UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA

Theoretical Aspects of Local Government and Community Action

by

GLORIA C. PASSMORE

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FOREWORD

The factual data on which this monograph is based are contained in Gloria Passmore's *The National Policy of Community Development in Rhodesia* which is about to be published as Source Book No. 5 in the series on government and politics in this country, issued by the Department of Political Science. Similarly a brief over-all view of the history of Community Development in Rhodesia can be seen in her article in *Zambezia,* Vol. 2, No. 1.

The interest of this monograph is that it treats the subject in a more theoretical and wider context. In view of the changes to which the concept of Community Development has been subject, and in view of the growing emphasis on African local government in Rhodesia, this comparative treatment is most timely and thought-provoking.

(Professor) R. S. ROBERTS

ACTING HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

University of Rhodesia,
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BACKGROUND NOTES

The present study is an attempt to relate community action and local government as two phases of the policy community development in Rhodesia, to international thinking in this field.

The outline is confined to the African rural areas since it was in this section that the policy originated, and where the problems of underdevelopment were most pressing.[1] These areas in 1969, comprised some 44,95 million acres or forty-seven percentage of the whole country.[2] They housed 3 118 500 or sixty-five percentage of the African and sixty-two percentage of the total population.[3] The natural rate of increase among Africans in Rhodesia in 1969 was 3,4 percentage, representing four times the natural rate of growth among other sections. In the same year, the African rural areas produced about thirty-seven percentage of the agricultural output of the country.[4]

The organisation which prevailed in the African rural areas at the beginning of 1970, was predominantly tribal. There was steady contact, however, with western civilized standards in the towns and cities. Studies had shown that between forty-seven and sixty-five percentage of adult males might be away at any one time on migrant labour.[5] Seventy percentage of the African adult population were functionally illiterate.[6] By 1970 about eighty percentage of African children were receiving education.[7] European-style clothing, brick built homes, transistor radios, tractors and African-owned stores, bore evidence to the changes taking place in the peasant system. The productivity of the tribal lands, however, remained at a subsistence level. The Secretary for Agriculture in his report for 1968 commented that the African rural areas were "not yielding anything like their potential". The problem was "to change the outlook from a subsistence one to something more progressive".[8]

The policy of community development was one of several approaches from which the problem of improving conditions in the African rural areas was being tackled. Other strategies concerned the primary development of underdeveloped districts, the construction of large and small-scale irrigation schemes, and the promotion of industry in these areas.

The Tribal Background

African tribes in 1970 were regarded for political purposes as comprising two main sections, the Shona in the North and the Ndebele in the South and West. The traditional structure of both groups was similar.[9] The basic social unit was the family-homestead, comprising a man, his wives, children and other kin. Next came the group of homesteads forming a village or kraal,

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the tribal ward commonly consisting of up to two dozen kraals, and finally the chiefdom often composed of seven or more wards. These were under the hereditary leadership, respectively, of the village or kraalhead, the tribal headman, and the chief.

Local disputes and matters of importance were customarily settled at the traditional *dare,* or privileged men's seating place, at which any adult might speak. Questions too difficult to be settled at the kraalhead's *dare* were taken to the *dare* of the headman, and major cases would go to the chief's *dare,* or *muzinda.* At each level the tribal leader was assisted by trusted counsellors, some selected for their wisdom, others from hereditary right. The existence of the *dare* procedure provided a traditional means of decision-making and problem-solving, in which consensus influenced to a large degree the conclusions that were reached. Only after ascertaining the opinion of his followers would a decision be taken by the chief or other tribal leader as the mouthpiece of the people.[10]

The headman's ward or *dunhu* (its lesser known Sindebele name was *isigaba*), was the unit most relevant to community development.[11] Kraals might change in composition and shift from area to area, but the headman's *dunhu* was defined by natural boundaries and small enough for all who lived within it to know one another. It was to the *dunhu* that the common individual owed loyalty as his home-place, and to the headman and his *dare* that he normally turned in matters requiring decision or arbitration.

The Administrative Background

Throughout the history of responsible government in Rhodesia, efforts had been made to improve the standard of living in the African rural areas. There had been failure, however, to effect the general change in values upon which more progress must depend. In the late twenties and early thirties the policy of "Native Development", was introduced in terms of the Native Development Act of 1929. This measure provided the main statutory authority for the agricultural, industrial, physical, social and general advancement of the African population. During the thirties and forties there was an intensive scheme of agricultural extension combined with plans for de-stocking and resettlement. In 1951 legislation had been introduced in an attempt to force progressive methods of land husbandry upon the tribal people.[12] In spite of vast resources in capital, technical skill and manpower poured into this scheme, however, the impact on the rural population had been disappointing. After a period of ten years and an expenditure of £17 million, no more than ten percentage of the land had been farmed on an individual as opposed to a communal basis.[13]

An official report suggested that the basic obstacle which had blocked the way to progress was "the human barrier" which lay between scientific

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knowledge and its application to the soil. This barrier comprised a closeknit cultural structure with its own value-system, ungeared to concepts of advancement.[11] Community participation in local planning must be encouraged, if attitudes more favourable to development were to evolve.

In 1952 Roger Howman, a district commissioner, had been sent by the government on a study tour of east and central Africa, in order to assess the potentials for local self-government in the African rural areas of Rhodesia. Howman's report laid the foundations for the subsequent policy of community development in this country.[15] A new African Councils Act was introduced in 1957 to encourage rural communities to engage in local management (replacing a measure of the same name passed in 1937)[16]. The Act provided the machinery for local participation, but the peasant population remained largely apathetic to the council-system. The question confronted administrators of how to motivate people to take a more active part in local affairs. In an attempt to solve this problem an approach was made to the U.S. Agency for International Development for technical assistance in community development. The services of Dr. James Green were made available from 1960 to 1964 as Adviser to the Government.

Community development had been defined in many ways. The most widely accepted description was that drawn up by the Group of Experts appointed by the United Nations to advise on principles of practice—

> The term community development has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes, therefore, is made up of two essential elements, the participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their own standards of living with as much reliance as possible upon their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of purposes.[17]

Between 1960 and 1963 three independent commissions of enquiry produced reports which supported the need to redirect attention to the social aspects of development. The Mangwende Commission examined conditions in a particular African reserve;[18] the Robinson Commission enquired into the functions of the Native Affairs Division;[19] and the Paterson Commission investigated the organisation of the wider public service.[20] The findings of these commissions coincided in significant respects. Past technically-orientated policy with its emphasis on economic advance had failed. The social effects upon a tribal people had been neglected with detrimental consequences. District staff must be relieved of some of their burden of responsibility so that more attention might be given to the human aspects of their work. The commissions' findings confirmed the need to promote closer communication with the rural people, and to encourage popular participation and local self-government as a basis of further development.

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The administrative consequences of such a policy involved a new integrated approach to administration; the devolution of powers from central to local government; the provision of financial and technical aid to encourage local initiative; and the re-orientation training of all personnel concerned.

The proposals of the Adviser and the three commissions of enquiry were studied by working parties of government officials. The result was the formulation of a broad plan for community development to be introduced as national policy in Rhodesia. Basic to the scheme was the principle that African councils should be given vital functions to perform, particularly in education. This proposal was supported by the Judges Commission on Education in 1962, and formed a pivotal basis for the subsequent implementation of community development.[21]

The Policy

The policy was fully defined in 1965 in a statement issued by the Prime Minister (The Hon. Ian Douglas Smith) entitled, *Local Government and Community Development: The Role of Ministries and Coordination.* The directive said of community development—

It may be summed up as far as central government's role is concerned as an active, planned and organised effort to place *responsibility* for decision-making in local affairs upon the freely chosen representatives of responsible people at the community and local government levels, and to assist people to acquire the attitudes, knowledge, skills and resources required to solve, through communal self-help and organisation, as wide a range of local problems as possible in their own order of priority. [22]

Community development was to be promoted simultaneously on two planes: at the community level, by encouraging the establishment of community boards to meet neighbourhood requirements; and at the level of local government, by promoting African councils to serve the development needs of networks of communities.[23]

In order to provide a guide to the development of communities in Rhodesia, a large-scale delineation exercise was instituted, lasting over four years. The African rural areas were almost entirely mapped in terms of "communities", following the so-called reconnaissance method of enquiry. On the recommendation of Dr. Green, the following working definition was adopted for delineation purposes—

Community is a locality (geographical entity) whose boundaries are defined by the people living in it and recognised by them as an entity, and in which there are a number of institutions (family, economic, educational, religious, etc.) serving their basic needs, a sense of togetherness which exceeds any sense of togetherness with outsiders that they may have, and a potential to work together in matters of common need. [24]

Whilst the resultant picture was referred to regularly in the establishment of African councils and their ward-areas, it was only loosely utilised, if at all, in encouraging community action. Almost any group of people who

shared a joint concern and a desire to cooperate was accepted as a community for the purposes of assistance. In this there was a parallel with other countries, where attempts to define the community had been found inadequate "except operationally for practical purposes."[25]

In Rhodesia, as in several other countries, community development and local government were regarded as co-terminous. In order to distinguish the informal from the statutory manifestations of the process, a distinction has been made in the present study between community action on the one hand, and local government on the other. "Community action" is used in the sense utilised by the International Community Development Statistical Bulletin, to mean—

> Community action is the action of people working together to accomplish objectives which they consider worthwhile. Much of it has always been spontaneous and not due to any government financing or organisation or aid . . . The new thing, relatively, is the concept that governments can systematically encourage community action. [26]

The term local government refers to—

> A political sub-division (of the nation) which is constituted by law and has a substantial control of local affairs, including the power to impose taxes or to exact labour for prescribed purposes. The governing body is elected or otherwise locally selected. [27]

Community development in Rhodesia was associated in some quarters with the concept of *apartheid,* or compulsory ethnic segregation. The alleged connection was consistently denied by official sources. In April 1970, the Director of Community Development Training was reported as saying that—

> Community development was not a euphemism for apartheid or a means to separate the races . . . It aimed at the development of people so that they could deal with the problems they encountered in whatever community they found themselves. 'The goal is different, not the separation of races—but the development of people,' he said. 'This is an apolitical policy and will be continued whatever administration governs the country'. [28]

That the two main races were in general separated into distinct residential groups in Rhodesia was due not to the policy of community development, but to land tenure legislation.[29] The first Southern Rhodesian Constitution in 1923 gave recognition to the fact that ground was already reserved for use by the indigenous people, a position which had obtained since 1894.

The Theoretical Background

The distinctive feature of the policy of community development in Rhodesia was its identification with local government which was seen as a democratic instrument for self-help and community building. The association between the two concepts had been observed in developing

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nations in many parts of the world. In this country, however, the bringing into being of African councils was the *raison d'etre* of the whole programme, a result of the historical pathway along which the policy had been reached. The Prime Minister's Directive stated clearly—

> Government's primary *purpose* is local self-government. The *means* or process whereby this purpose is to be promoted is community development. [30]

The outcome of the policy by 1970 was to be seen in the burgeoning growth of African councils, which numbered 98 at the end of 1969, compared with 55 in 1962. This represented nearly one-half of the total number of councils then estimated as the country's potential requirements.[31] The administration was well on the way towards "blanketing the country" with representative local government, its avowed objective.

The expansion in the number of councils and the range of services for which they had become responsible presented a major challenge to the administration. This was to ensure, through adequate training, grant-aid and guidance, that the councils were capable of fulfilling their functions adequately. A shift in focus was observed from informal community development as the *means,* to concern with local government as the *purpose,* now being realised on a wide scale.

The change in emphasis was not unique to Rhodesia, but had been observed in other countries where community development was pursued as national policy. In these countries as in Rhodesia the decentralisation of local services had taken place from central to local government. The gradual "unloading" of responsibility for community development from national to local levels had been marked by comparable problems of finance, relationship with the traditional authority, and adjustments in administration. Observing the trend, the United Nations had urged that member countries should take precautions to ensure that community development in the non-statutory sense continued to play a useful part after local government was established.[32] In 1970 new emphasis was being placed both in developed and developing countries upon the concept of resident participation—in neighbourhood boards, ward committees, women's, youth, and community organisations of all kinds. In this direction lay a similar road to effective local government and district development in the African rural areas of Rhodesia.

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2. The total acreage of the country was 96,52 million acres. African area 44,95 million acres; European area 44,95 million acres; National area 6,62 million acres. The African area was made up as follows: Tribal Trust Land 39,91 million acres, African Purchase Areas 3,67 million acres; other rural areas occupied by Africans 1,37 million acres. Statistics in terms of the Land Tenure Act of 1969. Information from the Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Finance.

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THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY ACTION
IN THE AFRICAN RURAL AREAS OF RHODESIA

Community development policy in Rhodesia has centred predominantly upon the furtherance of local government. Historically the policy came to a position of domination as a result of the failure of technical measures, embodied in agricultural extension, de-stocking, resettlement and land husbandry legislation, to provide a solution to the growing problems of the African rural areas. The conclusion was reached that these methods, directed paradoxically at the individual in the communal tribal setting, could not of themselves prove successful. Communal motivation, carrying with it the sanction and participation of the traditional group, must be attempted if reconstructive efforts on any significant scale were to be effective.

The problem of invoking communal participation in steps for local improvement was first thought to be a simple question of enabling the African population to form representative councils, through which organised local action could take place. A number of such councils were established under an Act of 1937,[1] but these failed to secure the support and understanding of the people. In 1957 a new African Councils Act was introduced in terms of which no local government council could be introduced unless a clear demand for its establishment had been expressed by the local residents.[2] Every effort was to be made to allocate functions to the council which would help to foster the sense of community and a pride in development.[3] In this way it was hoped that the inhabitants of the area would feel a sense of common responsibility towards the council and maintain an active interest in its operations.

After this date a number of new councils were established, but these in turn were slow to meet the expectations behind the legislation. Councils tended to remain remote from the people who had elected them, and in general failed to arouse the interest and enthusiasm which had been anticipated.

It was largely in order to revitalise the council-system that technical aid in the field of community development was sought in 1959, from the United

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States Agency for International Development. The process of community development, which had gained widespread international adoption, was concerned not merely with providing the necessary machinery through which communities might organise for local betterment. It aimed at motivating people to participate in community action, and sought to inculcate the habits of local planning and cooperation. Such a process took place initially on an informal basis but its logical progression led ultimately to the demand for local self-government.

In order to accelerate the process of advancement the policy of community development, as enunciated in the Prime Minister's Directive of 1965, was promoted simultaneously on two planes, namely, through informal community action on one hand, and statutory local government, on the other.[4] The encouragement of community action at the informal, "grassroots" level of organisation was designed both to educate the tribespeople in simple elements of self-management, and to awaken their appreciation of the need for local government. This process was pursued mainly through the agency of indigenous community advisers who were employed to activate the people to think about their problems and make a joint effort to meet them, with or without government aid. The establishment was encouraged of ad hoc project committees and special-interest groups of all kinds, culminating in the establishment of general-purpose community development bodies, known as community boards, to plan for the development of the neighbourhood, and act as the nuclei of local government.

The second prong of policy was aimed directly at promoting organisation at the wider local government level. This was implemented through the devolution to African councils of vital local functions, and the reorientation of the central administration and its field agencies to a policy of building up local initiative and responsibility. African councils were empowered to provide primary education, preventive health and other services of intimate importance to the local people. They were assisted in this task by liberal grants-in-aid and advisory services designed to preserve minimum standards of efficiency in performance.

