 1-210, 1-213, 1-214, 1-217,
1-220,	1-222, 1-223, 1-224, 1-225, 1-428, 1-305, 1-306, 1-308,
1-312,	1-318, 1-325, 1-333, 1-408, 1-411, 1-416, 1-418, 1-420,
1-605,	1-629
MILLS	1-208, 1-211, 1-213, 1-226
MINES	1-227, 1-315, 1-326, 1-407, 1-629, 1-810, 1-810
MINERALS	1-206, 1-215, 1-322
MINIPARKS	1-709
MINORITIES	1-102, 1-110, 1-114, 1-120, 1-121, 1-322, 1-517, 1-601,
1-612	
MIRACLES	1-407, 1-603
MOBILE	1-122, 1-124, 1-126, 1-128, 1-318, 1-328, 1-402, 1-415,
1-416,	1-427, 1-503, 1-514, 1-515, 1-516, 1-520
MOBILISE	1-121, 1-204, 1-209, 1-213, 1-218, 1-220, 1-326, 1-327,
1-330,	1-331, 1-334, 1-335, 1-426, 1-501, 1-507, 1-605, 1-606,
1-613,	1-706, 1-709, 1-711, 1-712, 1-717
MODEL	1-122, 1-228, 1-301, 1-311, 1-323, 1-401, 1-405, 1-502,
1-505,	1-612, 1-618, 1-708, 1-715, 1-722, 1-725, 1-805, 1-809
MODELING	1-316
MODERN	1-101, 1-108, 1-113, 1-121, 1-207, 1-220, 1-223, 1-228,
1-306,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

- 1-607, 1-319, 1-329, 1-411, 1-422, 1-504, 1-505, 1-506, 1-603,
1-711, 1-725
- MODERNISATION** 1-108, 1-201, 1-226, 1-603, 1-802
- MODIFICATIONS** 1-122, 1-214
- MODULE** 1-626, 1-627, 1-631
- MONETARY** 1-306, 1-516
- MONEY** 1-106, 1-112, 1-115, 1-230, 1-302, 1-316, 1-317, 1-318,
1-328, 1-335, 1-401, 1-407, 1-415, 1-419, 1-429, 1-508,
1-510, 1-602, 1-615, 1-616, 1-624, 1-702, 1-704, 1-705, 1-706,
1-707, 1-708, 1-709, 1-712, 1-719, 1-802, 1-803, 1-810, 1-816
- MONEY-LENDERS** 1-203, 1-415, 1-407
- MONSOON** 1-520, 1-706, 1-708, 1-808
- MORAL** 1-322, 1-327, 1-332, 1-605
- MORALE** 1-423
- MORALITY** 1-816
- MORTALITY** 1-101, 1-501, 1-514, 1-519
- MORTAR** 1-128, 1-230, 1-708
- MOSLEM** 1-331
- MOSQUE** 1-602
- MOTHER** 1-401, 1-404, 1-413, 1-414, 1-415, 1-417, 1-419, 1-420,
1-421, 1-422, 1-425, 1-428, 1-430, 1-501, 1-505, 1-506, 1-509,
1-511, 1-512, 1-514, 1-520, 1-604, 1-613, 1-615, 1-620, 1-806
MOTIVATE 1-114, 1-116, 1-123, 1-207, 1-227, 1-230, 1-322, 1-332,
1-335, 1-408, 1-425, 1-504, 1-505, 1-508, 1-509, 1-610, 1-616,
1-618, 1-619, 1-627, 1-629, 1-702, 1-806, 1-816
- MOTIVATION** 1-112, 1-322, 1-329, 1-330, 1-332, 1-335, 1-422, 1-428,
1-521, 1-602, 1-605, 1-608, 1-623, 1-709, 1-725, 1-814
- MOTIVATORS** 1-230, 1-329, 1-426
- MOTIVES** 1-226, 1-230, 1-710
- MOTIVITY** 1-320, 1-613
- MOTOR** 1-222, 1-713
- MOTORCYCLE** 1-318
- MOUNTAINS** 1-714, 1-718
- MOVEMENT** 1-101, 1-110, 1-125, 1-204, 1-207, 1-209, 1-225, 1-226,
1-304, 1-307, 1-309, 1-320, 1-325, 1-330, 1-334, 1-409, 1-412,
1-414, 1-506, 1-613, 1-617, 1-626, 1-701, 1-714, 1-715, 1-717,
1-718, 1-719, 1-802
- MUD** 1-128, 1-230, 1-708, 1-805
- MULTI-CROPPING** 1-611
- MULTI-INSTITUTIONAL** 1-620
- MULTI-DISCIPLINARY** 1-331, 1-707
- MULTI-FUNCTION** 1-626
- MULTI-PURPOSE** 1-120, 1-421, 1-515, 1-519, 1-521, 1-410, 1-720, 1-803,
1-807, 1-808

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

MULTI-SECTOR	1-105, 1-704, 1-707, 1-712
MULTI-UNIT	1-705
MULTIPLE-INCOME	1-802
MULTIPLIERS	1-103, 1-619, 1-813
MUNICIPAL	1-425, 1-802
MUSEUMS	1-422
MUSLIM	1-322, 1-602, 1-807
MUTTON	1-306
NATURAL	1-101, 1-106, 1-107, 1-111, 1-127, 1-206, 1-207, 1-215,
1-303,	
1-701,	1-321, 1-409, 1-410, 1-420, 1-603, 1-610, 1-611, 1-618,
	1-702, 1-705, 1-712, 1-714, 1-716, 1-719
NATURE	1-121, 1-206, 1-207, 1-315, 1-330, 1-514, 1-611, 1-717,
1-718,	
	1-808, 1-810
NEED-BASED	1-309, 1-310
NEEDLEWORK	1-308, 1-326, 1-329, 1-331, 1-334, 1-412, 1-421, 1-426,
1-620	
NEGOTIATES	1-211, 1-221, 1-612, 1-620
NEIGHBOURHOOD	1-222, 1-327, 1-335, 1-609, 1-712, 1-806, 1-807, 1-808
NEIGHBOURS	1-320, 1-422, 1-429, 1-504, 1-513, 1-620, 1-801
NETWORK	1-118, 1-122, 1-314, 1-323, 1-406, 1-407, 1-413, 1-414,
1-417,	
1-629,	1-423, 1-424, 1-508, 1-509, 1-519, 1-604, 1-613, 1-628,
	1-726
NETWORKING	1-123
NEWS	1-123, 1-214, 1-629, 1-704
NEWSLETTER	1-124, 1-222, 1-615, 1-617, 1-625
NEWSPAPER	1-123, 1-504, 1-630
NGO-BASED	1-327
NOMADIC	1-211, 1-213, 1-226
NON-AGRICULTURAL	1-401
NON-CHEMICAL	1-611
NON-FARM	1-205, 1-227, 1-426
NON-FORMAL	1-116, 1-216, 1-315, 1-406, 1-417, 1-422, 1-428, 1-511,
1-520,	
	1-613
NON-GOVERNMENT	1-102, 1-124, 1-201, 1-202, 1-213, 1-227, 1-326, 1-332,
1-404,	
	1-405
NON-LANDOWNING	1-201
NON-PARTICIPATORY	1-116
NON-POOR	1-507
NON-PRODUCTIVE	1-114, 1-325
NON-PROFIT	1-207, 1-222, 1-314, 1-315, 1-706, 1-707
NON-RURAL	1-507
NON-STATUS	1-704
NON-TRADITIONAL	1-228, 1-306, 1-426
NON-TRAINABLE	1-110
NON-VIOLENT	1-605
NORTH-SOUTH	1-813
NOURISHMENT	1-217
NURSE	1-122, 1-211, 1-416, 1-502, 1-503, 1-514, 1-515, 1-517,
1-518,	
	1-520, 1-521

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

NURSERY	1-127, 1-205, 1-328, 1-409, 1-415, 1-425, 1-717, 1-718
NUTRITION	1-105, 1-108, 1-127, 1-217, 1-325, 1-415, 1-416, 1-417,
1-421,	1-422, 1-423, 1-425, 1-426, 1-427, 1-501, 1-509, 1-510,
1-511,	1-512, 1-514, 1-515, 1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-522, 1-602,
1-608,	1-609, 1-618, 1-814
NUTRITIONAL	1-209, 1-313, 1-325, 1-411, 1-426, 1-427, 1-516, 1-806
NUTRITIONIST	1-125, 1-807
NUTS	1-228, 1-716
OBSTETRICIAN	1-505
OCCUPATION	1-127, 1-201, 1-204, 1-217, 1-228, 1-319, 1-424, 1-426,
1-625,	1-803
OFF-SEASON	1-222
OFFICIAL	1-112, 1-113, 1-121, 1-126, 1-224, 1-303, 1-306, 1-308,
1-309,	1-326, 1-333, 1-405, 1-422, 1-423, 1-507, 1-513, 1-602,
1-604,	1-607, 1-609, 1-610, 1-625, 1-627, 1-708, 1-712, 1-719,
1-725,	1-802, 1-810
OIL	1-324, 1-410, 1-412, 1-504, 1-701, 1-713
ON-THE-JOB	1-335, 1-514
ONE-ACRE	1-127, 1-421
OPEN-COURT	1-121
OPERATIONALISE	1-715
OPPORTUNITY	1-604, 1-608, 1-609, 1-610, 1-614, 1-625, 1-630, 1-803,
1-815	
ORAL	1-128, 1-511, 1-512, 1-514
ORCHARDS	1-215, 1-814
ORGANIC	1-108, 1-206, 1-207, 1-214, 1-226, 1-305, 1-505, 1-702,
1-724,	1-802
ORGANISATIONS-STUDY	1-121
ORGANISER	1-518, 1-520, 1-620, 1-625
ORGANISMS	1-206
OUTLETS	1-314, 1-316, 1-410, 1-412, 1-424, 1-630
OUTPOSTS	1-515
OVEN	1-128, 1-321
OWNERSHIP	1-106, 1-204, 1-215, 1-216, 1-220, 1-225, 1-230, 1-314,
1-319,	1-407, 1-410, 1-503, 1-614, 1-615, 1-629, 1-630, 1-705,
1-718,	1-804
OXYGEN	1-206, 1-713
PADDY	1-207
PAID	1-112, 1-221, 1-323, 1-416, 1-422, 1-430, 1-522, 1-610,
1-619,	1-706
PAINT	1-612, 1-705, 1-803
PANCHAYAT	1-302, 1-303, 1-623, 1-801
PANELS	1-305, 1-724
PAPAYA	1-311, 1-510
PARA-MEDICAL	1-427, 1-502, 1-512, 1-517, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-517,
1-519,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

	1-520
PARA-PROFESSIONALS	1-520, 1-620
PARASITE	1-512
PARENT-CHILD	1-420, 1-620
PARENT-SUBSTITUTE	1-404
PARENTS	1-112, 1-114, 1-116, 1-205, 1-222, 1-404, 1-410, 1-411,
1-413,	1-416, 1-420, 1-421, 1-428, 1-508, 1-509, 1-511, 1-512,
1-514,	1-613, 1-616, 1-620
PARK	1-335, 1-408, 1-422, 1-709, 1-803
PART-TIME	1-404, 1-424, 1-425
PARTICIPANTS	1-102, 1-109, 1-111, 1-123, 1-202, 1-216, 1-230, 1-306,
1-317,	1-326, 1-327, 1-333, 1-401, 1-409, 1-410, 1-512, 1-605,
1-607,	1-614, 1-617, 1-618, 1-622, 1-622, 1-624, 1-626, 1-627,
1-701,	1-723, 1-806, 1-808, 1-810, 1-812
PARTICIPATION	1-101, 1-103, 1-105, 1-106, 1-108, 1-109, 1-110, 1-113,
1-118,	1-119, 1-120, 1-121, 1-125, 1-126, 1-205, 1-208, 1-212,
1-213,	1-216, 1-218, 1-219, 1-222, 1-301, 1-302, 1-304, 1-308,
1-309,	1-311, 1-313, 1-314, 1-315, 1-319, 1-320, 1-321, 1-327,
1-628,	1-330, 1-335, 1-402, 1-403, 1-406, 1-407, 1-409, 1-410,
1-413,	1-414, 1-418, 1-420, 1-421, 1-425, 1-426, 1-427, 1-502,
1-503,	1-507, 1-509, 1-510, 1-512, 1-517, 1-519, 1-521, 1-522,
1-606,	1-607, 1-610, 1-615, 1-617, 1-618, 1-619, 1-620, 1-623,
1-629,	1-630, 1-702, 1-705, 1-709, 1-713, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716,
1-717,	1-719, 1-724, 1-726, 1-802, 1-803, 1-810, 1-811, 1-812,
1-813,	1-814, 1-815, 1-816
PARTICIPATORY	1-115, 1-124, 1-401, 1-405
PARTITION	1-604
PARTLY-LITERATE	1-427
PARTNERS	1-204, 1-216, 1-312, 1-318, 1-328, 1-331, 1-411, 1-416,
1-418,	1-620, 1-810, 1-815
PARTNERSHIP	1-125, 1-318, 1-327, 1-404, 1-417, 1-502, 1-710, 1-809
PATERNALISTIC	1-108
PATHOLOGY	1-515
PATIENTS	1-515, 1-516, 1-517, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-522
PATRIARCHAL	1-403, 1-405
PATTERN	1-102, 1-103, 1-104, 1-114, 1-203, 1-215, 1-225, 1-318,
1-321,	1-324, 1-325, 1-408, 1-411, 1-422, 1-423, 1-426, 1-503,
1-505,	1-507, 1-605, 1-607, 1-611, 1-612, 1-618, 1-626, 1-704,
1-712,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

	1-715, 1-723, 1-803, 1-805, 1-815
PAYOFFS	1-722
PEACE	1-324, 1-417, 1-610, 1-805
PEASANT	1-104, 1-202, 1-312, 1-327, 1-401, 1-404, 1-405, 1-411, 1-603,
	1-618, 1-619
PEER	1-420, 1-512
PENSIONS	1-306
PERCOLATION	1-208, 1-712
PERENNIAL	1-720, 1-720
PERFUME	1-210
PERMACULTURE	1-207
PERSONALITIES	1-223, 1-225, 1-330
PERSONNEL	1-124, 1-126, 1-230, 1-316, 1-317, 1-319, 1-502, 1-504, 1-505,
	1-509, 1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-601
PERSPECTIVE	1-101, 1-103, 1-104, 1-105, 1-108, 1-109, 1-110, 1-111, 1-112,
	1-113, 1-123, 1-301, 1-308, 1-321, 1-327, 1-329, 1-601,
1-609,	
	1-624, 1-627, 1-701, 1-704, 1-720, 1-722, 1-724, 1-816
PESTICIDES	1-111, 1-127, 1-206, 1-207, 1-611, 1-716, 1-725
PESTS	1-508, 1-611
PETITION	1-630
PETROCHEMICAL	1-206
PHASE	1-207, 1-212, 1-314, 1-507, 1-522, 1-629, 1-707, 1-814
PHILOSOPHY	1-220, 1-329, 1-412, 1-814
PHOTOGRAPH	1-307, 1-612
PHOTOVOLTAIC	1-723, 1-724
PHYSICIAN	1-501, 1-504, 1-509, 1-510, 1-512, 1-517, 1-522
PHYSIOLOGY	1-515
PICKLES	1-229
PICTORIAL	1-511
PICTURES	1-628, 1-722
PIG	1-311, 1-210, 1-411, 1-611
PILOT	1-107, 1-126, 1-215, 1-308, 1-322, 1-326, 1-624
PIONEER	1-505, 1-707
PIPE	1-118, 1-205, 1-403, 1-409, 1-607, 1-615
PISTON	1-222
PITS	1-508, 1-627, 1-716
PLAINS	1-714
PLANET	1-207, 1-701, 1-702, 1-803, 1-813
PLANNERS	1-115, 1-401
PLANS	1-110, 1-117, 1-120, 1-121, 1-122, 1-125, 1-214, 1-218, 1-219,
	1-304, 1-333, 1-334, 1-335, 1-401, 1-402, 1-428, 1-627,
1-707,	
	1-711, 1-723, 1-810, 1-812, 1-813, 1-814
PLANTATION	1-210, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716, 1-804
PLANTINGS	1-707
PLANTS	1-112, 1-113, 1-206, 1-210, 1-223, 1-310, 1-311, 1-409, 1-715,
	1-720, 1-724, 1-725
PLASTIC	1-703
PLATEAU	1-416
PLAYGROUND	1-408, 1-711, 1-803, 1-807
PLAYROOM	1-420

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

PLAZA	1-709
PLEGDED	1-522, 1-617, 1-719
PLOT	1-421, 1-610, 1-715, 1-716, 1-719, 1-722
PNEUMONIA	1-510
POLICY	1-101, 1-103, 1-126, 1-201, 1-206, 1-208, 1-221, 1-304,
1-305,	1-306, 1-309, 1-313, 1-314, 1-317, 1-320, 1-323, 1-326,
1-327,	1-332, 1-406, 1-414, 1-416, 1-417, 1-426, 1-427, 1-507,
1-522,	1-625, 1-629, 1-710, 1-719, 1-802
POLIO	1-422, 1-504, 1-508, 1-519
POLITICAL	1-119, 1-121, 1-124, 1-304, 1-308, 1-313, 1-330, 1-334,
1-407,	1-412, 1-418, 1-429, 1-512, 1-618, 1-718, 1-719, 1-719,
1-801,	1-802, 1-804, 1-813, 1-816
POLITICIANS	1-713, 1-804
POLLUTION	1-206, 1-207, 1-702, 1-713
POLYESTER-COTTON	1-329
POLYFIBRES	1-713
POND	1-228, 1-311, 1-411, 1-711, 1-713
POOLING	1-506
POOLS	1-412, 1-705
POOR	1-101, 1-106, 1-108, 1-109, 1-110, 1-112, 1-113, 1-121,
1-122,	1-127, 1-201, 1-202, 1-203, 1-207, 1-209, 1-212, 1-214,
1-216,	1-218, 1-219, 1-220, 1-221, 1-224, 1-228, 1-301, 1-302,
1-303,	1-304, 1-307, 1-308, 1-309, 1-314, 1-317, 1-318, 1-319,
1-320,	1-322, 1-331, 1-332, 1-333, 1-401, 1-402, 1-409, 1-411,
1-427,	1-503, 1-505, 1-506, 1-512, 1-513, 1-517, 1-519, 1-522,
1-522,	1-606, 1-608, 1-615, 1-619, 1-620, 1-622, 1-623, 1-701,
1-703,	1-704, 1-725, 1-726, 1-804, 1-812, 1-814
POPULATION	1-102, 1-104, 1-109, 1-117, 1-118, 1-123, 1-126, 1-201,
1-203,	1-204, 1-207, 1-208, 1-221, 1-226, 1-228, 1-230, 1-301,
1-319,	1-322, 1-324, 1-325, 1-326, 1-333, 1-401, 1-402, 1-404,
1-406,	1-408, 1-409, 1-410, 1-425, 1-426, 1-429, 1-501, 1-502,
1-510,	1-512, 1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-521, 1-522, 1-613, 1-627,
1-702,	1-703, 1-714, 1-721, 1-724, 1-804, 1-814, 1-816
POPULATION-EDUCATION	1-422,
POST-GRADUATES	1-323, 1-623
POST-NATAL	1-427, 1-521
POST-WAR	1-802
POSTERS	1-422
POSTURE	1-603, 1-619
POTABLE	1-209, 1-303, 1-713

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

POTATOES	1-104
POULTRY	1-203, 1-205, 1-223, 1-411, 1-417, 1-425, 1-511
POWER	1-105, 1-114, 1-119, 1-120, 1-124, 1-201, 1-205, 1-217,
1-218,	1-219, 1-221, 1-226, 1-301, 1-302, 1-303, 1-304, 1-319,
1-327,	1-330, 1-335, 1-402, 1-411, 1-417, 1-429, 1-507, 1-516,
1-710,	1-712, 1-721, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724, 1-804
POWERED	1-723
POWERLESS	1-313, 1-335, 1-512
PRACTICUM	1-623, 1-626
PRACTITIONER	1-101, 1-102, 1-103, 1-104, 1-109, 1-110, 1-112, 1-113,
1-114,	1-115, 1-118, 1-201, 1-202, 1-203, 1-204, 1-205, 1-206,
1-208,	1-209, 1-210, 1-213, 1-214, 1-215, 1-218, 1-219, 1-222,
1-224,	1-225, 1-229, 1-230, 1-301, 1-303, 1-315, 1-316, 1-321,
1-332,	1-335, 1-401, 1-405, 1-406, 1-423, 1-429, 1-505, 1-507,
1-509,	1-510, 1-515, 1-518, 1-601, 1-604, 1-606, 1-614, 1-620,
1-625,	1-628, 1-631, 1-701, 1-702, 1-710, 1-713, 1-801, 1-802,
1-805,	1-806, 1-807, 1-809, 1-812, 1-813, 1-814, 1-816
PRE-CLINICAL	1-505
PRE-CO-OPERATIVE	1-121
PRE-LOAN	1-317
PRE-NATAL	1-502, 1-520
PRE-SCHOOL	1-105, 1-117, 1-125, 1-326, 1-420, 1-421, 1-506, 1-610,
1-620,	1-807
PREFAB	1-703
PREGNANCY	1-404, 1-520, 1-522, 1-603, 1-806
PREJUDICES	1-401, 1-613
PREMATURE	1-114, 1-120
PRESBYTERIAN	1-517, 1-522, 1-522
PRESERVATION	1-113, 1-114, 1-207, 1-229, 1-309, 1-411, 1-412, 1-418,
1-604,	1-620, 1-711, 1-803
PRESERVERS	1-229
PRESS	1-409, 1-425, 1-430, 1-508, 1-521
PRESTIGE	1-422, 1-428, 1-610
PREVENTION	1-421, 1-502, 1-514, 1-515, 1-809
PREVENTIVE	1-118, 1-122, 1-427, 1-501, 1-502, 1-503, 1-504, 1-505,
1-507,	1-508, 1-510, 1-511, 1-513, 1-514, 1-516, 1-517, 1-518,
1-519,	1-520, 1-521, 1-522, 1-522, 1-602, 1-814
PRICE	1-121, 1-207, 1-217, 1-219, 1-221, 1-229, 1-230, 1-302,
1-310,	1-313, 1-314, 1-318, 1-325, 1-329, 1-414, 1-424
PRIDE	1-211, 1-212, 1-226, 1-306, 1-307, 1-314, 1-335, 1-418,
1-603,	1-615, 1-705