The results of the policy up to 1970 showed that the major development had taken place on the plane of local government. The slow process of growth in responsibility and gradual progress towards local government through informal preparation by community action, had in fact been outdistanced by the more specific measures introduced to encourage African councils. Although some 970 communities had been delineated, the number of community boards established, namely 274, represented less than one-third of this potential and had remained static since 1968. In the field of local government, however, the proportion of African councils had reached nearly the halfway mark, 98 out of a total of 200 councils estimated as the country's ultimate requirements.[5] Further, the

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demand for additional councils to be established was gathering in momentum. The volume of activity and financial transactions of these statutory institutions presented a mushroom growth which posed the administration with formidable problems of training, guidance and supervision. This applied not only to the needs of local government councillors and officials, but to the administrative, technical, audit and training personnel of the central government.

Community action tended to become not only the second, but the secondary prong of policy, due to the shortage of experienced district staff and the heavy demands made by African councils. Community advisers leaving the service were not replaced, and their number diminished from 252 to 210, although a new category, numbering some 36 women's organisers was created.[6] A few senior community advisers were drafted to assist in council training. The remainder continued with the work of *animation* among the kraal-people, stimulating them to engage in communal organisation for neighbourhood improvement. A survey of community development conducted in 1968 showed that the results achieved through community action were not inconsiderable. Some 810 social groups, including 187 community boards had been responsible over a two-year period for completing 577 community projects, including roads, dams, bridges, schools, clinics and other contributions to the infrastructure.[7] Priority of attention, however, was accorded by the administration to the growing number of African councils, now becoming responsible for vital functions, particularly in health and education.

The emphasis had shifted in Rhodesian government policy from the problem of activating people to participate informally in neighbourhood development, to the task of ensuring that the statutory African councils established were in fact competent to handle local affairs. The accent in the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Community Development Branch was on the business of local government, providing grants-in-aid for local services, advising district officials on the guidance of councils, establishing standards for their operation, staffing and training; and laying the foundations for a future African local government service.

This was the state of community development policy in Rhodesia at the beginning of 1970. The main theoretical questions which came to the fore in considering the trend of policy, concerned the predominance of role assumed by local government. How prominent a part did local government play in international thinking in community development? What generalisations, if any, might be drawn from the experience of other developing countries in this field? What were the pragmatic factors, administrative and otherwise, which had contributed to the outcome of community development in Rhodesia? What future direction might be taken by the policy in this country?

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The relationship between community development and local government and its interpretation in different countries has received the major attention in documents either drawn up by, or on behalf of the United Nations Organisation. A study of these and other publications indicates that in developing countries with national programmes of community development, local government has been central to policy. The two processes are most commonly considered distinct from one another although closely related. There has been a trend, however, for community development to become increasingly identified with local government in a number of countries, including Rhodesia, and in such cases the two concepts have virtually become co-terminous.

Local Government Co-terminous with Community Development

By the beginning of the United Nations Development Decade 1962-1972, the value of local government in relation to community development had been recognised to a substantial degree. Included among the proposals made by the United Nations to member nations in 1962, for the achievement of development over the next decade, was the injunction that attention be given to "the closer identification of community development with local government."[8]

The *United Nations Development Decade Proposals for Action* referred to the experimentation which had taken place in Asian and African countries, with the decentralisation of appropriate government functions to local authority levels. In the case of India and Pakistan the emphasis was on increasing the capacity of local authorities to administer local services, through the provision of grants-in-aid, training of staff, and gradual devolution from central to local government of suitable functions.[9] There is an evident similarity between the latter countries and Rhodesia where community development policy has manifested in direct emphasis upon promoting local government.

The trend for local government to be increasingly identified with community development was reported in the 1965 *Report on the World Social Situation*—

> As local governments get increasingly identified with community development—a trend already markedly in evidence—and as they are given broader functions . . . (based on clear-cut authority and commensurate resources), their effectiveness as tools for local social change and development is bound to grow.[10]

According to an *International Survey of Programmes of Social Development* carried out in 1959, there were several countries where community

development was already equated with local government. The countries quoted included Iran, Iraq, Western Jordan, Tanganyika and the Philippines.[11] To this group might be added from 1962, Rhodesia, where the promotion of local government was designed as one of the two major thrusts, together with community action, through which community development policy was to be furthered.

In order to avoid confusion over terms, it has been convenient to distinguish between the processes of informal community action, and statutory local government, in speaking of community development policy in Rhodesia. The literature, however, generally distinguishes between the terms community development and local government, and the latter convention will be adhered to in the discussion which follows. Whichever the concept on which greater emphasis is placed, it is clear that community development and local government have been closely associated in international thinking. Moreover, whether it is regarded as a separate entity or part of the continuum of community development it is plain that local government has become increasingly dominant. There has been the tendency in some countries for attention given to community action and voluntary participation to diminish in consequence. This outcome is discussed below, together with the challenge that confronts administration in Rhodesia, as elsewhere, of ensuring that community action continues to play its part in development alongside the growth of local government.

Local Government Distinguished from Community Development

The differences distinguished between community development and local government centre primarily upon the degree of voluntarism and flexibility in the former concept, as contrasted with the compulsory nature and greater complexity of the latter. Whereas community development may be described simply as "the process by which people organise themselves to meet common ends", local government has been defined as an "institutional manifestation of the ways in which people organise themselves" to meet those ends.[12]

Community development activities may be undertaken in directions which are outside the scope of local government with its legally prescribed powers and functions. Measures initiated by community development may serve the needs of local groups and segments with special interests. Local government is designed to benefit all sections of the population. Community development draws its strength from the mobilising of natural leadership and the encouragement of voluntary social groups. The membership and activities of local government bodies are determined by formal, institutionalised procedures. Community development relies for its effectiveness upon educative processes, the action of social norms and public opinion. The powers of local government are entrenched by law and carry the force of

legal sanction. The motivating drive behind community development is the strong-felt need experienced by the people. In local government decisions are taken by elected representatives in terms of what they believe to be good for the locality. In community development, conclusions are reached by the process of general consensus. In local government the decision-taking is by a majority of votes. Election and voting procedures may vary in a community development organisation, they are fixed in the local government unit. Where community development relies largely upon voluntary contributions to finance its undertakings, local government has statutory powers to ensure the general and regular donation of funds. It is thus in a position to finance bigger, more complex and more lasting undertakings than may be attempted by voluntary effort. A degree of enthusiasm and initiative unknown in local government projects, may result from the voluntary contribution by people of their own labour for community development purposes. In the case of local government, however, a more stable, if less spontaneous source of manpower is available in the form of hired labour, and the statutory body has the resources to contract for technical experts and expensive capital requirements beyond the power of voluntary effort. Finally, local government might be vested with certain functions on behalf of the central government, which require the application of penalties and compulsion, contrary to the voluntary principle implicit in non-statutory community development.[31]

Local Government Complementary to Community Development

The functions of community development and local government in most developing countries, are regarded as complementary to one another.[11] Where local government does not exist, community development provides a means of introducing peasant people to the rudiments of systematic local management. Through simple experience in group-action to meet local needs, training in the elementary principles of planning, budgetting and democratic organisation may be acquired, and the habits slowly inculcated of joint planning and action for common purposes. In the attempt to meet an ever-widening range of objectives, the aspirations and competence of the people may be expected to grow, until the stage is reached at which there is the need for statutory powers and finance in order to sustain the development achieved. Thus community development leads to the establishment of local government. It may also contribute to local government in other ways. Through community development the support of the traditional leaders may more readily be elicited. Community development bodies provide a forum for the discussion of communal problems, and the channelling of neighbourhood requirements to the local authority, thus ensuring its greater responsiveness to local needs. Further, they offer a medium of communication between local government and the people, increasing popular support for and participation in local affairs. Community development may supplement the services

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rendered by the statutory body by making voluntary labour and contributions available, in cash or in kind, where the resources of the local government are insufficient to meet the immediate needs of the area. Thus community development may contribute to the provision of local government amenities, awaken or revitalise public interest in local management, and promote a sprit of community and good citizenship, strengthening the effectiveness of the local government institutions.

Local government, on the other hand, is considered essential to the success of community development efforts. The initial enthusiasm of neighbourhood inhabitants for participation in some much-needed project may be simple to arouse. Sustaining the necessary interest and voluntary effort for the facility to be maintained over a long-term period is another matter. Through the services of local government, the maintenance of amenities of a continuing nature may be ensured. Indeed it is often looked upon as essential to sound programme-planning that advance arrangements should be made for the local authority to guarantee the permanent main-tenance of a facility, after its inauguration by community action. The local authority may either assume direct responsibility for the service once it has been instituted, or it may assist the community in perpetuating the project by means of grants-in-aid. Local government by utilising its statutory status may render community development activities materially more effective, for example, in passing by-laws to prevent the pollution of water supplies developed by community initiative. The rendering of technical assistance to community bodies (in the construction of a dam or bridge for example) is another means whereby local government might complement the efforts of voluntary labour. The loan or hire of expensive machinery such as roadgraders or tractors, offers a further medium through which the resources of local government may be used to supplement community effort. The statutory body may also provide help in the form of materials, or act as the channel for grants-in-aid from the central government for purposes of community development.

Local government with its statutory powers and prestige is able to reinforce and strengthen the informal voluntary efforts of communities to provide local amenities. Community development in its turn may lead to the revitalization of local government institutions by stimulating public interest in local affairs, supplementing local government service with voluntary action; and where no local government institution exists, by building up the demand for such a body to be created. Thus the Report on the *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development* concludes—

As a general rule, programmes to improve local government should be planned and carried out simultaneously and in close co-ordination with community development programmes. [15]

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Local Government the Aim of Community Development

So fundamental is the role which may be played by local government in fulfilling community development considered to be, that in many countries, including among them Rhodesia, it is regarded as the foremost objective of policy. Community development hinges for success upon the ultimate establishment of a permanent body with statutory powers to perpetuate the facilities introduced by community effort. Community aspirations and competence, having once gained impetus, tend to outgrow the scope of purely voluntary backing and demand a fiscal medium of expression.

The importance of local government in community development was recognised from the earliest years of experimentation in this field. One of the first United Nations studies on the subject, the *Report on Social Progress through Community Development,* issued in 1955, listed among the basic principles of community development as then practised in some 34 countries—

Principle 4. Community Development aims at increased and better participation of the people in community affairs, revitalisation of existing forms of local government and transition towards effective local administration where it is not yet functioning.[16]

In 1958, the *Handbook on Community Development* issued by the British Colonial Office, which summarised the experience of some 17 overseas territories, concluded—

There should always be as a pre-requisite for success a clearly enunciated government policy and a long-term programme of building up local goverment with which the community development operation must be dovetailed.[17]

A meeting of South East Asia Treaty Organisation representatives held in the Philippines in 1960, at which ten nations were represented, reached agreement that—

The Community Development programme should foster the growth of local government and develop local leadership . . . (This) should receive the highest priority in the development of the national economy.[18]

In Bangkok in 1961, the International Seminar on Planning and Administration of Community Development Programmes reaffirmed that—

The very nature of the community development concept (local development through local decision and action) points to the logical progression of community development programmes to that stage where local governments can increasingly take over responsibility . . .[19]

The International Conference on the theme Urban and Rural Community Development held in Brazil in 1962, reached a similar conclusion—

Participation in community development activities should lead to effective participation in local government which should be strengthened and not competed with by community development.[20]

In Rhodesia the notion that community development might form the basis for later development of local government was first put forward by

Roger Howman in his study of local government in 1951, where he speaks of—

Local government start(ing) off on the basis of natural communities doing the little things the people want to do . . .[21]

It would thus appear that Rhodesian policy anticipated to some extent the trend of wider international thinking in this field.

Institution-Building

The process of maturation in civic responsibility, involves a system which has become known as institution-building. By this is meant the creation of communal groups and organisations of increasing complexity, designed to further and sustain the social and economic progress of local people.[22] It is in this sense, namely that local government is the logical outgrowth of community development, that its establishment is pursued as the "aim" of policy in developing nations. Thus confusion is dispelled as to whether community development seeks to work in terms of the needs felt by the people, or for some superimposed objective (such as local government) which the central government considers "good" for them. The working hypothesis underlies community development that in reaching towards a solution of communal problems in terms of people's own needs, an institutional framework is gradually constructed, in which local government is a logical component.

In the course of institution-building for community development, three distinct stages have been observed in developing countries, according to the *Report on the World Social Situation* made by the United Nations in 1965.[23] The first is the non-governmental level of association, what has been described as the pre-institutional or pre-organisational stage, at which informal community development-type activity takes place. This is the work of "animating" the community to take an active interest in improving its conditions. The second stage is marked by the setting up of formal institutions with corporate powers, to provide a permanent framework within which development might proceed. This stage is characterised by the formation of local government bodies, the establishment of community centres, schools and other institutions. Community development in Rhodesia might be said to have reached this point by the beginning of 1970, when 114 schools, 82 clinics, and innumerable other services were being run by African councils.[24] In the third phase, the general-purpose organisation tends "to recede in favour of more specialised activities," and specific technological services are developed both of a voluntary and a governmental nature. The beginnings of this stage were to be perceived in Rhodesia in 1970, both in the proliferation of specialised private organisations, and in the establishment by the ninety-eight African councils of some 286 committees for health, education, works, finance and other specific purposes.[25]

Local Government the Result of Community Development

Evidence of the results of community development in contributing to the evolution of local government institutions is provided from several international studies. The report on the *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes*, compiled by the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations in 1959, reached the conclusion that—

Local government has developed in many parts of the world as an institutional manifestation of the ways in which people organised themselves to meet common ends. This process of institutionalising and supplementing self-help efforts through local government still goes on in many countries.[26]

The Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Community Development appointed by the Secretary General of the United Nations in 1962 to study international trends in this field, stated in its report entitled *Community Development and National Development* that—

The contribution of community development to the creation of local institutions and organisations which link local areas to higher levels of government seems clearly supported by experience.[27]

Dr. Julia Henderson, head of the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, summed up the experience of Asian countries at the International Conference held in Brazil in 1962, when she told those present—

Another area in which our experience has been most valuable has resulted in consensus on the importance of (institution-building). In Bangkok last year it was evident that all the governments which had attempted community development programmes over the last ten years had come to the conclusion that strengthening local government was the most important single factor.[28]

In India according to an article written by the Deputy Prime Minister for Community Development and Panchayat-Raj in 1970, community development was instrumental in the establishment of units of local government below the state level, "thus enlarging through administration and statutory measures, the base for democratic participation by the people . . ."[29] In Nepal, the Village Development Programme was the direct "logical precursor," according to James Blackwell, of the present Panchayat Development Programme (programme of local government).[30] In Ceylon the so-called programme of Village Aid Development was the forerunner of the subsequent Basic Democracies system.

At an International Seminar on Community Development held in Australia in 1964, the experience was quoted of New Guinea where—

Primitive people have been led by the community development approach to the point where they can now conduct local government councils in which majority opinions are formed and implemented.[31]

In 1966, at a symposium on the Outlook for Community Development held in Washington, Dr. Julia Henderson reiterated the fact that local government had become the crux of community development policies. "All across Asia . . ." she said, "we've seen the merging in so many countries

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of the efforts at strengthening local governments and local institutions with community development under a series of different labels."[32] Dr. Henderson predicted that a similar approach would characterise many other regions in the future. It had, by this time, been a feature of Rhodesian policy for several years.