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

PRIMER	1-613
PRIMITIVE	1-107
PRINTING	1-425, 1-514, 1-616
PRIZE	1-613
PROBATION	1-323
PROBE	1-625
PROCESSING	1-127, 1-212, 1-221, 1-224, 1-225, 1-226, 1-229, 1-305, 1-411, 1-414, 1-620, 1-708
PROCESSOR	1-221, 1-229
PRODUCE	1-110, 1-111, 1-124, 1-209, 1-225, 1-301, 1-306, 1-309, 1-310, 1-401, 1-406, 1-423, 1-424, 1-510, 1-628, 1-629, 1-712, 1-802, 1-803
PRODUCERS	1-111, 1-121, 1-207, 1-212, 1-214, 1-225, 1-226, 1-309, 1-310, 1-313, 1-314, 1-318, 1-325, 1-331, 1-332, 1-333, 1-401, 1-415, 1-418, 1-629, 1-813
PRODUCTION	1-105, 1-111, 1-112, 1-113, 1-115, 1-201, 1-203, 1-204, 1-205, 1-207, 1-208, 1-210, 1-215, 1-216, 1-217, 1-219, 1-220, 1-222, 1-223, 1-225, 1-229, 1-301, 1-305, 1-306, 1-307, 1-312, 1-313, 1-404, 1-409, 1-411, 1-412, 1-414, 1-424, 1-426, 1-509, 1-510, 1-511, 1-606, 1-608, 1-609, 1-610, 1-616, 1-620, 1-702, 1-714, 1-721, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724, 1-725, 1-809, 1-802, 1-813, 1-816
PRODUCTIVITY	1-201, 1-202, 1-203, 1-204, 1-206, 1-207, 1-208, 1-210, 1-213, 1-220, 1-230, 1-230, 1-302, 1-311, 1-312, 1-404, 1-408, 1-611, 1-619, 1-626
PRODUCTS	1-107, 1-113, 1-210, 1-216, 1-221, 1-225, 1-226, 1-227, 1-230, 1-305, 1-306, 1-308, 1-312, 1-313, 1-314, 1-404, 1-408, 1-414, 1-418, 1-419, 1-424, 1-613, 1-616, 1-618, 1-703, 1-711, 1-718, 1-724, 1-813, 1-816
PROFESSIONAL	1-106, 1-111, 1-125, 1-220, 1-223, 1-225, 1-314, 1-323, 1-324, 1-326, 1-330, 1-331, 1-335, 1-404, 1-413, 1-417, 1-421, 1-501, 1-502, 1-505, 1-506, 1-511, 1-516, 1-517, 1-520, 1-620, 1-622, 1-623, 1-625, 1-703, 1-704, 1-707, 1-725, 1-805, 1-815
PROFESSOR	1-217, 1-702, 1-703, 1-804
PROFIT	1-122, 1-210, 1-212, 1-219, 1-220, 1-221, 1-222, 1-305, 1-309, 1-313, 1-314, 1-315, 1-317, 1-327, 1-334, 1-407, 1-608,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

PROJECT-SPECIFIC	1-804
PROJECTOR	1-214
PROMOTE	1-628
1-301,	1-116, 1-207, 1-212, 1-216, 1-221, 1-222, 1-224, 1-227,
1-705,	1-303, 1-304, 1-306, 1-502, 1-513, 1-518, 1-629, 1-702,
PROMOTIONAL	1-722, 1-806, 1-812
PROMOTER	1-502
PROPERTY	1-619
PROSTITUTION	1-201, 1-416, 1-604, 1-619, 1-716
PROSUMPTION	1-402
PROTECTION	1-112
1-412,	1-108, 1-201, 1-203, 1-208, 1-216, 1-311, 1-405, 1-409,
1-714,	1-414, 1-430, 1-507, 1-508, 1-517, 1-603, 1-606, 1-703,
PROTEIN	1-715, 1-716, 1-801, 1-805, 1-808
PROTOTYPE	1-205, 1-216, 1-325, 1-511, 1-512
PROVERBS	1-629
PROVINCE	1-613
PRUNED	1-606, 1-615, 1-704
PSYCHOLOGICAL	1-311
PUBLICITY	1-230, 1-614, 1-622
PUBLISH	1-124, 1-127, 1-332, 1-430, 1-719
PULSES	1-207, 1-222, 1-712
PUMP	1-221
1-724,	1-127, 1-211, 1-222, 1-230, 1-607, 1-616, 1-624, 1-713,
PURCHASE	1-725, 1-814
1-305,	1-115, 1-121, 1-216, 1-224, 1-226, 1-227, 1-301, 1-302,
1-419,	1-311, 1-312, 1-314, 1-315, 1-318, 1-319, 1-325, 1-412,
PURIFICATION	1-428, 1-617, 1-706, 1-708
QUALITY	1-803
1-223,	1-102, 1-115, 1-201, 1-205, 1-207, 1-209, 1-217, 1-220,
1-310,	1-225, 1-227, 1-228, 1-229, 1-230, 1-306, 1-306, 1-308,
1-601,	1-314, 1-325, 1-331, 1-503, 1-510, 1-513, 1-515, 1-522,
QUARRY	1-616, 1-619, 1-626, 1-701, 1-706, 1-712, 1-723, 1-801
QUICK-BEARING	1-408, 1-724
RABBIT	1-510
RACES	1-417, 1-425, 1-511
RACIAL	1-412
RADIO	1-102, 1-804
1-618,	1-123, 1-124, 1-128, 1-422, 1-430, 1-508, 1-509, 1-610,
RAILWAY	1-628, 1-629
RAIN	1-617
1-808	1-104, 1-208, 1-311, 1-408, 1-520, 1-616, 1-701, 1-713,
RAM	1-128
RANGER	1-613, 1-715
RAVINE	1-208, 1-215

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

RAYON	1-713
READ 1-702,	1-329, 1-415, 1-421, 1-429, 1-602, 1-605, 1-613, 1-614, 1-805, 1-807
REAFFORESTATION	1-110, 1-409, 1-613, 1-701, 1-703, 1-714, 1-715
REBUILT	1-709, 1-710, 1-711, 1-802, 1-803
RECLAMATION	1-204, 1-206, 1-209, 1-210, 1-215, 1-713, 1-720, 1-805
RECONSTRUCTION	1-506, 1-605, 1-704, 1-708, 1-709, 1-710
RECOVERY	1-207, 1-316, 1-318, 1-320, 1-708
RECREATE	1-113, 1-604, 1-803
RECREATION	1-419, 1-425, 1-711
RECRUIT	1-323, 1-334, 1-503, 1-504, 1-620, 1-816
RECYCLING	1-724
REDESIGNED	1-616
REDISTRIBUTE	1-401, 1-522
REDUNDANT	1-616
REEFS	1-611
REFERENDUM	1-630
REFINING	1-101, 1-127, 1-217, 1-412
REFORM	1-216, 1-305, 1-401, 1-429, 1-604, 1-606, 1-623
REFRIGERATED	1-128, 1-229
REFUGEES	1-202
REGISTER 1-412,	1-114, 1-120, 1-121, 1-203, 1-216, 1-217, 1-220, 1-308, 1-508, 1-522, 1-602, 1-610, 1-622, 1-626, 1-706, 1-804
REGULATIONS	1-312, 1-317, 1-324, 1-711
REHABILITATE	1-201, 1-204, 1-518, 1-520, 1-707, 1-709
REHYDRATION	1-128, 1-511, 1-512, 1-514
REINVESTMENT	1-111, 1-317, 1-407
RELIGIOUS	1-106, 1-122, 1-421, 1-501, 1-507, 1-712
REMODELLED	1-706
REMUNERATIVE	1-203, 1-225, 1-410, 1-426
RENEWABLE	1-223, 1-702
RENEWAL	1-211, 1-511, 1-709, 1-712, 1-816
RENOVATION	1-209, 1-420, 1-711, 1-803
RENT	1-315, 1-425
REORGANISATION	1-324, 1-326, 1-802
REPAIR 1-711,	1-113, 1-211, 1-315, 1-426, 1-607, 1-608, 1-704, 1-705, 1-723, 1-724, 1-805
REPAY	
REPAYMENT 1-611,	1-121, 1-219, 1-224, 1-316, 1-317, 1-319, 1-415, 1-609, 1-706
REPLICATION	1-124, 1-226, 1-304, 1-322, 1-627, 1-813, 1-816
REPRESENTATIVE 1-401,	1-102, 1-106, 1-122, 1-206, 1-225, 1-314, 1-327, 1-331, 1-411, 1-521, 1-522, 1-601, 1-615, 1-625, 1-702, 1-703, 1-716, 1-803, 1-804, 1-810, 1-814
REPRESENTED 1-413,	1-103, 1-105, 1-204, 1-316, 1-319, 1-405, 1-408, 1-412, 1-424, 1-501, 1-512, 1-610, 1-704, 1-708, 1-709, 1-711,
REPRODUCTION	1-801, 1-805 1-402, 1-513

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

RESEARCH	1-104, 1-117, 1-207, 1-211, 1-213, 1-219, 1-222, 1-223,
1-226,	1-227, 1-229, 1-310, 1-312, 1-326, 1-330, 1-332, 1-404,
1-410,	1-413, 1-420, 1-429, 1-502, 1-509, 1-519, 1-606, 1-616,
1-618,	1-623, 1-704, 1-715, 1-723, 1-726, 1-813, 1-814, 1-815
RESERVATIONS	1-307
RESERVOIRS	1-215, 1-220, 1-714, 1-721, 1-805
RESIDENCE	1-117, 1-124, 1-126, 1-520, 1-522, 1-615, 1-703, 1-709,
1-724,	1-810
RESIDENT	1-108, 1-117, 1-121, 1-126, 1-224, 1-305, 1-306, 1-309,
1-314,	1-316, 1-330, 1-334, 1-335, 1-408, 1-502, 1-503, 1-520,
1-522,	1-607, 1-609, 1-620, 1-630, 1-703, 1-704, 1-705, 1-706,
1-708,	1-709, 1-711, 1-712, 1-715, 1-723, 1-802, 1-803, 1-804,
1-808,	1-811
RESOLUTION	1-206, 1-312
RESOURCES	1-101, 1-104, 1-107, 1-108, 1-109, 1-110, 1-111, 1-112,
1-115,	1-117, 1-118, 1-123, 1-124, 1-201, 1-203, 1-207, 1-211,
1-213,	1-215, 1-216, 1-218, 1-219, 1-220, 1-222, 1-226, 1-228,
1-230,	1-302, 1-303, 1-304, 1-305, 1-307, 1-309, 1-310, 1-311,
1-312,	1-314, 1-317, 1-325, 1-326, 1-327, 1-328, 1-330, 1-331,
1-332,	1-333, 1-334, 1-335, 1-401, 1-405, 1-406, 1-409, 1-412,
1-414,	1-419, 1-420, 1-421, 1-423, 1-425, 1-426, 1-430, 1-501,
1-503,	1-504, 1-505, 1-506, 1-507, 1-508, 1-509, 1-510, 1-515,
1-517,	1-518, 1-519, 1-522, 1-606, 1-611, 1-615, 1-616, 1-618,
1-619,	1-620, 1-623, 1-627, 1-701, 1-703, 1-704, 1-706, 1-708,
1-709,	1-710, 1-711, 1-712, 1-714, 1-719, 1-720, 1-721, 1-722,
1-725,	1-805, 1-813, 1-815
RESPECT	1-110, 1-306, 1-421, 1-427, 1-502, 1-515, 1-520, 1-522,
1-522,	1-602, 1-622, 1-625, 1-707, 1-714
RESPIRATORY	1-505
RESPONSIBILITY	1-101, 1-106, 1-107, 1-108, 1-109, 1-110, 1-111, 1-118,
1-122,	1-202, 1-207, 1-210, 1-211, 1-214, 1-218, 1-224, 1-227,
1-308,	1-317, 1-319, 1-322, 1-323, 1-327, 1-335, 1-402, 1-405,
1-406,	1-407, 1-411, 1-417, 1-418, 1-426, 1-427, 1-501, 1-507,
1-516,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-615,	1-517, 1-521, 1-522, 1-601, 1-602, 1-602, 1-612, 1-613,
1-815	1-616, 1-620, 1-708, 1-715, 1-717, 1-722, 1-806, 1-814,
RESPONSIBLE	1-102, 1-105, 1-106, 1-108, 1-123, 1-125, 1-216, 1-222,
1-230,	1-314, 1-320, 1-326, 1-401, 1-402, 1-404, 1-409, 1-415,
1-427,	1-502, 1-507, 1-512, 1-519, 1-520, 1-522, 1-607, 1-612,
1-615,	1-618, 1-620, 1-706, 1-723, 1-805, 1-813
RESTORATION	1-208, 1-720, 1-803, 1-816
RESTRICTION	1-112, 1-116, 1-120, 1-811
RETAIL	1-328, 1-410, 1-412
RETIRE	1-122, 1-314, 1-323, 1-625, 1-804
REVALUATION	1-603, 1-612
REVENUE	1-324, 1-801, 1-804
REVITALISE	1-303, 1-306, 1-412, 1-517, 1-709, 1-711
REVOLUTION	1-411, 1-508, 1-522, 1-613
REVOLVING	1-219, 1-224, 1-304, 1-317, 1-319, 1-320, 1-322, 1-326,
1-626,	1-808, 1-811, 1-812
RICE	1-119, 1-411, 1-506, 1-806
RICE-HUSKING	1-426
RICH	1-125, 1-127, 1-205, 1-304, 1-318, 1-512, 1-612, 1-627
RIGHT-OF-WAY	1-212
RIGHT	1-106, 1-108, 1-116, 1-117, 1-119, 1-126, 1-201, 1-202,
1-205,	1-212, 1-219, 1-220, 1-223, 1-229, 1-230, 1-304, 1-312,
1-312,	1-324, 1-333, 1-405, 1-407, 1-409, 1-410, 1-412, 1-415,
1-426,	1-429, 1-429, 1-503, 1-509, 1-510, 1-511, 1-518, 1-604,
1-606,	1-609, 1-613, 1-618, 1-622, 1-710, 1-714, 1-722, 1-808,
1-816	
RIOTS	1-230
RIPPLE	1-225, 1-321
RISK	1-108, 1-118, 1-201, 1-202, 1-211, 1-212, 1-335, 1-414,
1-420,	1-507, 1-522, 1-606, 1-701, 1-710
RIVER	1-201, 1-206, 1-211, 1-216, 1-322, 1-403, 1-520, 1-713,
1-714,	1-721
RIVERSIDES	1-711,
ROADS	1-106, 1-108, 1-124, 1-209, 1-228, 1-230, 1-325, 1-411,
1-414,	1-418, 1-506, 1-602, 1-607, 1-701, 1-706, 1-708, 1-709,
1-710,	1-711, 1-803, 1-808
ROBOT	1-513
RODENT	1-508
ROLE	1-101, 1-102, 1-104, 1-105, 1-107, 1-117, 1-118, 1-124,
1-204,	1-214, 1-219, 1-221, 1-226, 1-230, 1-301, 1-302, 1-303,
1-304,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

- 1-334,
1-414,
1-430,
1-601,
1-626,
1-815,
ROOFING
ROOTS
ROPE
ROSE
ROTATION
ROUNDWOOD
RUBBER
SACRED
SACRIFICIAL
SAFE
SALARIES
SALE
SALINE
SALT-SUGAR
SALTS
SANITATION
1-420,
1-518,
1-809,
SAPLINGS
SATELLITE
SAVE
1-411,
1-705,
SAVINGS
1-316,
SAYING
SCHOOLS
1-608,
1-802,
SCIENCES
1-607,
SCIENTIFIC
SCYTHES
SEA
- 1-305, 1-307, 1-320, 1-324, 1-328, 1-329, 1-330, 1-331,
1-335, 1-401, 1-402, 1-403, 1-404, 1-405, 1-407, 1-412,
1-417, 1-418, 1-421, 1-422, 1-423, 1-426, 1-427, 1-428,
1-506, 1-508, 1-512, 1-513, 1-514, 1-516, 1-517, 1-518,
1-602, 1-604, 1-609, 1-613, 1-615, 1-617, 1-618, 1-619,
1-630, 1-715, 1-801, 1-803, 1-804, 1-806, 1-808, 1-811,
1-816
1-703, 1-703, 1-704, 1-708, 1-804
1-306, 1-329, 1-332, 1-504, 1-624, 1-720, 1-809
1-311, 1-814
1-220, 1-709
1-107, 1-111, 1-122, 1-207, 1-303
1-128, 1-305
1-111, 1-804
1-208
1-334
1-408, 1-415, 1-508, 1-520, 1-521
1-326, 1-408, 1-425, 1-522, 1-628, 1-719
1-112, 1-229, 1-306, 1-325, 1-328, 1-416, 1-616
1-208, 1-209, 1-611
1-512
1-111, 1-504, 1-514, 1-515
1-109, 1-119, 1-125, 1-218, 1-334, 1-404, 1-415, 1-416,
1-427, 1-501, 1-507, 1-508, 1-510, 1-514, 1-515, 1-517,
1-522, 1-522, 1-602, 1-703, 1-706, 1-707, 1-807, 1-808,
1-813
1-425, 1-715, 1-717
1-128, 1-520, 1-628, 1-629
1-126, 1-208, 1-221, 1-314, 1-320, 1-403, 1-404, 1-408,
1-415, 1-419, 1-507, 1-602, 1-617, 1-630, 1-702, 1-704,
1-708, 1-710, 1-715
1-111, 1-112, 1-230, 1-306, 1-307, 1-308, 1-309, 1-315,
1-317, 1-320, 1-333, 1-407, 1-414, 1-415, 1-417, 1-709
1-613, 1-625, 1-701, 1-710
1-122, 1-325, 1-330, 1-416, 1-422, 1-429, 1-502, 1-601,
1-612, 1-615, 1-616, 1-617, 1-619, 1-620, 1-703, 1-710,
1-805, 1-814
1-125, 1-201, 1-202, 1-222, 1-327, 1-404, 1-420, 1-514,
1-618, 1-623, 1-702, 1-724, 1-809
1-505, 1-603, 1-607
1-228
1-417

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

SEASON	1-203, 1-221, 1-305, 1-311, 1-319, 1-411, 1-424, 1-520, 1-612,
	1-616, 1-708, 1-713, 1-723, 1-808
SECRETARY	1-407, 1-504
SECTORAL	1-811
SECURITY	1-102, 1-111, 1-119, 1-201, 1-202, 1-220, 1-230, 1-622, 1-802,
	1-805
SEED	1-218, 1-230, 1-302, 1-317, 1-401, 1-407, 1-421, 1-425, 1-511, 1-522, 1-611, 1-618, 1-701, 1-717, 1-718, 1-725, 1-801,
	1-805, 1-814
SEED-GATHERING	1-127
SEEDLINGS	1-209, 1-210, 1-409, 1-714, 1-715, 1-717, 1-718
SEGREGATION	1-802
SELF-AWARENESS	1-605
SELF-BUILT	1-112
SELF-CONFIDENCE	1-106, 1-109, 1-119, 1-303, 1-411, 1-418, 1-504, 1-627
SELF-CONSCIOUS	1-330, 1-332
SELF-DEFENSE	1-604
SELF-DEPENDENCE	1-108, 1-109, 1-110, 1-111, 1-112, 1-113, 1-115
SELF-DEVELOPMENT	1-330
SELF-DISCOVERY	1-114
SELF-EDUCATIONAL	1-408
SELF-EMPLOYED	1-122, 1-205, 1-302, 1-310, 1-317, 1-318, 1-331, 1-402, 1-414, 1-415, 1-420, 1-602, 1-623, 1-628
	1-333, 1-625
SELF-EVALUATION	1-808
SELF-GENERATING	1-303
SELF-GOVERNMENT	1-112, 1-114, 1-119, 1-120, 1-226, 1-301, 1-304, 1-307, 1-309, 1-317, 1-333, 1-413, 1-420, 1-429, 1-522, 1-606, 1-629, 1-703, 1-704, 1-705, 1-705, 1-706, 1-707, 1-801, 1-813
SELF-HELP	1-108, 1-109, 1-111, 1-113, 1-114, 1-307, 1-335, 1-603 1-113, 1-116, 1-335
	1-334
SELF-IDENTITY	1-226
SELF-IMAGE	1-106
SELF-INITIATIVE	1-106, 1-107, 1-109, 1-210, 1-227, 1-307, 1-308, 1-329, 1-334, 1-426, 1-506, 1-614, 1-627, 1-715, 1-723, 1-801,
SELF-INTEREST	1-810
SELF-ORGANISING	1-116, 1-303, 1-402, 1-520
SELF-RELIANCE	1-106
	1-228, 1-307, 1-314, 1-404, 1-418, 1-611, 1-702, 1-706, 1-725
	1-221, 1-223, 1-227, 1-425, 1-607, 1-616
SELF-SUPPORTING	1-207, 1-313, 1-314, 1-316, 1-320
SELF-SUSTENANCE	1-607, 1-618, 1-619
SELF-TEACHING	1-128, 1-625
SELF-TRAINING	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