Similar experience was reported from former British colonial and dependent territories, where it was recognised as a function of community development to work in and through local government authorities, and to strengthen their development. A. R. G. Prosser, Adviser on Social Development to the United Kingdom Ministry for Overseas Development described in the *Community Development Journal* for January, 1970, the success which community development had had in these countries in "assisting people to adjust to the new social situations that confront them and (in) strengthening the institution of local government that is so essential to the modern state."[33]

Thus the hypothesis that community development is a process which may lead to local government appears to have been substantiated by the experience of many countries. The achievement of local government through the processes of community development was regarded, however, not as a direct objective to be sought in itself. It was perceived as the logical outcome of community organisation to meet widening aspirations and serve a growing number of participants. Inevitably as part of the process of community growth, the stage was met at which further progress could not be achieved or maintained without statutory powers of fund-raising, regulation, and control over administration.

THE SHIFT IN EMPHASIS FROM COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT

It would seem to be the common experience of developing countries where community development has become national policy, for a change in emphasis to take place from initial concern with community development in the sense of neighbourhood action, to concentration upon the establishment of local authorities through which development might be perpetuated. At this stage, as evidenced in Rhodesia, the effort formerly expended by central government in promoting informal expressions of community self-help, tends to be re-directed towards meeting the demand for guidance, training and supervision in the newly-developed field of local government. In the report prepared by the United Nations Group of Experts on Community Development it is observed that—

> Experience has shown that the emphasis placed on the various contributions of community development may be expected to change in the course of time. Thus the generation of social growth at the local level may require persistent effort over long periods of time while the building of social overhead may be accomplished more rapidly. Similarly, the creation of an effective rural infrastructure may hasten the establishment of local government. Attention may then be directed to the transfer of responsibilities to, and building up the competence of new forms of local government.[34]

The tendency for local government to take over community-initiated programmes reflects a process of "formalisation" or "institutionalisation" in the community development process. The Group of Experts concluded that the community development movement inevitably gave way to "more enduring administrative vehicles"—

> Thus a period of experimentation and fluid organisation gives way to more formal institutions often incorporated into the laws of the country.[35]

This trend has been clearly evidenced in community development policy in Rhodesia.

The Relationship between Local Government and Community Bodies

A question upon which clear definition of policy has been found necessary in developing countries is the relationship between community associations and local government bodies in community development. It has been observed that the co-existence of a general-purpose community body and local government institution, serving an identical area, tends to result in the undermining of one by the other. The *Report on the Public Adminis-tration Aspects of Community Development* records the example of India where the encouragement of ad hoc village development committees was abandoned in favour of promoting village *panchayats,* or elected local councils. The formation of ad hoc bodies was regarded purely as a preliminary method of harnessing popular participation for local progress.[36]

The Report quoted from the conclusions of a Commission on Local Govern-ment in Ceylon which found that a state of "diarchy" had arisen where a local authority and general-purpose community body existed to serve co-extensive areas—

The legally constituted democratic institution of the village, namely, the village committee, quite rightly feels that it is being supplemented and atrophied and is losing its appointed place in village society. There is strong and persistent feeling that as a result of the rural development movement, diarchy is being created in the villages and its corporate life split in two. [37]

A similar sentiment has occasionally been expressed by district adminis-trators in Rhodesia, concerned with the value of local community boards. These have been considered undesirable in certain areas served by local government, where they have been said to detract from the status of the African council in the eyes of the people. A resolution of the problem is provided in the findings of the United Nations Report where it is put forward as a hypothesis that general-purpose community development bodies may fulfil a valuable function at levels where local government does not exist, "but they are likely to fail if they exist alongside statutory bodies and there is no pre-conceived plan to relate them in a meaningful way to local government." [38]

On the other hand, the temptation must be avoided of utilising the coercive powers of local government to achieve more rapid results, where the end objective might be satisfactorily achieved by community action. The Report emphasised that where a local authority served a number of communities at lower levels, as in the case of Rhodesia, the existence of community-based associations served a valuable purpose and should be encouraged. Community development bodies were not to be regarded as an alternative to, or substitute for local government, but as an aid through which the latter might be rendered more effective. It was observed that although the typical ad hoc general-purpose committee had been charac-teristic of community development programmes in most countries, these bodies had "so far given no indication of durable strength." [39] Some form of local institution was essential through which continuous and persistent motivation for advancement might be promoted. Legislative efforts in many countries to have the community development-type of body, comparable to the Rhodesian concept of the community board, established on a national basis had been unsuccessful. Community associations for local betterment had a useful service to render, however, in supplementing and helping to mobilise public support.

The essential role of informal community organisations in a programme of national development was defined in more positive terms by later investi-gations inaugurated by the United Nations. The Group of Experts on Community Development which reported in 1963, emphasised that voluntary organisations did not diminish in significance in a system sponsored under

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local government. Especially if they were of local origin such bodies had more appeal to local sentiment and greater ability to arouse enthusiasm and voluntary effort, than the local authority itself could muster.[40] Their influence was essential to the "animating" of local government which of its nature tended to be more conservative than progressive. In the U.N. Report on *Local Participation in Development Planning* published in 1967, it was again reiterated that voluntary organisations existed not to substitute for local government but to reinforce its endeavours.[41] A similar approach was evident at the International Conference on the theme of rural and urban community development, held in 1962, where agreement was reached that—

> . . . local government shouldl be strengthened, and not competed with, by community development programmes. [12]

A point emphasised by the Presidential Assistant on Community Development in the Philippines, at the Asian Seminar, was that whatever the outcome of national programmes, there was "ample room for private or voluntary agencies of community development."[43] Community projects promoted on this basis were untrammelled by the typical reaction of hostility which anything "governmental" tended to arouse amongst peasant people. By habituation to democratic planning on a small, informal scale, the eventual acceptance and support both of local government and wider national measures, was facilitated. A problem which remained to be solved was the basis on which voluntary organisation for community development was to be related to local government—by statute, regulation, or simply through informal collaboration. The Prime Minister's Directive on Local Government and Community Development in Rhodesia, published in 1965, envisaged the eventual recognition of community boards by statutory measures, but up to 1970 this provision had not been instituted.[44] A resolution of the problem in this country might perhaps lie in the promotion of local and ward committees of councils to serve the purpose of community boards. Provision was made in the African Councils Act of 1957 for such committees but the implementation of this section up to 1970 had been limited.[45]

In cases where a general-purpose community body existed to serve a locality within a wider local authority area, the *Report on the Public Administration Aspects of Community Development* advised it was essential for a member of the local government council to be represented on the committee.[46] The relationship between the African councils and community boards within their areas, revealed by the community development survey carried out in Rhodesia in 1968, is interesting.[47] It was that in 32 out of 36 cases where a community board was sited in a council-area, the local councillor was also a member of the board. In remaining cases although not a full-time member, he regularly visited the board to discuss local problems. The necessity to provide for dual membership was emphasised in

the U.N. *Report* which quoted the problems which had been experienced by countries that had overlooked this requirement. The use of general-purpose development committees without full involvement of local government had proved to be a source of weakness in the implementation of community development in Malawi, as well as other countries. On the other hand, examples were quoted of countries where community-level development committees had been singularly successful in supplementing local government, more especially in Ceylon and Ghana before national political disturbances intervened.[18] The adaptation of the function of community boards to serve as the local or ward committees of African councils in Rhodesia might serve not only as a means of rationalising their position, but of ensuring that they continued to render a valuable service in combination with local government.

Another problem which has engaged the attention both of the administration in Rhodesia and elsewhere, is the manner in which general purpose community bodies should be formed, whether by the simple assembly of adult members of the community at a general meeting, or by the election of formal community development committees. Henry Maddick, in a study commissioned by the International Political Science Association at the instigation of the United Nations, has drawn up a scale reflecting the increasing complexity of organisation which may take place for local self-management, and the comparable staffing and other responsibilities which are entailed at each stage. The schematic picture resulting from his study in depth of a number of developing countries with community development and local government systems is shown on p. 30 below.

It is suggested from the experience of these countries that the need for a paid official (and presumably the fiscal powers to raise funds with which to pay him, i.e. local government status) becomes necessary when a population of approximately 4 000 or more is served. The figure is, of course, a very rough guide only, since the degree of organisation involved and the complexity of services rendered inevitably affect the situation. It is of interest to note that in Rhodesia at least 60 per cent of community boards served a population below this figure. The size of councils in Tribal Trust Areas ranged from a minimum population of 1 180 in the case of the Whata Council in Mashonaland North, to a maximum of 82 840 for the Gutu Council in Victoria Province. Sixty-nine percentage of African councils served a population of 4 000 or more.[50] It was known that some of the councils were too small to be economically viable, or to warrant the services of a highly-trained subsidised secretary. On the other hand, the intensity of service and the progressive nature of others which serve only a small area, was considered ample justification for their constitution as statutory local authorities.

Further research seemed indicated in Rhodesia to establish criteria for determining the stage at which statutory status was necessary. Below this

Appropriate Population of Unit	Controlling Organ	Executive	Typical Functions
Up to 500	general assembly of villagers	committee or chairman of meeting	Consultation with district authority. Cleansing. Refuse disposal. Clear wells. Village hall.
500—4 000	village committee	committee or chairman of meeting	All previous functions. Recording vital occurrences. Cemeteries.
4 000—10 000	town committee	paid official	All previous functions. Water points. Public Hygiene. Street lighting. Local amenities.
10 000—40 000	sub-district committee	paid officials (obligatory if delegation to take place)	All last category and delegation of administrative functions for health, education and welfare.
30 000—200 000 (sic)	district council	executive officer and professional staff	Range of L.G. functions according to status and warrant. Budget making. Taxing Authority. Consultation with and policy responsibility for lower authorities.
200 000—1 500 000	area organisation with possibility of area council later.	field officers	All C.G. functions in the field not devolved on local authorities. Supervision of authorities. Co-ordination of authorities. 49

level it might be assumed that informal community boards might fulfil the purpose of promoting neighbourhood development. Above this level, after local government had been instituted, the need would remain evident for subsidiary organisations to promote the interests of village-groups or sub-areas, either in the form of community boards, or the local or ward-committees of councils.

The Relationship between Local Government and the Traditional Authority

The United Nations Report on the *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development,* 1959, suggested that in studying the relationship

between local government and traditional types of association for decision-making, regard should be paid, among others, to two factors. These were the role of the tribal authority in the life of the local people and their attitude towards it on the one hand, and the attitudes and policy of the central government towards the preservation of the tribal system, on the other.[51]

A major question which has exercised the governments of developing countries and which has been at the forefront of Rhodesian policy is the problem of reconciling elective local government with the existing powers and functions of the traditional authority. The tendency is evident on the part of tribal leaders in many countries to view the introduction of local government as a threat to status and position. Administrators in developing countries appear to fall commonly into two schools, those who believe that the traditional leaders should be incorporated in the local government body as councillors, and those who feel that the traditional body and local government institution should be developed separately, each on its own lines.[52]

The broad experience of developing countries in attempting to integrate traditional leaders into the structure of local government, is described by Henry Maddick in his study for the International Political Science Association.[53] Practice varied widely according to local circumstances in those countries. It was found, however, that the presence of the chief on the local authority was invariably essential in the early stages. At this time his prestige, influence and sanction were indispensable to the acceptance of local government by tribal people. The influence which the chief was able to wield was in direct ratio to the strength of allegiance owed him by his people. Through his counsels agreement on problems facing inhabitants of the locality might more readily be effected. Conversely, to ignore the presence of the chief could only lead in general to the rejection of local government by his followers. It was recognized in the countries studied, that for councils to be successful they must have the backing of the traditional leaders. "The new unknown, unvalidated local authority can gain tremendously, given the support of a progressive minded leader," said Maddick. "It is he who often can carry the people over that final barrier to change, across which rational argument alone will not take them."[54]

Maddick pointed out, however, that the role of the chief in the local government could have negative as well as positive consequences. If the tribal leader were conservative towards development, or opposed to local representation, the difficulty of promoting this concept would be heightened. In such case it might be necessary to forego local government until such time as the example of neighbouring areas with local government served to convince both tribal leader and his followers of its benefits. The people were accustomed to look upon their chief as a "kind" father, said Maddick,

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not one who would harass them with additional taxation and regulations they did not understand. It took time both for a chief and his followers to be persuaded of the need for such measures. The necessary steps must be introduced with the support of the existing tribal leaders, and the traditional channels for consultation and communication must be utilised. Only in this manner might the way be paved for the work of field officers, in interpreting new ideas to the people and communicating their needs and desires to the administration. This process could either take place through a "symmetric" system, in which traditional processes for decision-making continued parallel to the provision of local government. Or a more pragmatic remedy was for the chief to be closely associated with the local government institution. There were inherent disadvantages to the chief in this arrangement since he would risk the loss of support should his vote be associated with unpopular decisions arrived at in the council-meetings. The experience of other developing countries, Maddick indicated, was that "the happiest solution" lay in the chief fulfilling the role of ex officio council-president. In this part he could continue to make his voice heard, yet lend his prestige and influence to the council, without the risks which might accompany his position as a mere elected member.[55]

The relationship between the chief and African councils in Rhodesia has been analysed in the reports of the Mangwende, Robinson and Paterson Commissions, all of which concluded that his traditional place demanded recognition in district administration and local government (although the pervasiveness of the chief's influence has been disputed by certain anthropologists).[56] The subject was elaborated by J. F. Holleman in his book, *Chief, Council and Commissioner*[57] and had earlier been studied in some depth by Roger Howman in his *Report on African Local Government in British East and Central Africa, 1951-1953*.[58] Since Howman's work laid the foundation for subsequent policy in local government and community development, it is relevant to examine his findings in more detail.

In a survey of the attitudes of district commissioners towards the place of the chiefs and local government in Rhodesia, Roger Howman found that 24 percentage were opposed to local government and supported the tribal system; 43 percentage favoured the gradual withdrawal of chiefs from local government and the separate encouragement of tribal and local authorities; and 33 percentage felt that the two were inseparable and should be fostered simultaneously. District administrators thus varied widely in their views, perhaps reflecting varying experience of the degree to which western ways had been assimilated in different regions. Those who believed in the undiluted preservation or restoration of the tribal authority, gave their reasons for doing so as follows. Where local decisions on development were to be placed in the hands of an independent elected body, the influence of the tribal authority must inevitably be undermined. Competition and conflict would follow from the choice between chief and local government,

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with consequent weakening of one by the other. Councils provided a breeding-place for political cells and undesirable types of politician. Westernised voting methods were foreign to African custom. Tribal leaders offered the most effective medium for the successful administration of local affairs, and the prevailing system should not be contaminated by foreign ideas.

District officials in the second category believed in promoting local government and the eventual withdrawal of the chief. They suggested that the chieftainship was outmoded and ineffectual in the development context. Young educated men must be allowed a share in leadership. Tribalism was destined to disappear in the future and local government must build a new foundation from which development might proceed. Democratic principles of local self-government, devoid of the constraints and inertia of the tribal system, should be inculcated. To retain the chief as member of a council served merely to undermine his true position as traditional head in the judicial and spiritual system. He should be retained and strengthened in his judiciary capacity, and this should be divorced from legislative and executive functions. A "clearcut policy of demarcation" between the duties of the chieftainship and local government council should be instituted.