SELF-WORTH	1-114, 1-335, 1-429
SELL	1-113, 1-210, 1-221, 1-230, 1-313, 1-314, 1-325, 1-611,
1-803	
SEMI-ANNUAL	1-124
SEMI-LITERATE	1-106, 1-513
SEMI-PROFESSIONALS	1-619
SEMI-SKILLED	1-204, 1-425
SEMINARS	1-124, 1-214, 1-323, 1-426, 1-607, 1-625
SENSITIVITY	1-105, 1-107, 1-116, 1-121, 1-331, 1-406, 1-415, 1-601
SERICULTURE	1-127, 1-210
SERVICED	1-201, 1-223
SETTINGS	1-116
SETTLE	1-209, 1-318, 1-327, 1-428, 1-603, 1-604, 1-721
SETTLEMENT	1-209, 1-217, 1-303, 1-327, 1-331, 1-425, 1-427, 1-501,
1-701,	
	1-703, 1-708, 1-721
SEWAGE	1-427, 1-516, 1-713
SEWING	1-119, 1-224, 1-426
SHAREHOLDERS	1-122, 1-312, 1-314, 1-411, 1-615
SHEEP	1-224, 1-305, 1-306, 1-417
SHEEPHERDERS	1-305, 1-306
SHELTER	1-108, 1-223, 1-612, 1-704
SHOES	1-228, 1-329, 1-622
SHOP	1-209, 1-230, 1-312, 1-425, 1-703, 1-804
SHRAMADAN	1-801
SHRUBS	1-217
SICK	1-513, 1-516, 1-522
SIGNS	1-406, 1-409, 1-602, 1-709
SILKWORMS	1-210, 1-227, 1-406
SILTING	1-201, 1-208, 1-714, 1-720
SILVER	1-230
SINGING	1-614
SINGLE-PARENT	1-402
SINGLE-PURPOSE	1-120
SKILLS	1-101, 1-107, 1-110, 1-111, 1-112, 1-113, 1-114, 1-115,
1-116,	
	1-117, 1-118, 1-119, 1-120, 1-201, 1-203, 1-210, 1-214,
1-215,	
	1-216, 1-217, 1-218, 1-226, 1-227, 1-230, 1-301, 1-302,
1-304,	
	1-305, 1-306, 1-309, 1-310, 1-313, 1-315, 1-318, 1-328,
1-329,	
	1-331, 1-334, 1-335, 1-401, 1-404, 1-406, 1-407, 1-408,
1-409,	
	1-412, 1-414, 1-418, 1-419, 1-420, 1-423, 1-425, 1-426,
1-427,	
	1-514, 1-516, 1-522, 1-601, 1-602, 1-603, 1-606, 1-607,
1-608,	
	1-611, 1-612, 1-614, 1-615, 1-618, 1-620, 1-620, 1-623,
1-626,	
	1-627, 1-702, 1-706, 1-707, 1-721, 1-804, 1-805, 1-808,
1-816	
SKILLED	1-118, 1-204, 1-208, 1-316, 1-317, 1-403, 1-418, 1-425,
1-620,	
	1-705
SLATE	1-724
SMALL-SCALE	1-111, 1-406, 1-414, 1-415, 1-809

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

SMALLHOLDER	1-203
SMALLPOX	1-509
SMOKED	1-312
SMOKELESS	1-128, 1-404, 1-725
SMOKING	1-312, 1-321, 1-505
SNAILS	1-207
SNAKE	1-603, 1-712
SNOW	1-409, 1-710
SOAKPITS	1-128, 1-627, 1-713
SOCIAL	1-102, 1-104, 1-105, 1-107, 1-110, 1-115, 1-122, 1-124,
1-125,	1-127, 1-204, 1-205, 1-212, 1-214, 1-218, 1-219, 1-226,
1-227,	1-228, 1-229, 1-302, 1-303, 1-304, 1-305, 1-306, 1-307,
1-308,	1-315, 1-322, 1-323, 1-324, 1-326, 1-327, 1-330, 1-334,
1-403,	1-404, 1-405, 1-407, 1-408, 1-410, 1-411, 1-412, 1-413,
1-415,	1-417, 1-418, 1-420, 1-421, 1-423, 1-425, 1-427, 1-501,
1-504,	1-508, 1-509, 1-514, 1-515, 1-518, 1-520, 1-522, 1-601,
1-602,	1-604, 1-605, 1-606, 1-607, 1-613, 1-618, 1-620, 1-622,
1-622,	1-623, 1-624, 1-625, 1-627, 1-701, 1-702, 1-706, 1-708,
1-709,	1-710, 1-711, 1-712, 1-721, 1-725, 1-802, 1-803, 1-809,
1-812,	1-813, 1-814, 1-816
SOCIALLY	1-230, 1-403, 1-711, 1-801, 1-814
SOCIO-CULTURAL	1-203, 1-329
SOCIO-ECONOMIC	1-102, 1-105, 1-125, 1-213, 1-225, 1-304, 1-315, 1-322,
1-327,	1-401, 1-403, 1-405, 1-421, 1-512, 1-605, 1-607, 1-608,
1-619,	1-801, 1-805
SOCIO-HISTORICAL	1-603
SOCIOLOGIST	1-413
SOIL	1-110, 1-201, 1-206, 1-207, 1-208, 1-209, 1-211, 1-216,
1-223,	1-228, 1-329, 1-409, 1-611, 1-714, 1-720, 1-805
SOLAR	1-103, 1-113, 1-117, 1-127, 1-128, 1-205, 1-222, 1-223,
1-409,	1-603, 1-624, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724, 1-725, 1-813
SOLE	1-402, 1-413
SOLIDARITY	1-114, 1-120, 1-306, 1-308, 1-616, 1-618
SOLUTION	1-101, 1-104, 1-105, 1-115, 1-119, 1-222, 1-332, 1-416,
1-424,	1-429, 1-512, 1-515, 1-522, 1-606, 1-619, 1-629, 1-701,
1-702,	1-703, 1-713, 1-801
SOLVED	1-510, 1-717, 1-812
SONS	1-429, 1-604, 1-808
SONG	1-114, 1-117, 1-330, 1-422, 1-511, 1-613, 1-614, 1-620,
1-628,	1-716

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

SOPHISTICATED	1-106, 1-223, 1-227, 1-309, 1-810
SOUTH-SOUTH	1-124
SOWING	1-305, 1-701
SPACE	1-214, 1-322, 1-410, 1-416, 1-417, 1-629, 1-701, 1-704, 1-705
SPACES	1-512, 1-709, 1-711, 1-806
SPECIALISATION	1-221, 1-323, 1-324, 1-612, 1-625, 1-724, 1-726
SPECIALTY	1-607
SPEECH	1-507
SPENDING	1-106, 1-114, 1-810
SPERM	1-105
SPHERE	1-103, 1-105
SPINNING	1-227, 1-328, 1-329, 1-424, 1-426, 1-805
SPIRAL	1-110
SPIRIT	1-226, 1-304, 1-329, 1-407, 1-412, 1-618, 1-707, 1-801, 1-802,
	1-803, 1-816
SPIRITUAL	1-305, 1-615, 1-714, 1-721
SPOKESPERSON	1-208, 1-509
SPONTANEOUS	1-307, 1-321, 1-605
SPORES	1-509
SPORTS	1-124, 1-609, 1-803, 1-808
SPREAD	1-211, 1-213, 1-215, 1-221, 1-225, 1-226, 1-714, 1-720, 1-725,
	1-803
SPRING	1-612
SQUATTER	1-105, 1-506
STABILISE	1-118, 1-207, 1-217, 1-226, 1-310, 1-311, 1-403, 1-518, 1-716, 1-723
STABLE	1-112, 1-216, 1-226, 1-305, 1-313, 1-417, 1-513
STAFF	1-115, 1-117, 1-124, 1-206, 1-208, 1-209, 1-211, 1-217, 1-223, 1-224, 1-318, 1-320, 1-323, 1-325, 1-326, 1-328,
1-330,	1-331, 1-333, 1-407, 1-415, 1-416, 1-424, 1-503, 1-505,
1-515,	1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-522, 1-603, 1-616, 1-620,
1-624,	1-625, 1-626, 1-627, 1-705, 1-712, 1-719, 1-804, 1-807,
1-813,	1-814, 1-815, 1-816
STAGE	1-102, 1-125, 1-126, 1-230, 1-304, 1-309, 1-315, 1-317,
1-330,	1-409, 1-410, 1-412, 1-419, 1-420, 1-428, 1-503, 1-510,
1-514,	1-516, 1-518, 1-620, 1-705, 1-707, 1-708, 1-715, 1-806,
1-814	1-212, 1-329, 1-709, 1-810
STAGNATION	1-101, 1-208, 1-211, 1-213, 1-218, 1-226, 1-227, 1-308,
STANDARD	1-505, 1-508, 1-603, 1-611, 1-613, 1-712, 1-720, 1-803
1-311,	1-505
STANDPOINT	1-105, 1-114, 1-203, 1-312, 1-319, 1-403, 1-404, 1-406,
STATUS	1-410, 1-411, 1-414, 1-417, 1-422, 1-423, 1-426, 1-427,
1-409,	
1-428,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