The third group of officials maintained both that the preservation of the chieftainship and the pursuit of representative local government were necessary. Customarily, nothing should be allowed to take place in a tribal area without the authority of the chief. His action in lending sanction and support to the local authority might considerably enhance its prestige and standing in the area. In the role of councillor, he provided a link with the tribal organisation through which the furtherance of council affairs might be facilitated. The people looked to the chief for general guidance and this applied equally to his approval of the council as to other matters. The tribal organisation was still "the only complete and functioning organisation and it reaches every layer of the rural population." Any scheme for more progressive government "should start on solid foundations, a safe, known, workable basis."[59]

Roger Howman, balancing the three different viewpoints (which were still to be found represented among the opinions of district officials in 1970), concluded that some combination of the tribal with modern methods of administration should be attempted—

Our problem is one of constitutional reform, a working on something already formed, a preservation of roots, and there can be no question of attempting to replace one form of leadership by another, of ignoring what the community looks for in its leaders. Rather we are attempting to enrich and expand the field of leadership so that it conforms with new movements within the body of the community.[60]

A compromise solution was finally reached in terms of the African Councils Act of 1957 which still applied at the beginning of 1970. The

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chiefs were to be made ex officio vice-presidents, and headmen ex officio members of any elected council in their areas. The district commissioner was to be non-voting president. This provision was intended to honour the position of tribal leaders, whilst at the same time preserving the elective and representative character of local government. It permitted a modicum of government guidance in a newly evolving system of local administration. The Act provided for the possible exclusion of a tribal leader if this was warranted by special circumstances.

It is of interest to observe the similarity between the policy adopted in Rhodesia, and the solution suggested by Henry Maddick as the result of the survey of developing countries carried out for the International Political Science Association. This was that in order to preserve the status of the chief and continue to benefit from his prestige and influence in the council, the most practical expedient was to accord him place of honour in some such role as president. Introducing the African Councils Act in the Legislative Assembly on the 23rd April, 1957, the Minister of Native Affairs (The Hon. P. B. Fletcher) said that the first principle inherent in the councils policy was—

> To educate the African in the important responsibilities of citizenship by creating an environment in which democratic values, social responsibility, collective self-help and progressive leadership can emerge. [61]

At the beginning of 1970, the membership of the 98 African councils then in existence was composed of 96 chiefs in the capacity of vice-president, 171 headmen as ex officio members, and 1 099 elected members. In 81 cases the council was under the chairmanship of an elected member, and in nine under the chairmanship of a chief or headman. Eight councils were under the interim chairmanship of the district commissioner.[62]

The policy of promoting representative self-government at the local level in Rhodesia existed alongside stated national policy to preserve and reinforce the power of the chiefs in their traditional role as judicial authorities and the focus of stability in the communal life of the people. Thus a balance was aimed at between promoting democratic local government and preserving the existing framework of the traditional tribal structure. This was a delicate task demanding of great flexibility in answer to local circumstances, if a natural process of accommodation was to take place between the old and the new concepts. The African Councils Act of 1957 was designed with such flexibility in view and the need existed in 1970 for ensuring that any amending legislation continued to allow of adaptation to changing local circumstances.

The Traditional *Dare* and Elective Forms of Representation

A basic precept in the literature on community development is the notion that "you should start where you are and with what you have." In

other words it is essential to work in harmony with the pervading values, customs and institutions of the people. "The existing social and political equilibrium" should be disturbed as little as possible. The view is held by some practitioners of community development that all institutions should be structured on the existing traditional basis. The 1965 *Report on the World Social Situation* says—

Some experts propose a policy of building all organisational and institutional requirements around traditional forms or prototypes. They challenge the wisdom of the policy now being pursued in many countries of setting up parallel or alternative institutions where traditional forms are usable for the same purpose.[63]

The main arguments advanced by those in favour of revitalising and utilising traditional forms is the greater communal appeal possessed by these bodies in comparison with new institutions. The Report also records some of the arguments which are used against this viewpoint, namely, that the older bodies may be too feeble, too inflexible, or too different in their primary objectives, to be adaptable to community development. Their rejuvenation might be too costly and impracticable to attempt, and the setting up of new bodies suited to development purposes and free of the drawbacks of the earlier organisations, might offer the better expedient—

Traditional forms are usually too old and weak or too different in their original purposes or too rigid, to be of much value in programmes of modernisation and change. Even if their desirability were established, the process of revitalisation (i.e. adaptation to new goals) may be too difficult or too wasteful, and it would be far simpler to start with new forms which do not inherit old handicaps.[64]

In Rhodesia the traditional decision-making body is the gathering of adults at the tribal *dare* or forum of elders and other knowledgeable people. The *dare* might mean the kraalhead's *dare,* at village-level; the *dare* of the ward-headman and his advisers; or the *muzinda,* more properly resembling a court, at the chief's village. The survey of community development carried out jointly by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and University College of Rhodesia in 1968, studied the part played by *dare* members in the formation of informal boards.[65] In terms of a departmental circular a system of unrestricted choice was applied to the constitution of these bodies, which served as training ground and preparation for local government. No comparable study has been made of the degree of overlap between the membership of elected African councils and the traditional *dare* at higher levels of the tribal structure. The findings from the survey indicated, however, the manner in which the *dare,* mostly at the headman's level, had dovetailed with elective elements in the composition of community development boards set up by local people for neighbourhood improvement. The findings of the survey revealed that the constitution of community boards ranged all the way from the purely tribal form, coinciding with the local *dare* and having identical membership, to boards consisting entirely of elected representatives. The types of board evolved were found to be as follows—

Constitution of Community Boards	Percentage of
Traditional elements predominant	**Community Boards**

1. The headman and his advisors at the *dare*   4,3
2. The headman and his advisors at the *dare* plus one or two
   "co-opted" members   4,3
3. The headman and *dare* advisers in the majority plus some
   "elected" members   4,8
4. The headman and *dare* advisers equally represented with
   "elected" members   3,2
5. All members nominated by the headman   4,3
6. Other traditional-type groupings   0,5

              —— 21,4

Elective elements predominant

7. The headman and *dare* advisers plus a majority of "elected"
   members 29,4
8. The headman only, or his nominee, plus "elected" members 29,4
9. "Elected" members only (Tribal Trust Areas)   3,7
10. "Elected" members only (Irrigation Schemes)   2,1

              —— 64,6

11. "Elected" members only (African Purchase Areas)*   8,1
12. Unclassified   5,9

              —— 14,0

              Total 100,0

*(Areas of individual land tenure where the communal tribal
system of living did not apply.)

The gradation of community boards as they were found existing at the
time of the survey, might suggest a ladder of advancement from the pre-
dominantly tribal to the predominantly "elective" type of institution, more
closely resembling western ideas of democratic organisation. The boards,
however, appear to have been directly set up in the form depicted above, in
response to the situation pertaining in each locality. The results, therefore,
may be taken as suggesting no more than the fact that in some areas the
tribal pattern pervaded the decision-making process in development matters,
whilst in other areas modern ideas of decision-making had been adopted to
varying extent. Further research into changes in the composition of com-
munity boards over a period of time, would be necessary in order to indicate
whether or not the tribal pattern tended to give way gradually to more "elec-
tive" processes in a given area; or alternatively whether the so-called "elec-
tive" categories showed any indication of reverting to traditional forms.
What the results of the survey did seem to disclose was the fact that
harmonious accommodation was possible, through various methods of adap-
tation, between the old tribal practices and modern concepts of elective
representation in Rhodesia.

THE "UNLOADING" OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FROM CENTRAL TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The change in focus from community to local government-initiated endeavour has had a corollary in underdeveloped countries, namely, the "unloading" of responsibility for community development from the central government to the local level. The Asian Seminar on the Planning and Administration of National Community Development Programmes held in 1962 reported that—

> "Unloading" simply means that higher levels of government will progressively delegate responsibility and encourage local levels, as they develop the capacity to assume it. It also means that where appropriate these local units of government shall be assisted in this undertaking even to the extent of directly providing some services and resources during the critical periods of transition.[66]

Thus the character of a national community development programme may in time be expected to change. The leadership role is taken from the central agency by local authorities, as and when they are able to provide the necessary technical and other services. The *Report of the Asian Seminar* suggests that the following considerations motivate the "unloading" system.[67] First, there is the pressure of administrative necessity, imposed by the fact that no central government can meet the multitudinous requirements of every village in the country. By the devolution of some of this responsibility to local authorities, a "staggering administrative overhead" is avoided. Second, the provision of technical assistance is rendered more sensitive and therefore more suited to local needs where it is sponsored by local organisation. Third, the "integration of political leadership and technical competence" is not only facilitated but may be compelled as the result of this process. The Seminar concluded that—

> Local government must ultimately assume responsibility for community development and for providing programmes with adequate funds, so local statutory responsibilities should include the responsibility for community development.[68]

The unloading of responsibility for community development from central to local government in Rhodesia may be seen in the system of percentage and other grants which are made by the former to aid African councils in promoting local development. (*See* Appendix.) The policy has been to aid community projects through the local council wherever such exists, rather than give assistance directly from government to community.

Decentralisation and Community Development

The "unloading" of responsibility for community development from central to local government has in a number of countries been accelerated by a deliberate policy of decentralisation. Rhodesia falls into this category. Policy has been designed to speed local development by the harnessing of

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local resources for statutory local functions and the freeing of central government resources for national planning purposes. According to the *Report on the International Survey of Programmes of Social Development* published by the United Nations in 1959, the policy of decentralisation was increasingly being followed by governments, which appeared as a rule to be "more convinced than ever that policies of this kind are necessary counterparts to the central programming and administration of social measures."[69] A. R. G. Prosser in his review of the former British dependencies, draws attention to the widespread trend towards greater decentralisation of powers to local authorities in these countries—

> Present trends point to the fact that national programmes of community development reflecting a centralised approach will break down and that in line with development planning community development will be directed and administered at the local rather than the national level.[70]

Decentralisation in terms of the definition given by Henry Maddick in his work *Democracy, Decentralisation and Development*, includes both the deconcentration and devolution of services.[71] Deconcentration refers to the apportioning of responsibilities from the headquarters of central government ministries to representative field-agencies of government established in outlying areas. Devolution refers to the handing down to local government organisations of responsibilities formerly borne by branches of the central government. It is decentralisation in the latter sense which has immediate relevance to the study of community development in Rhodesia.

The devolution of responsibility to local government, particularly in the spheres of primary education and preventive health service has formed the cornerstone of community development policy in this country. In the early fifties Roger Howman pointed out that in order for African councils to carry meaningful value for local people, they must be charged with functions which were of vital significance to the community, foremost among these being the provision of education services.[72] It was largely in recognition of this principle that the Judges Commission in 1962, advocated the vesting of responsibility for primary education in rural African councils.[73] This proposal was put into effect with the introduction of the New Education Policy from the beginning of 1967. Similar use was made of local authorities as instruments for the decentralisation of public works, maintenance of administrative roads, and other functions.

Thus in Rhodesia, the decentralisation, or more accurately, the devolution of responsibility to local government in the African rural areas, has fulfilled a dual purpose. First, it has provided an incentive to communities to participate in local self-government and actively support the African councils established for this purpose. Second, it has offered a means of meeting the second need emphasised by the Judges Commission, for developing new resources with which to tackle the problems of the rural areas through the relatively untapped potentials of local government.

Overall, the policy of devolution in this country appears to reflect a general movement evidenced by developing nations in various parts of the world.

Financial Decentralisation for Community Development

The devolution to local government of responsibility for local development functions, could not take place without satisfactory financial arrangements for the strengthening and support of the local authority in its new tasks. This implied the provision of suitable assistance in the form of grants-in-aid, technical and administrative guidance, and other forms of help. (*See* Appendix.)

The Asian Seminar on Community Development held in 1961, gave detailed thought to the problems involved in the process of financial decentralisation.[74] It was observed that in addition to funds which local authorities themselves were able to command, through local taxation, charges for services and other income, supplementary funds would have to be provided at least for a transitional period by the central government. The type of financial support which the latter could provide included the provision of a "nucleus fund" to the local authorities, through which a minimum of development might be assured. This should be supplemented by "incentive" grants-in-aid based upon considerations of performance, local willingness to contribute, and degree of interest. In order to safeguard the use of these funds as far as possible, central controls were to be introduced, amongst them the device of "conditional" grants-in-aid, which would be payable only upon minimum standards and requirements of the central government being met. Funds granted by government in this way should be on a continuing basis, and to simplify procedure, should be made subject to a post-audit rather than a pre-audit system of checking. The Seminar's *Report* observed, however, that central government funding of local bodies should be "decreased progressively as local authorities develop the capacity to assume responsibility for development."[75] The guiding and assisting role of the centre should have as its objective assisting the local body to realise and assume final responsibility for its own services. The basis on which funding of local government should proceed was outlined by the Seminar as follows—

Government Grants and Self-Help

87. The following factors condition grants to local government by the national or central government:

(a) The policies, goals and priorities set by the Government for the community development programmes;

(b) The per capita income of rural people and the Government's capacity to match their contributions with grants;

(c) The amount of funds the government can spare for community development programmes and the duration of such expenditure;

(d) The preparedness of local people to accept the idea of contributing to self-help undertakings;

(e) The type of community development activities currently undertaken or contemplated.

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Role of local government in respect of central grants

88. The proportion and timing of government grants should be such as to:

(a) Promote the development of local leadership and, in the process, strengthen local governments;

(b) Develop and maintain the enthusiasm and interest of local government personnel in community development;

(c) Generate increasing undertaking of responsibility for local financing and administration by local governments accompanied by proportional diminution of national grants. Local government should ultimately assume the chief responsibility for the furtherance of community development. With increasing responsibility for local financing, local governments can be expected to devise means to levy local taxes. [76]

The *Report* added a rider to the effect that greater incentives would be needed in the earlier stages "to move apathetic people."

The approach described above closely parallels the principles upon which the system of grant-aid in Rhodesia was based in 1959, although this was on a more comprehensive and detailed basis. A thorough inquiry was undertaken into the financial relations between central and local government in this country in 1968, by Sir Cornelius Greenfield (former Secretary to the Treasury) at the request of the government. There followed a revision and extension of the system of initial, block, salary, and percentage grants on approved expenditure in specified fields, taking effect from 1st July, 1970. (*See* Appendix.) The transfer was made to local authorities of responsibility for the collection and disposal of motor vehicle taxes, and African councils were in future to be refunded a proportion of the income derived from agricultural levies imposed within the areas under their control. The initial grants-in-aid made to councils to assist in equipping their offices and launching their activities might be compared to the "nucleus fund" proposed by the Asian Seminar. The block grant which increases as the amount collected in rates rises, up to a specified limit, is comparable with the "incentive grant" described by the Seminar, based upon achievement. All grants are conditional upon the employment of staff with approved training, the keeping of sound records and the observance of proper book-keeping procedures. The policy assumes that local government for the present, cannot and should not be self-supporting. African councils in Rhodesia, for the most part, are still in their infancy where experience of local management, finance and the control of specialist services is concerned. Their continued close guidance and financial assistance from the central government in the provision of local services which entail a high degree of responsibility, will obviously be essential for some time.

The Division of Functions between Central and Local Government in Community Development

It would appear from the experience of other developing countries, that national governments are not entirely able to relinquish responsibility for

community development, when the devolution of functions to local government has been effected. Financial aid and technological assistance must persist for some time, until the local government is competent and viable enough to assume more of the burden. Certain functions would appear to fall permanently to the central government to fulfil. The Asian Seminar stressed the continuing need for "a central organisation to stimulate and co-ordinate community development and to offer guidance regarding emerging trends."[77] This was a function which central government, with its broad perspective of national requirements was in the best position to perform. Only the central government could attempt to synchronise the direction taken by local development with national planning. Important functions which the central government should retain were the provision of training for community development and local government; the setting of standards for recruitment and employment of personnel; the allocation of grant and loan funds; the establishment of criteria for operation and performance; and finally the conduct of research and evaluative studies. It is of interest to quote the Seminar's summing-up of the role of central as contrasted with that of local government following the "unloading" process—

54. It should be the responsibility of national government administrators to plan for the gradual assumption of the community development programme by local governments, and for shifting the leadership and costs to successively lower administrative or governmental levels. Save for certain functions that should be retained by the central government, all functions should gradually devolve upon local government bodies in accordance with their capacity to discharge them at respective levels of local government, the objective being for the largest possible measure of functions to devolve upon the primary units of local government . . .