STATUTORY	1-429, 1-507, 1-522, 1-613, 1-712, 1-714
STEEL	1-301, 1-303, 1-304
STERILE	1-124, 1-227, 1-228, 1-321, 1-711, 1-722
STIPEND	1-423
STOCK	1-422, 1-610, 1-715
STONE	1-315, 1-317, 1-409, 1-504, 1-703
STORAGE	1-321, 1-708
STORE	1-221, 1-508, 1-510, 1-511
STORY	1-208, 1-221, 1-313, 1-411, 1-412, 1-513, 1-610
	1-114, 1-307, 1-309, 1-315, 1-335, 1-423, 1-430, 1-505,
	1-511,
STOVES	1-613, 1-614, 1-625, 1-801
STRATEGIC	1-127, 1-128, 1-223, 1-404, 1-725
STRATEGIES	1-230, 1-627
	1-201, 1-202, 1-204, 1-213, 1-219, 1-225, 1-228, 1-304,
	1-310,
	1-315, 1-321, 1-325, 1-331, 1-407, 1-623, 1-624, 1-805,
	1-806,
STRATEGY	1-813
STRATIFICATION	1-412, 1-423, 1-425, 1-620, 1-706, 1-715, 1-725
STRAW	1-219
STREAM	1-411
STREETS	1-322, 1-428, 1-605, 1-616, 1-713, 1-725
STRESS	1-330, 1-614, 1-711
	1-317, 1-319, 1-420, 1-518, 1-625, 1-627, 1-704, 1-722,
	1-802
STRUCTURAL	1-108, 1-120, 1-124, 1-304, 1-323, 1-326, 1-622, 1-719
STRUCTURES	1-101, 1-102, 1-104, 1-106, 1-108, 1-112, 1-114, 1-115,
	1-116,
	1-118, 1-120, 1-121, 1-122, 1-124, 1-125, 1-201, 1-203,
	1-204,
	1-205, 1-219, 1-218, 1-221, 1-228, 1-303, 1-304, 1-306,
	1-307,
	1-308, 1-313, 1-314, 1-315, 1-316, 1-319, 1-320, 1-321,
	1-322,
	1-324, 1-327, 1-330, 1-334, 1-335, 1-405, 1-406, 1-407,
	1-412,
	1-415, 1-417, 1-426, 1-429, 1-511, 1-513, 1-518, 1-605,
	1-609,
	1-613, 1-616, 1-617, 1-619, 1-627, 1-629, 1-704, 1-706,
	1-708,
	1-712, 1-719, 1-723, 1-724, 1-801, 1-804, 1-812, 1-813,
	1-815,
STUDENTS	1-816
	1-116, 1-209, 1-324, 1-330, 1-416, 1-429, 1-517, 1-520,
	1-602,
	1-607, 1-608, 1-609, 1-612, 1-613, 1-614, 1-615, 1-617,
	1-622,
	1-623, 1-624, 1-627, 1-713, 1-716, 1-717, 1-805
STUDIED	1-202, 1-219, 1-505
STUDY	1-103, 1-116, 1-117, 1-122, 1-309, 1-318, 1-319, 1-320,
	1-331,
	1-408, 1-418, 1-428, 1-514, 1-605, 1-606, 1-607, 1-608,
	1-618,
	1-619, 1-624, 1-625, 1-626, 1-704, 1-707, 1-721, 1-805,
	1-806,
	1-813, 1-814, 1-816

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

STYLE	1-102, 1-107, 1-110, 1-116, 1-203, 1-212, 1-226, 1-418, 1-420,
	1-421, 1-423, 1-425, 1-506, 1-519, 1-522, 1-607, 1-618, 1-629,
	1-702, 1-722, 1-725, 1-802, 1-803
SUB-CENTRES	1-427, 1-503, 1-520, 1-522
SUB-CULTURE	1-324
SUB-DISTRICTS	1-502
SUBMISSION	1-705, 1-710
SUBMIT	1-424, 1-628, 1-719
SUBSCRIPTIONS	1-522
SUBSIDIARY	1-210
SUBSIDIES	1-112, 1-202, 1-224, 1-228, 1-301, 1-302, 1-305, 1-306, 1-321,
	1-424, 1-509, 1-708, 1-719, 1-808
SUBSISTENCE	1-202, 1-203, 1-204, 1-205, 1-206, 1-212, 1-217, 1-230, 1-335
SUBSTANDARD	1-707
SUBSTITUTE	1-620
SUCCEED	1-221, 1-408, 1-411, 1-423, 1-507, 1-807
SUCCEEDED	1-202, 1-230, 1-305, 1-321, 1-401, 1-410, 1-813, 1-816, 1-816
SUCCESS	1-107, 1-204, 1-211, 1-213, 1-226, 1-228, 1-302, 1-306, 1-308,
	1-315, 1-317, 1-320, 1-322, 1-324, 1-327, 1-328, 1-329, 1-335, 1-404, 1-424, 1-425, 1-503, 1-504, 1-505, 1-507, 1-602, 1-611, 1-625, 1-626, 1-702, 1-707, 1-714, 1-715, 1-718,
	1-719, 1-807, 1-813
SUCCESSFULLY	1-209, 1-220, 1-304, 1-306, 1-309, 1-407, 1-428, 1-505, 1-522,
	1-609, 1-721, 1-803, 1-808
SUFFICIENCY	1-301, 1-430, 1-627, 1-715
SUGAR	1-226, 1-228, 1-309, 1-515
SUMMER	1-716
SUN	1-223, 1-724
SUN-BAKED	1-230
SUN-DRIED	1-128
SUPERSTITION	1-513, 1-603, 1-816
SUPERVISE	1-502, 1-503, 1-515, 1-518, 1-522, 1-612, 1-705, 1-814
SUPERVISOR	
SUPERVISORS	1-334, 1-626, 1-707
SUPPLEMENTAL	1-305, 1-424, 1-511, 1-717
SUPPORTER	1-719
SURFACE	1-606, 1-713, 1-714
SURPLUS	1-203, 1-209, 1-229, 1-301, 1-306, 1-312, 1-425
SURVEY	1-117, 1-205, 1-214, 1-218, 1-310, 1-325, 1-326, 1-333, 1-407,
	1-509, 1-624, 1-626, 1-628, 1-704, 1-814
SURVIVAL	1-113, 1-201, 1-217, 1-312, 1-316, 1-331, 1-424, 1-522, 1-602,
	1-615, 1-714, 1-715, 1-801, 1-813
SUSTAINABLE	1-106, 1-109, 1-113, 1-206, 1-207, 1-225, 1-230, 1-302, 1-303,
	1-313, 1-410

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

SUSTAINER	1-208
SUSTENANCE 1-329,	1-106, 1-107, 1-108, 1-109, 1-202, 1-206, 1-207, 1-225, 1-503, 1-507, 1-717, 1-723, 1-813
SWEEPER	1-332
SWEETENER	1-111
SWINE	1-608
SYLLABUS	1-324, 1-428, 1-613, 1-622, 1-623, 1-626
SYMBIOTIC	1-229, 1-313
SYMBOL	1-106, 1-114, 1-412, 1-612, 1-716, 1-803, 1-809
SYMBOLIC	1-428, 1-628
SYMBOLISE	1-106, 1-503, 1-612, 1-803
SYMPOSIA	1-103, 1-115, 1-230, 1-629
SYNDICATE	1-214, 1-224
SYNDROME	1-205
SYNTHESIS	1-101, 1-809
SYSTEM 1-122, 1-216, 1-313, 1-504, 1-516, 1-607, 1-629, 1-720, 1-813,	1-102, 1-104, 1-107, 1-109, 1-112, 1-113, 1-117, 1-121, 1-123, 1-124, 1-126, 1-128, 1-202, 1-207, 1-211, 1-212, 1-222, 1-228, 1-301, 1-302, 1-304, 1-307, 1-310, 1-312, 1-314, 1-318, 1-326, 1-410, 1-420, 1-427, 1-502, 1-503, 1-506, 1-507, 1-508, 1-509, 1-510, 1-513, 1-514, 1-515, 1-517, 1-520, 1-522, 1-522, 1-601, 1-602, 1-603, 1-604, 1-609, 1-610, 1-612, 1-613, 1-617, 1-620, 1-625, 1-628, 1-630, 1-706, 1-707, 1-709, 1-711, 1-713, 1-718, 1-719, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724, 1-726, 1-803, 1-804, 1-805, 1-812, 1-814, 1-816
TABLE	1-713
TABLETS	1-504
TABOOS	1-514
TAILOR	1-429
TAILORING	1-116, 1-310, 1-315, 1-417, 1-514, 1-607, 1-612, 1-801
TALENTS	1-201, 1-308, 1-315
TANK	1-208, 1-508, 1-712, 1-725, 1-804
TAPES	1-630
TEA	1-226, 1-312
TEACHER 1-428, 1-618,	1-112, 1-125, 1-209, 1-211, 1-404, 1-416, 1-420, 1-421, 1-430, 1-507, 1-602, 1-611, 1-612, 1-613, 1-616, 1-617, 1-620, 1-623, 1-804, 1-807
TEACHER-PARENT	1-117
TEACHING 1-214, 1-428, 1-610,	1-105, 1-111, 1-113, 1-114, 1-116, 1-117, 1-119, 1-128, 1-218, 1-228, 1-320, 1-404, 1-419, 1-421, 1-422, 1-423, 1-429, 1-503, 1-511, 1-514, 1-515, 1-517, 1-520, 1-607,

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-620,	1-612, 1-613, 1-614, 1-615, 1-616, 1-617, 1-618, 1-619,
1-815	1-622, 1-627, 1-628, 1-702, 1-714, 1-718, 1-804, 1-807,
TEACHINGS	1-610
TEAM	1-109, 1-110, 1-118, 1-122, 1-124, 1-213, 1-218, 1-227,
1-228,	1-321, 1-322, 1-329, 1-331, 1-332, 1-417, 1-427, 1-502,
1-503,	1-504, 1-506, 1-507, 1-516, 1-515, 1-517, 1-519, 1-520,
1-605,	1-608, 1-612, 1-620, 1-625, 1-626, 1-712, 1-805, 1-810,
1-811,	1-815
TEAMWORK	1-627
TECHNICAL	1-110, 1-126, 1-127, 1-208, 1-220, 1-221, 1-222, 1-226,
1-227,	1-230, 1-314, 1-318, 1-322, 1-323, 1-406, 1-413, 1-420,
1-425,	1-503, 1-505, 1-514, 1-605, 1-619, 1-620, 1-625, 1-702,
1-704,	1-705, 1-707, 1-719, 1-723, 1-725, 1-804, 1-805, 1-807,
1-810	1-125, 1-126, 1-517, 1-615, 1-710, 1-807
TECHNICIAN	1-113, 1-117, 1-123, 1-125, 1-127, 1-128, 1-208, 1-209,
TECHNIQUES	1-212, 1-214, 1-215, 1-220, 1-222, 1-322, 1-420, 1-422,
1-210,	1-510, 1-603, 1-607, 1-608, 1-609, 1-610, 1-611, 1-619,
1-425,	1-626, 1-627, 1-629, 1-724, 1-725, 1-807, 1-810, 1-814
1-623,	1-226, 1-330
TECHNOCRATIC	1-111, 1-116, 1-126, 1-211, 1-222, 1-223, 1-229, 1-403,
TECHNOLOGICAL	1-508, 1-515, 1-609, 1-611, 1-720, 1-722, 1-723, 1-725,
1-404,	1-223
1-726	1-101, 1-106, 1-113, 1-115, 1-119, 1-124, 1-126, 1-127,
TECHNOLOGISTS	1-202, 1-204, 1-205, 1-206, 1-210, 1-211, 1-213, 1-218,
TECHNOLOGY	1-220, 1-222, 1-223, 1-225, 1-228, 1-229, 1-230, 1-304,
1-201,	1-319, 1-321, 1-322, 1-334, 1-403, 1-404, 1-405, 1-408,
1-219,	1-411, 1-501, 1-508, 1-513, 1-610, 1-616, 1-622, 1-623,
1-311,	1-628, 1-629, 1-630, 1-631, 1-701, 1-702, 1-702, 1-712,
1-409,	1-720, 1-721, 1-722, 1-723, 1-724, 1-725, 1-726, 1-802,
1-624,	1-812, 1-813
1-713,	1-128, 1-629
1-810,	1-629
TELE-BOOKS	1-117, 1-123, 1-124, 1-128, 1-214, 1-422, 1-430, 1-508,
TELECAST	1-610, 1-615, 1-628, 1-629, 1-630, 1-701, 1-722, 1-723
TELEVISION	
1-509,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

TEMPLES	1-807
TENANT	1-220, 1-408
TENT	1-712, 1-810
TENURE	1-220
TERRACES	1-208, 1-720
TERRAIN	1-306, 1-308, 1-508, 1-630
TETANUS	1-504, 1-509, 1-520
TEXTBOOKS	1-613
TEXTILES	1-331
THEATRE	1-614, 1-628, 1-629
THEORETICAL	1-102, 1-610, 1-626
THEORETICIANS	1-618
THEORY	1-321, 1-609, 1-611, 1-623, 1-628
THERAPY	1-128, 1-511, 1-512, 1-514
THREE-TIER	1-427, 1-503
TILE	1-704, 1-705
TIMBER	1-210, 1-311, 1-409, 1-703, 1-704, 1-708, 1-716, 1-725
TIME-CONSUMING	1-402
TIME-SAVING	1-411
TIMETABLE	1-612, 1-716
TOBACCO	1-226, 1-802
TOILETS	1-508, 1-804
TOMBS	1-520
TOOL	1-101, 1-207, 1-223, 1-228, 1-308, 1-318, 1-404, 1-413,
1-430,	1-509, 1-511, 1-606, 1-607, 1-616, 1-628, 1-629, 1-631,
1-707,	1-723, 1-810
TOOTHBRUSHES	1-113
TOP-DOWN	1-226, 1-701
TOPIC	1-713
TOPOGRAPHICAL	1-305, 1-720
TOPSOIL	1-309
TOUR	1-327, 1-422, 1-610
TOURISTS	1-803
TOWN	1-126, 1-201, 1-216, 1-217, 1-230, 1-309, 1-312, 1-315,
1-330,	1-335, 1-403, 1-506, 1-630, 1-703, 1-709, 1-802, 1-804,
1-810	
TOWNSFOLK	1-230
TOY	1-420
TRACTOR	1-104, 1-203, 1-220, 1-230, 1-409, 1-804
TRADE	1-127, 1-314, 1-315, 1-334, 1-415, 1-425, 1-501, 1-804
TRADERS	1-118, 1-219, 1-410
TRADITION	1-102, 1-114, 1-205, 1-208, 1-223, 1-306, 1-404, 1-410,
1-413,	1-422, 1-601, 1-604, 1-801, 1-802, 1-803
TRADITIONAL	1-110, 1-113, 1-114, 1-119, 1-121, 1-127, 1-201, 1-206,
1-208,	1-211, 1-212, 1-217, 1-219, 1-220, 1-227, 1-228, 1-230,
1-303,	1-304, 1-306, 1-307, 1-319, 1-401, 1-403, 1-404, 1-405,
1-407,	1-410, 1-411, 1-412, 1-417, 1-418, 1-419, 1-421, 1-424,
1-425,	1-426, 1-428, 1-504, 1-505, 1-506, 1-507, 1-509, 1-513,
1-514,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

1-618,	1-522, 1-522, 1-603, 1-604, 1-607, 1-612, 1-614, 1-617,
TRADITIONALLY-MADE	1-619, 1-620, 1-720, 1-721, 1-725, 1-802, 1-812, 1-815
TRAINEES	1-227
TRAINERS	1-117, 1-418, 1-616, 1-624, 1-626, 1-628, 1-815
TRANSFERABLE	1-320, 1-501, 1-514, 1-515
TRANSFORM	1-408, 1-720, 1-813
TRANSFORMATION	1-125, 1-203, 1-318, 1-408, 1-423, 1-803
TRANSFORMERS	1-201, 1-202, 1-211, 1-802, 1-815, 1-816
TRANSITION	1-603
TRANSMITS	1-426, 1-620
TRANSMITTER	1-214, 1-629
TRANSPORT	1-630
TRANSPORTATION	1-414, 1-415, 1-419, 1-429, 1-629, 1-804
TRASH	1-105, 1-229, 1-311, 1-312, 1-519, 1-718
TRAVEL	1-508
TREAT	1-414, 1-419, 1-502, 1-602, 1-616, 1-710, 1-715
1-520,	1-111, 1-208, 1-406, 1-411, 1-430, 1-505, 1-516, 1-519,
TREATMENT	1-521, 1-522, 1-617, 1-708, 1-713
1-516,	1-128, 1-208, 1-209, 1-215, 1-501, 1-505, 1-514, 1-515,
TREES	1-517, 1-518, 1-519, 1-520, 1-521, 1-703, 1-714, 1-809
1-309,	1-122, 1-127, 1-207, 1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-211, 1-217,
1-613,	1-311, 1-327, 1-330, 1-409, 1-425, 1-510, 1-604, 1-611,
1-724,	1-701, 1-703, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716, 1-717, 1-718, 1-719,
TRENDS	1-803, 1-805
TRIBAL-PEOPLE	1-411, 1-620, 1-802, 1-803
1-211,	1-101, 1-111, 1-120, 1-121, 1-122, 1-201, 1-202, 1-208,
1-313,	1-213, 1-226, 1-227, 1-228, 1-302, 1-306, 1-307, 1-309,
1-426,	1-315, 1-322, 1-324, 1-327, 1-402, 1-407, 1-417, 1-418,
1-612,	1-428, 1-510, 1-520, 1-604, 1-605, 1-608, 1-609, 1-610,
TRIBUNAL	1-614, 1-622, 1-623, 1-625, 1-808, 1-816
TRICKLE-UP	1-121
TROPICAL	1-401, 1-419
TROUT	1-223, 1-725
TRUCK	1-312
TSETSE	1-228, 1-311, 1-312
TUBE-WELLS	1-217
TUBERCULOSIS	1-121, 1-203, 1-211, 1-217, 1-311, 1-814
TUITION	1-511, 1-515, 1-521
TUTORING	1-428
TUTORS	1-421, 1-429, 1-602
UMBRELLA	1-429, 1-602
UNDER-EMPLOYED	1-222, 1-429
UNDER-PAID	1-407
UNDERGROUND	1-205, 1-602
UNDOCUMENTED	1-208
UNEMPLOYABLE	1-801
	1-418, 1-620

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

UNEMPLOYED	1-209, 1-221, 1-310, 1-312, 1-330, 1-601, 1-605
UNEMPLOYMENT	1-402, 1-813
UNIFORMS	1-310
UNION	1-122, 1-214, 1-225, 1-313, 1-320, 1-327, 1-333, 1-412, 1-414,
UNIONISE	1-415, 1-418, 1-522, 1-522, 1-626, 1-629
UNITY	1-420
UNIVERSITIES	1-108, 1-216, 1-407, 1-604, 1-609
UNIVERSITY	1-117, 1-222, 1-223, 1-413, 1-420, 1-606, 1-622, 1-702, 1-703,
UNMARRIED	1-719, 1-802, 1-804
UNPUBLISHED	1-414
UNSANITARY	1-403, 1-507
UNSKILLED	1-713
URBAN	1-205, 1-221, 1-419, 1-601, 1-620 1-119, 1-124, 1-201, 1-202, 1-209, 1-216, 1-222, 1-226, 1-321, 1-322, 1-331, 1-402, 1-408, 1-413, 1-421, 1-422, 1-501, 1-517, 1-518, 1-521, 1-601, 1-608, 1-610, 1-620, 1-709, 1-802, 1-809
URBANISED	1-613
UTERUS	1-512
VACCINATIONS	1-508
VACCINE	1-508, 1-509
VALLEY	1-103, 1-208, 1-222, 1-407, 1-409, 1-629, 1-714, 1-723
VALUE	1-101, 1-102, 1-107, 1-108, 1-110, 1-113, 1-114, 1-115, 1-121, 1-220, 1-230, 1-301, 1-302, 1-306, 1-307, 1-311, 1-313, 1-317, 1-318, 1-326, 1-332, 1-403, 1-405, 1-408, 1-411, 1-505, 1-511, 1-512, 1-521, 1-601, 1-602, 1-605, 1-606, 1-615, 1-622, 1-624, 1-703, 1-704, 1-705, 1-716, 1-724, 1-806, 1-809
VEGETABLE	1-127, 1-127, 1-205, 1-207, 1-215, 1-217, 1-223, 1-229, 1-425, 1-511, 1-610, 1-806
VEGETATION	1-714
VEHICLES	1-324, 1-502, 1-605
VENTILATION	1-128, 1-508
VENTURE	1-102, 1-111, 1-118, 1-210, 1-216, 1-228, 1-229, 1-304, 1-307, 1-308, 1-311, 1-312, 1-313, 1-315, 1-317, 1-321, 1-322, 1-329, 1-335, 1-407, 1-410, 1-411, 1-412, 1-414, 1-423, 1-424, 1-425, 1-602, 1-807
VETERAN	1-707
VETERINARY	1-218, 1-220, 1-225
VICTIMISED	1-113, 1-311, 1-315, 1-605, 1-803
VIDEO	1-117, 1-124, 1-128, 1-214, 1-222, 1-422, 1-610, 1-628, 1-629
VIDEODISC	1-628
VIDEOTAPES	1-629, 1-630