57. During the transition period, the role of the national Government would be to provide adequate education and training for both officials and non-officials; to enact suitable legislation for the devolution of national functions to local governments; to require the community development agency to take the lead in strengthening local government bodies where they are weak or to create conditions conducive to their establishment where such bodies do not exist; and generally to support and assist local government bodies by all means possible, meanwhile resisting the tendency to withhold devolution of powers due to mistakes that may have been committed at lower levels.[78]

It is of interest, once again, to compare the consensus reached in Asian countries, with the trend of policy in Rhodesia, which appears to have followed similar lines. A point to observe is in the manner in which governments were abjured to encourage local authorities to accept responsibility, even at the cost of possible inefficiency in service, since it was considered that only through the actual exercise of such responsibilities might the ability to fulfil them be acquired. Developing countries must be prepared to "take calculated risks" in the view of those represented at the Seminar. The *Report*, however, specified certain pre-conditions under which local government should be permitted to assume responsibility for community development. These included safeguards to ensure not only sufficient

financial backing and control, but the vesting of appropriate powers in local government to perform the prescribed functions and raise the requisite funds; the appropriate training both of officials and other personnel con cerned; provision for due administrative supervision of the local government's activities; proper safeguards to ensure full representativeness on the part of the local authority of all groups of people in the locality; and the use of resources to meet the needs of all sections on an equitable basis.[79]

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF A POLICY OF DEVOLUTION

Certain problems of administration have typically confronted developing countries in the devolution of functions from central to local government. The more pressing of these problems, for each of which there is a direct counterpart to be found in Rhodesia, were listed in the *Report on the Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes.*[80] The first was the need to re-define relations existing between the central and local governments. In Rhodesia instructions for this task to be undertaken by the various ministries in terms of the national policy of community development, were contained in the Prime Minister's Directive of 1965, and may be said to have monopolised attention up to the beginning of 1970.[81] By that stage, details had been published concerning the respective functions of the two levels of authority in the fields of health and education, and a working basis for the division of responsibility had largely been formulated in regard to road construction and maintenance, dipping and veterinary services, provision of water supplies, and other public services.

A further administrative consequence of the devolution of functions, mentioned in the United Nations Report, was the need for developing a new statutory basis of local government. This had been done to some extent in the drafting of the African Councils Act of 1957, which was largely tailored to the principles of community development. A revision of this legislation in the light of the experience gained in its application over later years, was currently in progress at the beginning of 1970, although the nature and consequences of the amendments contemplated were not known.

Re-orientation of Central Government Personnel

The *Report on the World Social Situation* 1965, placed priority upon the need for the preliminary re-orientation training of the administrative and technical personnel of central government in whose hands lay the crucial task of guiding and supervising the growth of embryonic local government councils.

In Rhodesia early difficulties experienced in attempting to provide re-orientation training for the senior and middle grade officers of government

responsible for launching community development, might be regarded as an initial weakness in the implementation of policy. Community development training for these cadres was initiated in 1963 by what have been described as "way-out" methods of re-orientation, introduced on advice from expatriate specialists. These methods largely failed to achieve their purpose, and the training had to be abandoned after only two or three months. According to Professor J. F. Holleman in his book, *Chief, Council and Commissioner,* not only did the methods of re-orientation training constitute "a novel and somewhat unnerving experience to virtually all present", but in addition local leaders of the courses were selected from "insufficiently experienced people." The courses in any event aimed at "too ambitious a goal in too short a period."[82] It might be added that the personnel concerned, accustomed to formal classroom teaching, were totally unprepared for any form of training which was intended to effect attitudinal change through the psycho-social processes of interaction.

The value of the training in Holleman's view lay not in whether it achieved its objective of inducing a non-authoritarian in place of the former paternalistic attitude towards administration on the part of the officers. It was the message conveyed by the organisation of the courses under the Public Services Board, that the government was determined in its intention to promote community development and local government as national policy. A consequence of the temporary failure in training was its effect in confirming the attitude of some individuals towards community development as an "airy-fairy mystique." Those who underwent the training experience included not only administrative officers but a number of personnel from technical departments. The contribution of the initial set-back in training towards delaying and inhibiting the implementation of policy in its early stages, must be taken into account in considering the factors affecting community development in this country.

Local government, as the twin aspect of the policy, suffered no such handicaps. It was a concept which could readily be understood. The Prime Minister's Directive made it clear in 1965, that district commissioners were to be "charged with the primary responsibilty for promoting and assisting local government councils." After this date the rate at which councils came into operation accelerated rapidly.[83] The Annual Report of the Ministry for Internal Affairs for that year also recorded a general change in public attitude. Initial opposition to the policy had receded in some areas. Objections had crystalised into dislike of the words "council" and "community development," and in their place the phrase "local government" was reported from the districts to be the more acceptable term.[84]

The subsequent training provided for middle and senior echelons of both administrative and technical officials was limited over the period 1965-1968 to occasional seminars, and participation in the running of

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district courses with the five regional training officers. These were district commissioners who had been seconded to assist in providing district training for both officials and non-official categories, including field-workers, officers, African council-members, tribal leaders, and chairmen of local organisations.

In the latter half of 1968, the Branch of Community Development Training was established in the Ministry of African Education, to cope with the increasing demand for training and to co-ordinate the existing institutions for training in extension, community development and local government. In 1969 the interest among middle and upper cadres of officials in the deeper implications of community development and local development policy, led to the organisation of regular seminars for briefing in, and analysis of developments in this field. The emphasis in the training by this time, with the snowball growth which was taking place in African councils, was upon the guidance of council-members and staff, and the skilled handling of problems of administration, finance and budgetting, involved in local government. Community development knowledge was imparted as a general philosophy underlying local administration.

Thus one of the administrative factors which may be said to have influenced the implementing of community development policy in Rhodesia, was the initial inadequacy of training for key personnel, and consequent failure to effect, at least in the early stages, the general change in attitude necessary for community development to be put into application in all parts of the country. Here again, however, the experience of this country was not unique. The United Nations *Report on the World Situation*, 1965, emphasised that among the most frequently noted shortcomings observed in developing countries was the problem of "outmoded attitudes" of those involved.[85] Similar findings were recorded in a report by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development published in 1967, on the problems of introducing social change in ten specified countries of Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. Four hundred experts engaged in development activities were canvassed for their opinions on the factors facilitating, and obstructing social change. The report states—

Even if he has excellent training and a deep knowledge of the culture, a man who is prejudiced and patronising, rigid or strong willed does not change easily . . . Regarding staff qualities, the largest proportion say that the most serious deficiency in a staff member is inappropriate attitudes towards local population.[86]

That the philosophy of local government in Rhodesia was foreign to the tradition of direct rule which had "conditioned the training and thinking of many native commissioners," had been noted by the Mangwende Commission which, together with the Robinson and Paterson Commissions had recommended training in the appropriate social sciences to equip officers for their new role in this field. By 1970, however, the older generation of more

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rigid administrators was largely making way for a growing corps of no less dedicated but broader-minded and development-orientated personnel.

The supplementary training of district administrative and technical personnel at an academic level was proposed at an early stage in the policy of community development and local government in Rhodesia. An approach was made by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the University College of Rhodesia in 1963-64, to ascertain whether the university would be able to establish a training institute for this purpose. Investigations, however, indicated that the cost of providing the necessary facilities at the university would amount to £176 000, and at that stage it was considered prohibitive. Later, in 1969, an approach was made to the University to provide training in public administration and management for district administrators, but owing to staffing difficulties in the relevant department, the request was not granted. In 1970, arrangements were made for small groups of officials to receive short-term training at the public services training institution of the South African Government in Pretoria, and plans were made for the future continuation of this training under the Rhodesia Public Services Board, officers of which were to undergo a special preparation.

The need for suitable training at the academic level to assist in equipping district administrative officers for their increasingly onerous responsibilities in the field of local government and community development, has thus been stressed on several occasions and appears to have been recognised by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in which these personnel are situated. It would seem to be encumbent on both parties to pursue the provision of appropriate facilities at the University of Rhodesia, as part and parcel of the integral role which the latter has to play in meeting requirements for higher education in this country.

The Problem of Chronic Staff Shortages

The policy of community development and local government entailed not alone the re-orientation of existing staff in the philosophy and principles of the new approach. Ideally its implementation demanded the presence of officers specifically trained in this work to supervise the village-level adviser, and relieve the district commissioner of some of his burden of responsibility for African councils and community boards. The proposal was put forward by Dr. James Green of the Agency for International Development, who was employed as Adviser on Community Development to the Rhodesian Government from 1960 to 1964, that a "community development and local government officer" should be designated for each district.[88] This suggestion was supported by Working Parties on the Robinson Commission of Enquiry which reported on the administrative functions of the Native Affairs Department in 1962.

The practical implications of the proposal were that men of the calibre of existing district officers, who had come up through the service and gained years of experience and training in district administration, should be given special instruction in community development. The proposal was agreed to in principle that there should be at least two district officers under the district commissioner for each district, one of whom was to be mainly for community development and local government, and the other for administrative duties. In practice, however, this ideal was never realised, due to the difficulties of recruiting and retaining the services of suitable personnel for a career of service in the *bundu*. From at least 1951 onwards concern at the shortage of staff had been the recurrent plea of successive annual reports. In 1962 when implementation of community development policy was beginning to gain momentum, the Secretary for Internal Affairs declared that "the staff position is so serious that I have had to advise officers that no vacation leave could be granted during 1963."[89] By the beginning of 1970, the difficulty of obtaining the services of suitable personnel for work in the rural areas had been only partially alleviated, and then only at junior levels, by more attractive conditions of service and energetic methods of recruitment. Only two or three of the fifty administrative districts enjoyed the services of two district officers. In most cases there was only one, and in some areas, none but a cadet officer to assist the district commissioner in the multitudinous responsibilities involved in administering a district. The proposal has been mooted for the introduction of "local government training officers" who would be able to tour the various councils, giving advice on the organisation and management of their services and relieving the district commissioner of some of the immediate responsibility for ensuring the competent management of council finances and functions. The urgency of providing more staff, and of giving them the appropriate training is perhaps the most outstanding immediate problem confronting community development and local government in Rhodesia.

It is of interest to observe that this country, once again, is not alone in its experience of this problem. The United Nations *Survey of Programmes of Social Development* conducted in various countries in 1959, observed the need for an "area development organiser" to act as "the right-hand man of the subdivisional administrator" who, the Survey Report observed, it had everywhere been assumed could not be expected to carry the immediate burden of such work—

An important problem that has been posed but not yet solved concerns the relationship between the area development organiser and the subdivisional administrator . . . The support of the latter, as well as his chiefs, has proved indispensable; he represents the Government as a whole and as such enjoys a certain seniority among the field agents of the various central Ministries; in some countries, such as Iran, he is responsible to the Ministry of the Interior for supervision over local government; in others he spends much time touring his division; and yet in others he has a voice in allocating discretionary grants to village projects. Everywhere, however, it has been assumed that he cannot be counted upon to have the time, training, or outlook required in a community

development officer; for this reason the separate area development organisers
have been appointed, and, if the community development . . . area corresponds
with the administrative subdivision, it has been possible to envisage the develop-
ment organiser as the right-hand man of the subdivisional administrator.[90]

The Need for a Competent Local Government Service

A vital function following upon the unloading of responsibility to local
government, outlined in the 1965 *Report on the World Social Situation* was
the over-riding obligation to ensure as far as possible, the competence of
the new body of local government personnel. In other developing countries
faced with this question the problem had partly been met by the complete
"re-examination of policies pertaining to rates of pay, and conditions of
service," culminating in most cases in the establishment of a unified local
government service.[91] The system of salary grants to African councils in
Rhodesia was made conditional upon prescribed qualifications and rates
of pay for personnel in key-positions. These provisions constituted the first
step in a deferred plan for launching a combined African Councils Service,
with appropriate pension and other provisions.

Ensuring competence in local government, however, was not alone a
matter of providing secure and attractive conditions of employment. The
core-problem in achieving an effective local government system was the
provision of adequately trained and experienced personnel.

The Training of Local Government Personnel

The need for effective training for personnel involved in local govern-
ment, both as elected representatives and employees, was outlined in the
1965 *Report on the World Social Situation,* as a major problem confronting
developing countries. In Rhodesia, the required facilities were first outlined
by Roger Howman in his report in 1953. By 1970 provisions for the training
of councillors and other personnel existed at the four training institutions
for community development and local government, at Rowa, Alvord,
Kayisa and Domboshawa, situated near Umtali, Fort Victoria, Bulawayo,
and Salisbury respectively. In addition two council training officers travelled
the country, organising training courses for members of African councils in
their own districts. By December 1969 courses had been run for members of
80 out of 98 councils then existing. Intensification of this training at all
centres was planned for 1970.

The instruction of executive officers of African councils, in the form of
secretary-treasurers, had been going on since 1963. As time progressed
training for these personnel was adapted to meet changing requirements
brought about not only by the expansion in many cases of the council's
budgets, but the new and highly specialised directions in which they were

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functioning. It was evident by 1970 that a revised system for the grading and training of council officers was necessary, in order to meet the increasing burden of administrative and fiscal responsibilities with which they were faced. The problem confronted in Rhodesia, as in other countries, was the shortage of suitably qualified, mature personnel from whom to recruit candidates for training in local government administration, particularly at supervisory and managerial levels. Those with higher educational qualifications tended to be young and inexperienced, whilst the men who had the necessary maturity and personality, seldom could be found with the required educational standard or business experience.

The Community Adviser in Local Government

A logical consequence of the devolution to local government of responsibility for community development, is the eventual employment of community development workers by the local authority, once it is in a sufficiently viable position. This has been the practice in a number of countries, including Tanzania, Zambia and the Sudan.[92] In addition, a government reorganisation commission recommended in the Philippines that such workers should be made a charge against the *municipios,* which were to be specially grant-aided for this purpose.[93] The United Nations *International Survey of Programmes of Social Development,* 1959, basing its findings on the experience of the *panchayats* in India, and *barrio* councils in the Philippines, reached the conclusion that the community-level worker was well-placed to act as the adviser of the local government body.[94]

The place of the village-level community worker or adviser in local government was also considered by the Group of Experts on Community Development in its report of 1963. Surveying the experience of countries where community development had "fostered and instituted local government bodies", the Group reported that the generalist-worker had tended to become more specialised in community organisation functions. In this role he had become "more the facilitator or enabler to the local government body" assisting its members "to relate local programmes to national plans on the one hand and to the national technical services on the other."[95] As a front-line worker he continued under the local government body to be a "catalyst of community self-help effort," fulfilling related functions in the provision of community education, helping to develop local action groups and integrating them both with local authority and broader national planning goals.

In Rhodesia opportunity for the community adviser to play a meaningful role in relation to local government presents itself in the possibility of promoting the, as yet, undeveloped local committees and ward-committees provided for under the Councils Act.[96] These bodies, serving the same purpose as community boards, should form a rational part of local govern-

ment, constituting an important link between the African council and its constituent communities. Thus a two-way channel of communication might be provided through which, on the one hand, closer understanding of council services, and on the other, greater responsiveness to local opinion and needs might be achieved. Below the level of these statutory committees, as Roger Howman has pointed out, "there is room for many group organisations for what might be termed domestic interests" which should continually be stimulated and advised.⁹⁷ The presence of a community adviser attached to a local council would also help to prevent the type of situation which developed in Commilla in India, where councillors and officials assumed all responsibility for development, and there was no feed-back or interaction with the villagers, once elections had been held.

In his review of developments in former British territories, A. R. G. Prosser, Adviser to the U.K. Ministry of Overseas Development reiterated the view that—

As sound local government depends upon the involvement and participation of people for effective administration, it would appear logically to follow that the community development officer might well become a local authority officer and be responsible to this authority.⁹⁹

The Report of the Asian Seminar on *The Planning and Administration of National Community Development Programmes,* held in Bangkok in 1961, also drew attention to the value of community development workers being employed by local government.¹⁰⁰ The Report made the reservation, however, that this could only be satisfactory where the local government was in a strong position. Since most countries represented at the Seminar were characterised by a local government system which was at that stage either "weak or non-existent," the more practical course suggested was for the central government to continue to provide a corps of community development workers who might, however, be assigned to particular local government areas. The latter is the course which has been followed in Rhodesia for some years, and would appear to be the wisest policy, until such time as African councils are not only in a position to employ a community worker under subsidy from the government, but have been fully trained to appreciate the relevance of local community action and the value of such a worker in helping to bring this about.

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COMMUNITY ACTION IN THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL
GOVERNMENT

The result of the increasing participation by local government in local development, has been that the initial community action programmes of national governments, have tended to receive diminished attention. A. R. G. Prosser, writing in 1970 of the trends in former British dependencies, went so far as to say that "effectively a national programme of community development in the true sense of the word disappeared."[101] The role of the Ministry responsible for such a programme became increasingly "that of an advisory service with responsibility for national training programmes and the establishment of national standards." This tendency has been observable in Rhodesia, where the function of government has become more and more concentrated in the training of personnel and setting of standards for council operations in terms of grant-aid requirements.

The shift in emphasis was noted in the *Evaluation of Technical Assistance Programmes*, to be particularly evident in countries of Asia and Latin America where community development was being channelled under United Nations technical assistance in the direction of "strengthening or developing local government institutions." [102] The Presidential Assistant on Community Development in the Philippines, concluded that once local government was able to assume the main responsibility for development and make available the necessary technical services on a local basis, community development programmes might be expected to "wither away."[103]

The viewpoint that community development is no longer needed where local government is well-developed, however, is not one which is shared generally among authorities on this subject. The Ad Hoc Group of Experts drew attention to the danger that once the emphasis had shifted to local government, a new form of rigidity, embodied in the formal and legal requirements of the local statutory body, might replace the inflexibility of tradition which community development had been designed to alleviate. The Group insisted that—

> Precautions should be taken to ensure that community development will continue to perform a useful function [after local government has become established].[104]

Local government, no less than central government, must be helped to remain responsive to the wishes and opinions of local people. To overcome the general disposition of local governments towards conservatism, it was essential "to stimulate vital forms of voluntary organisation." This was necessary not only to keep the local government up to standard, but to supplement its functions by providing additional voluntary services outside its purview. It was important to see community development in fresh perspective, not as a process which was transitory and programmed to

"phase out," but as one to be continued with sustained vigour under new sponsorship by local government.

The United Nations Report on *Local Participation in Development Planning* issued in 1967, emphasised the danger that where there was strong pressure to achieve results (as in the case of ensuring efficient local government), community development might not only take a secondary place but fade altogether from attention.[105] A tendency revealed in the course of research carried out in Commilla, India, was for local councillors and officials to assume all responsibility for local development, once elections were past, dispensing entirely with further participation by the community. This situation reflects a common dilemma, accented by the Seebohm Committee in its recent *Report on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services in Great Britain.*[106] This is the problem of achieving a balance between the competing needs to promote community participation on the one hand, and efficiency in local administration on the other. It is this latter desire that has led national governments to concentrate on direct incentives for local action in the form of grants-in-aid, material and technical help. Rhodesia can clearly be seen to fall within this category.

In many, though not all, rural districts of Rhodesia in 1970, the need to ensure the competence of African councils tended to obscure the role which responsible community action had to play. District officials faced with the mushroom growth of local government and its need for constant guidance, over and above their other duties, often had little time to spare for the non-statutory functions of community development. Some community boards which before had operated effectively relaxed their efforts once a council had been formed. The value of community action at this stage was no less significant, however, than formerly, if the views of authorities such as those which have been quoted were to be observed. The injunction was contained in the Prime Minister's Directive that development should be promoted at both levels of action. If there was not to be a change in policy, the need was evident for renewed emphasis to be placed on the closer harnessing of community effort to local government.

Participation as Component of Community Development

The trend observed in Rhodesia as in developing countries studied by the United Nations, had been for the emphasis in implementing policy to shift from community action to concern with local government. The outcome to be avoided if the country was to continue in its policy, was that community development in the popular sense, might gradually "wither away" as suggested by the Presidential Assistant in the Philippines. That such an eventuality should not be allowed to transpire, was emphasised by the United Nations Group of Experts on Community Development which recommended to member nations that precautions should be taken to ensure

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that community development continued to serve a useful purpose after local government was evolved.[107] A. R. G. Prosser specially cautioned against this outcome in the former British dependencies where, he said—

> The need for integration of departments should not mask the fact that accelerated development demands, amongst other ingredients, the active participation of communities and to revert solely to what is thought by planners and administrators to be good for people would be a retrograde step. The firm association of community development, in its broadest sense, with local authorities would appear to be a step in the right direction. [108]

The tendency for local government to be looked upon by the electorate as an impersonal institution, remote from their interests, was commented upon by the International Conference on rural and urban community development held in Brazil in 1962, where the antidote proposed was closer citizen participation in local affairs.[109] It had been the social distance of the people from council operations and their consequent apathy towards local government, which had led Rhodesia at the beginning of the sixties to seek assistance from the Agency for International Development in furthering community development. It had been hoped by this means to achieve revitalisation of the local government system and the closer integration of African councils into community life. By 1970, following the transfer of primary schools to their administration, reactivation of the African councils had been effected to a large degree. The problem still troubled administrators, however, of "how to get the people to take a greater interest in council affairs". Steps were required, if the views of the United Nations Group of Experts were to be taken as a guideline, to ensure that the councils provided adequate opportunity for participation by local people in development efforts. In order to understand the need for such precautions, it is necessary to recall the importance of citizen participation as a basic component in the process of community development.

Popular participation in local affairs is a recognised element of community development. Tom Sherrard of the University of Chicago observed in 1962, that although the definitions of this process varied widely, they included common basic features, among which was the principle that—

> Progress can be achieved through self-help and local initiative with broad if not total citizen participation. [110]

Further Sherrard observed—

> The major purpose seems to have been to build habits of broad citizen participation in local government activity and build constructive relations between government and the mass of the people. [111]

According to Glen Leet, former head of the Community Development Unit in the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, participation was the primary element to be distinguished in community development programmes—

> Such a programme involves three major elements:
> 1. Measures to encourage the *participation* on a self-help basis of the people whom the programme is designed to benefit.

2. Measures to bring the people of the community the benefits of *modern scientific knowledge* in a form they can understand and use to meet their own needs, and

3. Use of *democratic methods* designed to ensure that progress is directed toward goals valued by the community and is of a character which contributes to the preservation of self-respect and the advancement of human dignity and freedom. [112]

Community participation was described by a pre-conference working party of the International Conference on Social Work, held on the theme of urban development, in Washington in 1966, in the following terms—

Citizen participation may be viewed as a means of achieving popular support for policies and programmes that have already been decided upon by some higher authority, or it may be seen as a way of enabling individuals and groups to share in the shaping of decisions that affect their lives. [113]

In Rhodesia the policy of community development has implied the furthering of community participation in both senses, with emphasis upon promoting decision-taking on the part of local communities as a basis for determining national policy. The Prime Minister's Directive of 1965 states in paragraph 17 that—

It is the plans of the community boards and councils, expressing their own priorities of goals which they themselves decided and to which they have committed their own resources, which provide the basis for common co-ordinated effort by all parts of the Public Service. [114]

An explanation of why it was essential to enlist the active participation of the people in national efforts to improve living standards, was given by Henry Maddick in *Democracy, Decentralisation and Development*. In developing countries where administrative and skilled resources were limited, said Maddick, it was necessary that governments should have the help of all sections of the population in supplementing their services in order to—

. . . bring under ideal conditions, energy, enthusiasm and most important of all, local initiative to the working out of local development activities. [115]

There was a need for the growth of "civic consciousness and political maturity" through which local energies might be harnessed to those of government. In this process governments would be able more readily to consult with the local people and understand their requirements, and they in turn would more willingly collaborate in development policies. The apathy and hopelessness typified by a static society might be alleviated and the pace of progress hastened by enlisting "the enduring vitality, dynamism and creativeness which spring from popular participation."[116]

The involvement of the people in development planning was particularly important, said Maddick, for its effect in smoothing the acceptance of social change—

All the evidence would suggest the importance of popular discussion as to the worth of the proposed innovations and the method of their introduction. Once popularly adopted the changes are more likely to be supported and extended, than if they are entirely forced upon the community. [117]

Where development aims entailed increased consumption or production goals, the combined efforts of as many people as possible were required. This might mean a total break with traditional ways of working, and often the risk that results might not be as satisfactory as anticipated. New procedures demanded new convictions on the part of the community, which could be induced only through the process of communal involvement in decision-making.

Richard Franklin, addressing the International Seminar on Community Development held in Armidale, Australia in 1964, described participation as a process of "diffusion in decision-making," in which persons most affected by change were given the opportunity of deciding the direction which that change should take.[118] Through this process they became more willing to accept altered circumstances and to co-operate in furthering modern methods. Proposals for the current Development Decade forwarded by the United Nations to member countries, urged that community development programmes mobilising the resources of ordinary people for development purposes, should be widened and strengthened—

> Community development programmes, which depend on the mobilisation of popular support and the enlistment of voluntary labour for local projects, provide a direct means, along with the spread of education and the development of mass media of communication, of converting the apathy, suspicion or hostility of the masses into a constructive national force.[119]

Participation by Illiterate People

The obvious question which arises in attempting to invoke the participation of an illiterate or semi-literate people in development, in Rhodesia as in other countries, is how practical is this proposition? What contribution is possible from tradition-bound, ignorant and superstitious people? The report on *Local Participation in Development Planning asked—*

> Is it realistic to think of popular participation as anything more than co-operation in carrying out activities and modifying behaviour as considered necessary by the nation's experts.[120]

The report drew attention to the fact that in developing countries the people's contribution was inhibited by many factures. These included the influence of traditional values, ignorance, lack of business acumen, the fear of incurring risk, inadequacy of communications, and the discouraging effect upon initiative of having to share all gains with an extended kinship group.

Administrators were confronted with the dilemma that only by involving people in matters affecting their personal interests, could they be motivated to alter an archaic system, yet national planning demanded "given inputs" and specified targets. How could community participation "at the pace of the ox" be reconciled with the need for speedy and responsible action? Superficially the two objectives were opposed to one another. Yet without the participation and motivation of the people, experience in many countries

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had confirmed, the plans introduced by central governments were often doomed to failure. "A fundamental question," said the Report, "is how to organise the machinery (administrative and executive) to ensure local participation without taking so long about it that its decisiveness and efficiency are lost."[121]

The report distinguished three practical approaches to popular participation, which might be studied for closer application through the councils system in Rhodesia. The first was to encourage the efforts of local people in "information up-dating" for development purposes. In addition to the basic material which might be obtained from census sources, surveying and other mass methods, an attempt might be made to "involve the people directly in a kind of informational sub-system", providing training in simple methods of reporting and record-keeping. Here the report made reference to the role which the community development worker had to play both as interpreter of government policies to the people, and as medium for conveying the wishes and problems of the people to the administration.

A second method whereby citizens' participation might be secured was by giving them a chance to consider draft plans drawn up for their areas. This might be done through the establishment of working groups, consultative panels or joint advisory bodies. The object in referring such details to the public was twofold. First it provided an opportunity for testing whether the plan was realistic in relation to local reactions and wishes. Second it served to arouse interest and support in terms of cash and labour, when the plan was later put into operation. In India, said the report, the Planning Commission had "attempted over the years to balance the contents of the plan by combining public opinion pressures and expert considerations". With each plan an attempt was made "to assess the elements of strength and weakness in the prevailing system of public co-operation and from time to time new ways of enlarging public co-operation and of enlisting comment, criticism and constructive suggestions, were tried out."[122]

The third approach to involving the community in public affairs was by means of organisation for decentralised planning. Under this system, arrangements were made for people to take part in the discussion and study of local problems and to participate in the planning process with the necessary experts—

Here people are directly involved in the planning process through encouragement, authority and opportunities provided to them to draw up plans for their own localities.[123]

The plans drawn up by people for their own areas were then studied in relation to each other and wider national proposals, and people were given the opportunity of expressing an opinion on the modification of schemes affecting their welfare. It was in order to facilitate this process that some countries had focussed their efforts on the development of institutions, including local government, as a means of providing machinery for par-

ticipation in local planning and action. In many respects the position in Rhodesia in 1970, was not unlike that in other countries in so far as formal mechanisms for popular participation in planning were concerned. The African council system had its counterpart in the *Panchayat* Raj in India, the *thana/thesil* of Pakistan and the *barrio* councils of the Philippines.

The extent to which the population participates in local government decisions depends initially upon the attitude of the people towards the exercise of their voting powers. Beyond this, however, some countries make specific provision for closer participation in local government through the holding of ratepayers meetings for prior discussion of matters of importance. In Rhodesia this is achieved largely through the discussions and meetings held at the *dare*. The process might be given even greater emphasis in this country through the future establishment of more community boards or ward committees of councils.

It was through the third method, namely decentralisation, according to A. R. G. Prosser, that the reconciling of national plans with popular participation might best be achieved. The experience of former British dependencies in this field had shown that "there are indications that national planning can gear this huge resource of voluntary effort to national plans for development."[124] Certain basic pre-conditions must, however, be recognised. The first was that planning should be related to regional and sub-regional areas. This permitted of the closer contact between planning authority and the people concerned and allowed of calculation for local aspirations and local goals. There should be a preparedness on the part of planning officials to take into account these factors and "a readiness to alter the priority of certain development projects, even the siting of social service projects, health centres, secondary schools . . . in response to a sub-regional consensus of demand."

The report on *Local Participation in Development Planning* also points out that provision might be made for vertical as well as horizontal participation, with regional and national bodies representing popular tastes.[125] Such provision had not yet been instituted in Rhodesia in 1970, but might in time be manifested in the regional or national association of African councils for combined planning and action.

The Part of the Community Adviser in Promoting Participation

In the problem of reconciling popular participation with national development goals, according to Prosser, there was a special part to be played by the community worker. Whilst this should not be his exclusive function, this worker had an integral role to fill in interpreting the rationale of government decisions to local people, ensuring their understanding and securing their co-operation in the choice of projects for the furtherance of the national effort. His main task would continue to be that of the "social

engineer," assisting the community "to express their needs" and find resources both from within themselves and outside to make their objectives a practical reality. The scope for community action of this kind said Prosser, was considerable and it should be dovetailed wherever practicable with national plans for development.