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

VISIBLE	1-107, 1-211, 1-227, 1-230, 1-722, 1-815
VISION	1-116, 1-126, 1-811, 1-816
VISUALISING	1-330, 1-806
VISUALS	1-511
VITALITY	1-111, 1-505, 1-511, 1-516
VOCATION	1-115, 1-117, 1-332, 1-415, 1-428, 1-608
VOLUNTARY	1-106, 1-122, 1-124, 1-125, 1-202, 1-208, 1-211, 1-213,
1-219,	1-220, 1-222, 1-302, 1-303, 1-305, 1-317, 1-326, 1-327,
1-330,	1-334, 1-401, 1-416, 1-419, 1-424, 1-502, 1-504, 1-509,
1-512,	1-516, 1-518, 1-522, 1-603, 1-610, 1-616, 1-620, 1-624,
1-627,	1-629, 1-708, 1-714, 1-716, 1-802, 1-809, 1-814, 1-815
VOLUNTEER	1-126, 1-212, 1-220, 1-223, 1-330, 1-404, 1-425, 1-501,
1-508,	1-518, 1-519, 1-611, 1-615, 1-619, 1-620, 1-627, 1-704,
1-706,	1-707, 1-712, 1-713, 1-713, 1-715, 1-725, 1-804, 1-810,
1-815	1-626
VOTER	1-203, 1-205, 1-210, 1-230, 1-230, 1-307, 1-412, 1-424,
WAGE	1-230, 1-308, 1-802
1-619	1-403
WAR	1-110, 1-229, 1-411, 1-510, 1-713, 1-724, 1-816
WASHBASINS	1-204, 1-206, 1-209, 1-210, 1-228, 1-229, 1-311, 1-609,
WASTE	1-720
WASTELAND	1-108, 1-111, 1-112, 1-118, 1-119, 1-125, 1-127, 1-202,
1-611,	1-205, 1-206, 1-207, 1-208, 1-209, 1-210, 1-211, 1-212,
WATER	1-215, 1-218, 1-220, 1-222, 1-228, 1-302, 1-303, 1-402,
1-204,	1-409, 1-411, 1-420, 1-427, 1-508, 1-511, 1-515, 1-516,
1-213,	1-609, 1-616, 1-623, 1-701, 1-702, 1-706, 1-708, 1-712,
1-403,	1-716, 1-721, 1-724, 1-725, 1-803, 1-804, 1-805, 1-807,
1-522,	1-808
1-713,	WATER-STORAGE
1-808	1-616
WATER-STORAGE	1-601
WATERFRONT	1-128
WATERJARS	1-309
WATERSHED	1-127, 1-217
WAX	1-324
WEALTHY	1-230
WEATHER-RESISTANT	1-222
WEATHERIZES	1-102, 1-107, 1-119, 1-127, 1-227, 1-426
WEAVE	1-107, 1-328, 1-329, 1-332, 1-624
WEAVER	1-305, 1-712
WEED	1-228, 1-312, 1-810
WELDING	1-109, 1-112, 1-120, 1-122, 1-219, 1-224, 1-227, 1-304,
WELFARE	1-322, 1-407, 1-602, 1-605, 1-609, 1-709, 1-801, 1-813
1-313,	

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

WELL-BEING	1-109, 1-617, 1-813
WELLS	1-203, 1-208, 1-211, 1-217, 1-219, 1-222, 1-228, 1-403,
1-506,	
	1-711, 1-712, 1-713, 1-814
WHEEL	1-222, 1-328, 1-424
WHEELCHAIRS	1-705
WHOLESALE	1-418
WHOOPING	1-504, 1-510
WIDOWHOOD	1-119, 1-119, 1-414, 1-604
WIFE	1-430, 1-503, 1-507, 1-512, 1-604
WILDLIFE	1-711
WIND	1-409, 1-723, 1-724
WIND-MILLS	1-222, 1-725
WINE	1-620
WIRING	1-228, 1-228, 1-310, 1-705
WITCH	1-603
WOMEN	1-104, 1-105, 1-106, 1-107, 1-112, 1-115, 1-117, 1-118,
1-119,	
	1-121, 1-122, 1-126, 1-127, 1-204, 1-205, 1-210, 1-213,
1-214,	
	1-217, 1-219, 1-220, 1-221, 1-222, 1-223, 1-227, 1-301,
1-302,	
	1-306, 1-307, 1-308, 1-310, 1-317, 1-318, 1-320, 1-323,
1-326,	
	1-329, 1-331, 1-332, 1-334, 1-335, 1-401, 1-402, 1-403,
1-404,	
	1-405, 1-406, 1-407, 1-408, 1-409, 1-410, 1-411, 1-412,
1-413,	
	1-414, 1-415, 1-416, 1-417, 1-418, 1-419, 1-420, 1-421,
1-422,	
	1-423, 1-424, 1-425, 1-426, 1-427, 1-428, 1-429, 1-430,
1-502,	
	1-508, 1-510, 1-512, 1-513, 1-514, 1-519, 1-520, 1-522,
1-522,	
	1-425, 1-411, 1-602, 1-604, 1-605, 1-609, 1-610, 1-613,
1-616,	
	1-618, 1-620, 1-620, 1-623, 1-627, 1-628, 1-630, 1-706,
1-712,	
	1-713, 1-714, 1-715, 1-716, 1-717, 1-718, 1-721, 1-801,
1-804,	
	1-806, 1-811, 1-813, 1-814
WOOD	1-128, 1-714, 1-724, 1-805
WOODEN	1-504, 1-520
WOODLANDS	1-209, 1-705, 1-715
WOODS	1-209, 1-305, 1-306
WOOL	1-224, 1-306
WORK-LOAD	1-403, 1-404
WORK-PLACE	1-419, 1-420
WORKDAYS	1-114, 1-627, 1-707, 1-709
WORKFORCE	1-227, 1-402, 1-424
WORKSHOP	1-117, 1-119, 1-222, 1-223, 1-312, 1-401, 1-402, 1-409,
1-425,	
	1-606, 1-607, 1-613, 1-627, 1-702, 1-723, 1-724, 1-726
WORLD-VIEW	1-603
WORMS	1-227, 1-713
X-RAY	1-521
YOGA	1-128, 1-505

SECTION 3: WORD INDEX

YOUTH	1-110, 1-117, 1-119, 1-210, 1-221, 1-223, 1-228, 1-302,
1-306,	1-310, 1-312, 1-315, 1-321, 1-328, 1-329, 1-335, 1-404,
1-408,	1-410, 1-412, 1-418, 1-419, 1-601, 1-605, 1-606, 1-608,
1-615,	1-620, 1-622, 1-709, 1-718, 1-801, 1-804, 1-806, 1-808,
1-814	
YWCA	1-413
ZONAL	1-618
ZONES	1-620

Conclusion

INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS INTERNATIONAL**Aims:**

The principal aim of member ICAs is to develop and test methods of comprehensive community renewal and motivate cross-sectoral cooperative action in support of local development with an emphasis on the human factor. Their programmes are designed to catalyse grassroots participation in improving the quality of life by serving the world-wide need for self-development in local communities and organisations. The ICAI services to the member ICAs include coordination for designated programmes, interchange, publishing, and accounting.

Activities:

ICA country offices act as an interchange for a variety of activities depending upon the particular country of location. These include community meeting facilitation, educational methods research and training, organisational problem solving, youth and women's forums, rural development practitioners' symposia, rural development project replication schemes, village leader development methods training, strategic planning seminars, village level basic skills training, conference facilitation, and consultative services in documentation and planning.

NGO and other relations:

The ICAI has liaison status with FAO, working relation status with WHO, and Category II consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It is currently co-sponsoring the International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD) with UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, WHO and the International Council of Women (ICW). IERD is a three year programme promoting participation from 55 countries in research events and publications illuminating effective development approaches. The Order:Ecumenical provides international teams of self-supporting volunteer staff persons to assist the activities of most member national Institutes. Each member Institute independently establishes its own relations with NGO networks and secures national volunteers to work in its own geographic area.

Founded:

The ICAI was founded in 1977 in Brussels. It is an international, non-profit, voluntary association which facilitates the activities of autonomous national member Institutes (ICAs). The first national ICA (USA) emerged in 1973 as a result of the activities of a related body created in 1964, the Ecumenical Institute: Chicago. The Ecumenical Institute focused on training church leaders for church renewal and relevant social action. The Institute of Cultural Affairs developed a programme of research, training and demonstration in community socio-economic development independent of any religious affiliation.

Finance:

Financing includes a broad independent national and international base of small contributors to member ICAs in each country. These come primarily from interested individuals; and secondarily from foundations, religious bodies, corporations, governments, and programme/consultancy fees. A few designated grants for ICAI programmes have been received from DANIDA INGO, UNICEF, Commonwealth Foundation, Ford Foundation, and CIDA (Canada).

INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS INTERNATIONAL**Country Offices:**

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China (ROC), Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Guatemala, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Korea (ROK), Republic of Malaysia, Mexico, The Netherlands, Nigeria, Peru, Portugal, Republic of the Philippines, Spain, Tonga, United Kingdom, United States of America, Venezuela, Zambia.

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THE DATABASE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: RURALNET

The Database of Rural Development Projects is a computerised programme developed by the Institute of Cultural Affairs International and designed with the Technical Assistance of the Control Data Corporation. The Trade Name is **RURALNET**.

Entry and Maintenance:

RURALNET is maintained by the Institute of Cultural Affairs International in its Brussels Office through correspondence with projects and visits by affiliates. New projects may enter RURALNET through completion of a basic information form. Full descriptions are compiled through a Project Description Laboratory visit from an ICAI affiliate office which conducts workshops designed to enable the project to describe their 'Approaches that Work' along with more thorough explanations of their history, programmes, models and methods which support the approaches they use.

Publications:

A three volume series of publications is being developed using the database as a primary resource on project information. This series, edited by Institute of Cultural Affairs International in collaboration with the Union of International Associations, Brussels, is being published by K.G. Saur (Munich, New York, London and Paris). Volume I, Directory of Rural Development Projects (1st edition), serves as an index to 300 of the projects in the database. Future editions will serve as an index to new projects as they are added to RURALNET.

Specialised Published Searches:

Published searches are available through ICAI Brussels for the full documentation on specific projects contained in the database, and listings of background materials which may be obtained through direct correspondence with the projects.

On-line Information Services:

Information on project types, one paragraph summary and contact persons are available through ECHO, the European Community Host Organisation, Luxembourg.

Echo is the European Commission's own host service offering access to a range of unique databases and databanks online. The most recent addition to the ECHO service is the new database.

Connecting up to ECHO: Users will need a 'teletype compatible' (TTY) device working in asynchronous mode. These devices work at 300 or 1200 bits per second and have a V24/RS 232C interface which connects the device to the network via a modem or an acoustic coupler. This device can be anything from a 'dumb' terminal to a micro-computer or a text-processor. As online services are in general accessed via public packet-switched data networks, a 'micro-computer' should be able to communicate, and it should do so following the standards adopted for such networks.

The transmission setting on the terminal should be: full-duplex, no or even parity, 8 bits transmitted (7 databits and 1 parity bit). The communication alphabet used is referred to as ASCII, ISO 646-1973 or IA (International Alphabet) No. 5.

THE DATABASE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

The computer of ECHO is connected to the Luxemburgish packet-switched network LUXPAC. This network is interconnected to all national packet switched networks. Therefore you have to connect your terminal or your micro-computer via modem or acoustic coupler to your national network.

Connection Procedure: Following network connection, enter in the ECHO NUA (Network user Address): 270448112. Having correctly entered in the NUA you will then be prompted for your ECHO password with the following message:

/PLEASE LOGON ON AT V...

If the password has been typed in without any errors you may then begin your search (after the welcome message) by entering in a base command:

e.g. BASE RURALNET

User contract and User manual: To get a password for ECHO please ask for a ECHO user contract contacting: ECHO; Customer Service; 177, Route d'Esch; L-1471 LUXEMBOURG; Tel.: ø352 488041; Telex: 2181.

If you send the contract back to ECHO you will get a user manual describing all databases and an individual password for access to RURALNET and all other ECHO databases.

Costs: Online costs have not yet been determined for the RURALNET database. Approximate network costs in Europe are in the region of 10 to 12 ECU per connect hour.

On-line Documentation Access:

On-line documentation access in USA is available through Control Data Corporation for full project documentation as prepared and maintained by the ICAI.

3-598-21042-6