> From this base of confidence on the part of local communities, and with detailed knowledge of the development plan for the area, the community worker might well be able to demonstrate the advantage of group voluntary effort in suitable projects within the development plan and still maintain enthusiasm for voluntary effort. [126]

The interpretation of national plans to local people would entail a significant change of role on the part of the community development officer. Instead of working only from the need of the people upwards to the administration, he would also be working downwards from the district authority to the people, projecting development plans and encouraging support for their implementation. In this role he would be filling an educative function to greater extent than formerly. For this purpose, both his training and work would involve a considerable infusion of adult education content, since he would be engaged largely in "the education of opinion-forming local leaders."[127]

It was essential, however, that participation of the community in action for local betterment, whether through voluntary association, local government, or co-operation in national development plans, should be of a genuine nature. There must be more than mere external compliance on the part of the community if action was to be effective.

Participation must be Genuine

In an article quoted in the *Community Development Journal* in 1967, Frank Dobyns dealt with the problem of arousing the willingness of people to participate energetically and constructively in the affairs of their community. Co-operation induced by compulsory measures in public affairs, as in the schoolroom, he said, tended to produce a counter-productive rather than productive reaction. In mobilising human resources for effective local action, the key issue centred upon developing motivation on the part of those concerned.[128] Charles Brady in the same journal, continued this thread of reasoning. The achievement of motivation demanded *involvement* in the cause to be furthered. "Without such involvement and commitment, irrespective of money, tools, technicians, and determination, our efforts are moribund," he said.[129]

Francis Bregha, writing on the subject of community development in Canada, has pointed out that mere willingness on the part of government to encourage participation is not sufficient. There must subjective recognition and motivation behind it in order for successful change to take place—

> Real participation will not occur because it is centrally decreed but only when citizens recognise it as meaningful and effective in their own terms. [130]

Involvement on the part of local people must include emotional commitment to the objectives being sought, in order for participation to be effective and enough momentum sustained for development.

The need for involvement of local inhabitants in development planning was stressed by the *Report on the World Social Situation* published in 1965, where it is stated that—

> The process of involving the local population in planning and the assessment of their needs is now recognised to be one of the most effective techniques for motivating people to participate in social change and development. [131]

The study of *Local Participation in Development Planning* carried out by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in 1967, pointed out that popular participation meant more than the customary concepts associated with this process, namely, "changing attitudes" and "overcoming resistances". [132] It entailed understanding of the full implications of human resource development and the personal and social factors at work in motivation. There must be a clear appreciation of the nature of the social change it was desired to bring about, the optimum form which popular participation should take if the qualities aimed at were to be developed and perpetuated in the people. The conception of this objective could influence materially the staffing. financing and direction of the whole development programme.

The United Nations report on *Local Participation in Development Planning*, stressed the necessity for planners to be conscious of the need to promote human as well as material growth. "Attempts to promote popular participation result in mere external compliance if planners are not clear as to what optimum form popular participation can take and what human qualities must be developed in order to ensure that it is sustained and expanded", said the report. [133] In the process of involvement, leading to motivation and participation. skilled staff and administrative arrangements geared to community development were essential ingredients. The system required was one in which there was a popular programme with officials participating, rather than a bureaucratically imposed system in which people were enjoined to participate. It is of interest to recall, in this context, the provisions of the Prime Minister's Directive of 1965 which reaffirmed in paragraph 17, the goal of policy in Rhodesia to base national planning upon locally-defined needs and objectives.

Kenneth Morley of the Redditch College of Further Education suggests that a distinction should be made between social participation and social enterprise. Social participation he describes as "the meeting together of a number of people simply to pursue an activity or interest." Social enterprise is more than this. It adds "an ambitious and expansionist attitude designed to maximise social participation." Such an attitude must infuse the action of those who participate—

> Social enterprise is determinedly inclusive; critical of membership limitations, and active in recruitment. It welcomes large-scale ideas and activities, and accepts that the resultant financial problems are part of the "hard day's night". Social enterprise pursues chosen ends rather than passively accepts what is readily available. [134]

In Rhodesia such enterprise is to be seen in the community boards established in Mrewa, Mtoko, Shamva and other districts. These are "going concerns" and their encouragement should be extended to all parts of the country, along with such special interest groups as young farmer's clubs and women's organisations.

The acid test of participation in community development is said to be the extent to which people are prepared to take responsibility for the attainment of local development goals. Raymond Pomerleau in a recent article, entitled "Self-Reliance and Community Development: Intention-Outcome Discrepancy," in the *Community Development Journal,* commented on the "spectacular" evidence of success in community development during the 1960's in terms of material development and physical gains. [135] He questioned, however, how far this development referred to a corresponding growth in citizenship and self-reliance in handling local affairs. Pomerleau referred to the fact that local decision-making was often in the hands of but a few people. In addition, he said, what was often achieved was little more than aided self-help, where the national government in effect, still carried the main responsibility for local development. Admittedly, physical gains were likely to result, in the form of new bridges, dams or roads, but there was at the same time, "considerable doubt as to whether attitudes of local self-reliance" had been stimulated. [136]

The policy in Rhodesia is—

> To place responsibility for decision-making in local affairs on the freely chosen representatives of responsible people at the community and local government levels. [137]

In order to avoid the pitfalls which Raymond Pomerleau has described in other countries, it is necessary for those responsible for African administration in Rhodesia to ensure that participation is not confined to a mere handful of local councillors and other leaders. It must reach deep into the body of the community if development is to proceed from sound foundations.

How far in fact governments are genuinely concerned to promote real participation in community development programmes, depends to a large extent, according to Harry Naylor, formerly of the United States Co-operative Administration in Iran, on the attitudes of the ruling elite—

> The political elite of some underdeveloped countries, while giving lip-service to progress for rural people, do not, in fact, desire social reform . . . In such nations where present governments are politically, economically and emotionally dedicated to the maintenance of static vested-interest rigidity, a rural development programme based on the active participation of people in cultural change presumptions may have little chance for success. [138]

The resistance of one section towards the upliftment and possible competition of a less developed group, is a problem encountered in many countries. In Rhodesia in 1970, the urgency of developing the tribal areas was generally acknowledged as integral to the national survival. Administration of these areas remained in the hands of an on-going section of the civil service which had been largely dedicated, particularly since the end of the Second War, to the welfare of the African areas within the limits of the political economy. That the intention to forward community development through local government in Rhodesia was genuine, was suggested by the liberal grants-in-aid system developed for this purpose, and the intensive training schemes designed to strengthen local institutions. The need was recognised, however, to ensure that the philosophy underlying the policy was fully understood by all who were responsible for its implementation.

Participation and the Conflict between Human and Material Goals

The stress placed on the element of participation is directly related to philosophical concepts of the priority-goals involved. In the evolution of community development theory two major purposes appear to have crossed paths. The first is the economic aim of achieving tangible results in the form of contributions to the infrastructure (roads, schools, and so on). The second is the social objective of promoting the growth of more self-reliant and progressive communities. Melvin Tumin of the Department of Economic and Social Institutions of the Princeton University has distinguished between two goals which aim respectively at—

Material improvement measured in terms of technological growth with only secondary interest in community participation;

and,

Development of concern for problem-solving and a spirit of self-reliance in communities which have typically depended on others for solution of problems —or learned to live with their problems. [139]

Conflicting emphasis on the two sets of priorities, economic as opposed to human goals, has been a frequent source of confusion on community development in Rhodesia as in other countries. The Prime Minister's Directive on Local Government and Community Development emphasises in section 16(a) that "sound social foundations" are "prerequisite to economic development." Both are of "crucial importance," and "economic and social development must go hand in hand in the name of community development." [140] The dual importance of material and human objectives was intended to infuse the whole policy, the aim being to promote tangible development through community boards and councils, whilst at the same time exposing them to "situations and responsibilities which will elicit the maximum degree of decision, self-help, self-determination and public interest." [141]

The increase in the number of African councils over the period 1962 to

1969, led to a growing concern to ensure their efficient performance. The tendency was for practical administration and concrete objectives to absorb attention. Training was directed at the beginning of 1970 to developing the managerial capacity of local councillors and leaders. Training and organisational efforts were also aimed at encouraging initiative among the local citizenry. Community development in Rhodesia had had its main boost from the failure of purely economic measures to solve the problems of the rural areas. In face of the rapid rate of increase in the population, it was now more than ever necessary to focus on the mass "human barrier" which obstructed their advancement. Continued intensive effort was required to motivate the kraal-people to participate in responsible community action for their own betterment, and thus complement the work of the local government.

The Economic Aim of Community Development

Initially, according to the United Nations report on *Local Participation in Development Planning,* planners saw the value of community development from a primarily utilitarian point of view. It offered the means of obtaining essential rural infrastructure, aqueducts, roads, dams, bridges and other facilities, at minimum cost, exploiting to the full local resources in manpower and materials. This process was habit-forming to the extent that organisation for voluntary labour became commonplace and easier to achieve.[142] Albert Mayer, the originator of the Etawah Project in West Bengal which was the forerunner of community development in India, typified this early outlook—

> I believe it should be explicitly stated that the improvement of economic base must be the core of community development. Without it the programme becomes flabby or fancy and above all useless. [143]

The economic value of community development was substantiated by statistics of the contributions made by rural communities to national development in various countries. In Columbia, for example, community projects in nineteen sections of the country had involved by the middle of 1964, a total cost of some Col.$87 774 000 of which community effort accounted for some $32 500 000, manifested mainly through the work of 4 743 *juntas* or local councils for community action.[144] In Venezuela in 1964, official reports of the community programme indicated that 16 million bolivars worth of public works had been planned and constructed by district and local organisations, no more than 28 percentage of the cost being met through the National Office of Community Development.[145]

Figures evaluating the community development programme in India between the date of its inception in 1952 and the end of 1965 revealed that there had been—

> 407 quintals of improved seeds per block in the year 1952-1953
> 973 quintals of improved seeds per block in the year 1964-1965
>
> 1 315 quintals of fertilisers per block in the year 1952-1953
> 4 458 quintals of fertilisers per block in the year 1964-1965

In short, the quantity of improved seeds had doubled and fertiliser more than trebled over the period analysed. At the same time 4 000 primary health centres and 300 000 kilometres of approach roads had been completed by community action.[116] Under the First Five Year Plan the government's total expenditure amounted to some R.s 462 million as compared with R.s 251 million contributed by the people. During the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1960) the government's contribution was R.s 1899 million as against the people's contribution of R.s 771 million. This time, however, the results did not fulfil expectations. Only 75 percentage of the anticipated development was achieved under the programme. The shortfall was ascribed to a number of factors including "bad weather conditions" and "a lag in foreign aid." But, more particularly, said the United Nations report, it was attributed to "a complex of human attitudes" which could not readily be altered.[117] As a result increased attention was given to the problems of human motivation and performance in terms of community development in subsequent national planning. In the Third Five Year Plan the following words appeared—

Although planning involves material investment, even more important is investment in man.[148]

Comparative figures of the results of community development policy in Rhodesia are not available over a long-term period. The Community Development Survey of 1968, indicated, however, that the contribution to the rural infrastructure achieved by community action, was not inconsiderable.[149] (See page 17.)

The Human Aim of Community Development

A report produced by the U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs in 1964, entitled *Planning for Balanced Social and Economic Development,* based on six country case studies, suggested that there were two stages at which the social component in development planning might be recognised. The first was the stage at which traditional social obstacles were to be overcome. These included "the fatalistic outlook on life, social stratification tied up with economic occupations, the family as a unit in the economy, the hesitant attitude towards entrepreneurship, lack of enthusiasm for innovation, the form of savings and investment, the level of education, the degree of mobility, and habits of work and leisure."[150] The case studies related to India, the Netherlands, Poland, Puerto Rico, Senegal and Yugoslavia. Almost every one of the obstacles listed (with the possible exception of the second) were also to be met with in the traditional tribal setting of Rhodesia. Initially it was assumed, said the UN report, that economic development of itself would overcome such obstacles, but this had not turned out to be the case. Special attention was demanded by some of the more perverse problems which affected the whole "pace and pattern of economic development." In consequence, in the second stage, attention was focussed on the "change of attitudes, re-shaping of social institutions and activating motivation."[151]

The experience of countries in various parts of the world had led to the conclusion by a conference of United Kingdom representatives held at Hartwell House in England in 1958 that—

Community development is not a method of doing development on the cheap and success cannot be measured by adding up the material projects completed. They are but a means to a social and political end. The chief end of successful community development is not wells, roads, schools and new crops. It is stable self-reliant communities with an assured sense of social and political responsibility. [152]

This statement was embodied in essence in the explanatory circular on the aims of the African Councils Act, which was issued to native commissioners in Rhodesia in 1958, which stated—

The Native Commissioner's objective is not to produce better roads or pumps, or other signs of progress, but to produce better citizens, to educate a community, to stir up the communal will and ability to discuss its own needs, solve its own problems and feel that the results are really the community's own achievement . . . [153]

The purist school of thought, as it is sometimes described, saw in economic development, the institution of new services, amenities and projects, purely a means to a social end in which the promotion of more capable and confident communities was the priority aim. William Cousins formerly of the International Co-operation Administration in India, wrote—

What we are trying to achieve is an increased self-confidence in the villagers and an increased belief on their part that it is within their capacity to improve their living conditions through their own efforts. [154]

Leading current exponents of this point of view are William and Loureide Biddle, who wrote in *The Community Development Process: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative* published in 1966—

More is involved than the monuments created, the triumphs achieved, the events observed . . . All these are external evidence of processes occurring within people's lives. Basically community development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world. [155]

The Biddles saw community development as a process of personal maturation achieved through group interaction. "It is a group method for expediting personality growth, involving co-operative study, group decisions, collective action and joint evaluation that leads to continuing action." In this process the focus is transferred from concrete things to the development of people. William Biddle attempted to define the role which "community developers" should play in this field. They should not regard themselves as "nation-builders or as economic problem-solvers." They were primarily educators, though not instructors, a feature recognised in Rhodesian policy—

They help people become involved in experiences that will encourage these local citizens to evolve new habits of thought and ways of working—by their own choice . . . Though there are no curricular items of information to be learned, there are hoped for educational outcomes— in the acquiring of habits of self-help and co-operation—in achievement of new collective self-confidence. In the

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process of working properly citizens become more competent to work together in making a better community.[156]

Recognition of the need for a humanistic approach to development planning was embodied in the United Nations Proposals for the Development Decade 1962-1972, where it was observed that "social reform is a necessary condition of economic improvement." The Report called on member nations to give "urgent treatment" to rectifying the neglect of the social aspects of economic development, "which results in stagnation in economic progress or in a violent reversal of existing order."[157] The proposals accordingly emphasised the need for developing human resources. This reflected the desire of the United Nations not merely to advocate development which was "output orientated," but development aimed at achieving a balance in economic and cultural objectives.

In 1967 the United Nations report on *Local Participation in Development Planning* observed that although in countries faced with severe economic difficulties the tendency was still to focus on the economic goals of community development, there was an increasing acceptance by national planners of the significance of human motivation and effort and the role which local communities, groups and individuals might play in the development process—

> There is accordingly greater interest in the use of human capital, particularly through concerted local action, as a means of speeding up and sustaining national progress.[158]

Equating the Value of Economic and Human Aims

The United Nations Group of Experts which reported in 1963 referred, on the one hand, to the tendency of planners to look to community development to produce significant economic returns, and on the other, to the school of thought which regarded community development as "essentially an agent of social change which would lose its effectiveness if subjected to economic considerations." The Group of Experts themselves found it useful in searching for ways of increasing the social and economic impact of community development, to place emphasis upon "the improvement of the ability of people at the local level to arrive at decisions that serve the common interest." However, the Group insisted that social and economic goals were of equal importance—

> The improvements that people initiate in their material conditions of living, and the positive attitudes, values and ways of thinking developed in the process of achieving practical results are equally important. The emergence of positive attitudes, values and ways of thinking, is essential to community development as a self-generating process since their existence is the premise on which a substantial programme of practical action must be based. This positive outlook must be reinforced by the necessary practical skills in planning, carrying out and maintaining a programme.[159]

Melvin Tumin attempted to resolve the conflict between those who would emphasise the economic and those who stressed the social or humanistic

approach in community development. The latter was primarily a method of educating people in problem-solving and initiative, aimed in the end-analysis at rendering them more competent to achieve concrete economic gains—

Even where the apparent aim is to evoke from a particular community a sense of its own capacity to solve problems, clearly there is implicit here the notion that this new found capacity will then be used to solve problems of material welfare in order that more of the good things in life may be made available to the community. [10]

It was self-evident, in Tumin's view, that "the two goals constitute equal priority aims." The salient factors to be confronted were the "sharp strains and incompatibilities in programmes" which arose out of the conflict of the two priorities. [10]

In Rhodesia, if these strains were to be resolved and community develop-ment to continue as national policy, the administration must keep constantly aware of the need to ensure not only the efficient administration of local services, but the maximum participation by local people in their planning and operation. This was to be achieved not alone through the election of representative African councils, but through the active sharing of responsi-bility by locally organised groups, community boards, or local and ward committees of councils.

The conflict between the social and economic aims of community development has been a focal point of the "new look" taken at community development by the United Nations and other organisations. Although in principle widespread acceptance was reported by the United Nations of the dual importance of economic and social aims, there appears to have been a tendency for the latter to predominate. In 1968, an anthropologist by the name of Charles Erasmus made a study of sixty journal articles referring to community development in developing countries. He found that the highest proportion, or sixty percentage, emphasised "self-help, group action through community participation and voluntary co-operation." Forty percentage laid stress on "democracy self-reliance, self-confidence, self-determination and local government." No more than ten percentage made reference to economic or material benefits such as better standards of living, housing and health provisions.[162]

Community Development and the United Nations

In the United Nations in 1966 a critical look was being taken at the process of community development, particularly in the light of the worsening state reported in the world social situation and the slow rate of increase in national productivity among member nations. At this date, there were some 61 United Nations Advisers on community development stationed in 29 countries.[163] The part played by the United Nations in helping to promote community development in various parts of the world was reviewed by Dr. Julia Henderson, former Chief of the Bureau of Social Welfare, at a symposium held in Washington on the 8th September, 1966, by the International Society for Community Development.[164] Dr. Henderson recalled the various periods through which community development had passed, since the issuing of the first report on the World Social Situation. Initially the attention of the international body was devoted to rural conditions and the need to direct attention to the position of "the peasant in the stagnant village in the underdeveloped country who was the forgotten man in the twentieth century." Later, with the publication of the 1967 *Report on the World Social Situation*, interest became focussed on the potential value of community development process in counteracting some of the problems of rapid urbanisation in those areas. Over the fifties efforts were concentrated largely upon the co-ordination of specialist services for a holistic approach to community development.

In the sixties, as evidenced in the 1961 *Report on the World Social Situation*, the question of achieving balanced economic and social development absorbed the attention of the United Nations Organisation. Although economic gains were expected from the introduction of community develop-

ment in developing countries, their actual extent had been difficult to establish. The real value of community development in economic terms had begun to be questioned, mainly by Russia and Eastern European countries. The practicality was doubted of attempting to implement community development as policy in countries where there were fundamental needs for land reform and administrative re-organisation, and a complete re-evaluation of community development methodology was advocated.

Among the elements of practice which Dr. Henderson suggested should be given a "re-think" were the following. To be effective community development should be promoted on more than a purely ad hoc basis. Community development should be integrated with national planning for economic and social development, land and administrative reform, and control of population. In this way community development might be utilised in meeting some of the problems of urbanisation, industrialisation and population increases in developing countries. In the new era of community development renewed attention should be given, Dr. Henderson suggested, to economic factors including the provision of management training—

> We've always tended to think of it just in terms of improving agricultural pro-
> ductivity or getting a few new cottage industries started. But I think we need
> to go further than that. I think we have to talk about the capacity to save in the
> villages. We have to talk about a whole new set of economic skills which means
> a new look at the kind of training that community development workers get, if
> we are going to face up to this place of community development in national
> development. [165]

Dr. Henderson referred, too, to the need for community development to take place beyond the grass-roots or village level. Organisation was necessary on a regional basis where attention might be paid to the combined needs of a "network of communities." This would be more practical both in terms of meaningful planning and the better disposition of available technical personnel.

The need was evident from United Nations deliberations for a revision not only of elements of practice, but some of the theoretical concepts basic to community development. It was here that the relative importance of "process" as opposed to "task" goals came under scrutiny. Process goals were concerned with the changes which took place within people. Task goals were concerned with changes in their material environment. It was fallacious, said Dr. Henderson, for some to assume that the provision of an amenity such as a clinic or well did not have intrinsic value in itself. Another look was needed also at the concept of "felt needs." The induced felt need, suggested Dr. Henderson, would appear to be the more realistic concept. This allowed not merely of the awakening of some fortuitous response among ignorant people, but for enlightened motivation towards action—

> Our experience has shown that if there is to be any general impact of community
> development on economic development, for example, if there is to be any real

connection with the national plans, then there does have to be an educated and persuaded "need" rather than one which is felt simply on the spur of the immediate local conferences that are being held. [166]

Another basic principle of community development to come under fire was the concept of decision-making based upon a general consensus. It was felt that a more pragmatic approach would accept the achievement of a "reasonable consensus." More attention was also recommended to the use of "the deviant individual" as potential innovator in social life.

In spite of criticism, it was felt in the United Nations that the essential ingredients of community development should be preserved, namely, the importance of institution-building and the strengthening of local government and local institutions. Peter Kuenstler, Social Affairs Officer in Community Development at the United Nations, New York, speaking at a symposium held in 1965, had emphasised that "the key factor is that through community development the element of effective citizen participation comes into the picture."[167] Although the phrase community development tended to be used less frequently in published documents, the basic tenets of the philosophy were retained in United Nations thinking and re-emphasised as an activity which dealt with "the identification, the mobilisation, the encouragement and the use of human resources." A. V. S. Lochhead has identified some of the current phrases which reflect the dual outlook expressed in United Nations literature in emphasising both social and economic goals— "investment in human resources," "social infrastructure for economic growth," or "popular participation in development planning."[168] Such phrases were somewhat vague in meaning, Lochhead observed, but they did indicate at least a desire that social policies should become more articulate about the ends for which they strove. According to Peter Kuenstler, the sum-total of developments in this area of thinking in the United Nations was that community development was now an integral part of broader national planning—

My impression is that the process of community development, which started very much as a method of carrying out local projects on a self-help basis, has moved now into a very much wider context and that there is an increasing tendency to see it as an approach to planning and the implementation of plans on a national or regional scale for national and regional development. [169]

It is of interest to compare the trend of community development policy in Rhodesia with the new direction of thinking in the United Nations. The emphasis on institution-building and strengthening of local government is clearly reflected in the interpretation of community development policy in this country. The underpinning of these bodies by local institutions at lower level is provided for in the form of community boards and ward committees of African councils, still to be extended on a general scale. In the Rhodesian, as in the United Nations' approach, there has been some need to emphasise "task" goals, brought about largely by the necessity for ensuring that African councils render effective service, particularly with the transfer to

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their charge of responsibility for the administration of primary education. The intention is plain. however. from the statement of policy made in 1965 that social and economic objectives should be accorded equal priority. There has been some semantic confusion in Rhodesia. as in other countries, on the interpretation of the "felt need" principle. In the training provided for community workers the emphasis. however, has been on the concept of the "educated felt need". Here the necessity has been observed for distinguishing between mere "persuasion" which may have only a temporary effect, and the utilising of a lasting emotional drive, on which to build by educative methods in evolving the motive power for community action. The intention that community development should be closely integrated with national planning is clear from the provisions of the Prime Minister's Directive.

Community Development and the Agency for International Development

United States foreign assistance to community development programmes amounted between 1952 and 1962 to more than 50 million dollars. In 1957, the Agency had 67 direct hire and 94 United States contract employees serving in overseas countries. Technical assistance was first provided through the Foreign Operations Administration, later superseded by the International Co-operation Administration. This in turn was substituted by the Agency for International Development in 1961. Among the countries assisted by AID advisers were Kenya. Tanganyika, Malawi. Zambia, Southern Rhodesia. Togoland, Sierra Leone. India. Pakistan, the Philippines, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Egypt, Libya. Ethiopia, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Panama, North-East Brazil and Venezuela.

United States foreign aid for community development increased steadily from 1955 to 1962 when the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US Congress stated that—

The Committee believe that Community Development can be a dynamic force leading to economic improvement. social advancement and orderly growth. [170]

Around 1960 Louis Miniclier reports. an interest in "a broadened agricultural approach began to emerge via so called 'Rural Development'."[171] With a change in top foreign aid administration, support for community development as such declined. By 1965 the Division of Community Development in the AID had been liquidated. Louis Miniclier attributed this outcome to "semantic fashions and shifting political policy as well as bureaucratic machinations and swings in public opinion." These, he said. "tend to drive in and out of focus the emerging techniques and processes of development as the world becomes development orientated." The whole was part of "a slow and often confusing maturation" in which. however. the principles basic to community development were being "re-discovered and recast."[172]

The form in which community development was again to come into favour in foreign aid was embodied in the United States Foreign Assistance

Act of 1968 where it was specified that—

> Development is primarily the responsibility of the people of the less developed countries, themselves. Assistance from the United States shall be used in support of, rather than substitution for, the self-help efforts that are essential to successful development programmes, and shall be concentrated in those countries that take positive steps to help themselves. Maximum effort shall be made, in the administration of this chapter, to stimulate the involvement of the people in the development process through the encouragement of democratic participation in private and local government activities and institution-building appropriate to the requirements of the recipient nations. [173]

Resident Participation—New Emphasis

The Foreign Assistance Act formed the third of three legislative measures which directed national attention in America to the importance of participation, self-help, responsibility and initiative on the part of the community in local affairs. The other legislation which gave effect to these principles was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. In terms of the former, community action programmes were to be authorised through which the poor in America might participate in planning and executing programmes for their own upliftment and employment. Provision was made for "maximum feasible participation of the residents" under the Act, such participation being intended to take place through sharing in policy-making; representation on community action boards; programme-development in which residents played an advisory role; social action in which residents' organisations acted as pressure groups to make their views known; and finally through the actual employment of residents as staff in the implementation of community action programmes. In a report to President Nixon in 1969, the Director of the Community Action Programme, Theodore M. Berry, observed that "the need for and value of resident participation has won widespread acceptance", and indeed had "spilled over into a national movement for citizen participation—not just the poor, but middle class and affluent people as well—in local decision-making." [174]

In the application of the second piece of legislation, the Model Cities Programme, resident participation is reported by Roland Warren to have emerged as "a powerful reality that has changed the entire conception of what the planning process would be like and what goals might be accomplished." [175] The Act made provision for the employment of residents and their maximum participation in renewal programmes. In some cases participation had been found to be "more illusory than real," and in others to have been more disruptive than functional in effect. In general, however, the recognition of the value of citizen participation has become so extensive in terms of these Acts and their carry-over effect into the wider life of the American nation, that Lee J. Cary concludes, they may be viewed as "national community development efforts." [176] These efforts have been traced directly to the development schemes furthered by the United States in

underdeveloped countries.

In former British territories, according to A. R. G. Prosser in 1970, there was "considerable evidence of community development emerging as a popular movement concerned with participation in the rural areas of the countries concerned."[177] Recent messages received by the International Society for Community Development from various Heads of State, further served to confirm that community development was a "live" policy in many parts of the world.

The latest emphasis, in the words of the U.S. foreign aid legislation, was upon "democratic participation" both in terms of "private and local government activities."

Conclusion

The accent placed upon local government in the community development policy of Rhodesia was reflected in international thinking on this subject. The shift in emphasis which had taken place from community development in the wider sense to concern with local government was observable in several other countries. In Rhodesia as elsewhere, the change had been accompanied by a devolution of responsibility from central to local government. This process was accelerated by a policy of decentralisation, involving the re-definition of functions and relationships between the two levels of government. The national government retained essential functions for community development in the provision of training, maintenance of standards, funding and general guidance of local authorities. Local government was becoming increasingly responsible for local education, health and other services. Similar problems to those experienced in Rhodesia had been encountered in other countries faced with the adjustment of relationships between local government, voluntary agencies and traditional institutions. The administrative consequences of devolution had also been similar, involving problems of staff reorientation and training, shortages of trained manpower, and the need for a competent local government service.

The corollary of the heightened emphasis on local government in Rhodesia as elsewhere, was a lessening of the attention which it was possible with the available staff to give to community action. The time was appropriate to consider the precautions recommended by the U.N. Group of Experts, to ensure that community development in the non-statutory sense

continued to be encouraged after the establishment of local government. The problem was recurrent in African council areas of "how to get the people to take a greater interest in council functions." The answer still lay in promoting greater participation in local activities, encouraging the establishment of neighbourhood associations, local and ward committees, ratepayers groups, and specialised and non-specialised organisations of all kinds. People must be involved in planning and consultation if they were to be motivated for self-betterment. There was a role for the community adviser in linking the interest and enthusiasm of people with the functions of local government. In this way responsible citizenship might not only be cultivated among councillors and other leaders, but penetrate deep into the community.

In countries such as Rhodesia where local government was becoming established, the lessening of attention to informal community development through sheer pressure of staff, might suggest that this process had become outmoded. That such was not the case was indicated by recent literature. Irwin T. Sanders in his authoritative chapter on community development in the 1968 edition of the *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* observed that even "in developed countries community development is being relied on as a method of local improvement."[178] The underlying principles of community development had survived questioning in the United Nations and setbacks in U.S. foreign assistance. Recent events in America, former British territories, and other countries seemed to confirm its significance as a basis for development. Whatever the final form which community development might take, it was not becoming an ideological dodo. On the contrary, Louis Miniclier suggested, it should be likened "to a frequently reborn Phoenix and the fires under semantic ashes."[179] The heightening of international interest in human resources mobilisation, resident participation and related concepts had meaningful implications for the future of community action and local government in Rhodesia as in other developing countries.

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2. The African Councils Act, No. 19 of 1957. Statute Law Southern Rhodesia

3. *Ibid.,* Sect. 53(2).

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6. *Ibid.*

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13. *Ibid.,* p. 47 et seq. A useful discussion of the relationships between community development and local government occurs also in the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Community Development and National Development,* Report by an *ad hoc* Group of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General, New York, United Nations, 1963, pp. 70-71.

14. United Nations. *Public Administration Aspects, op. cit.,* p. 47.

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    "Locally community development can make one of its great contributions by helping in institution-building—the institutions of local government, development councils, organisations of farmers, women, youth and so on. Such institutions provide important means for the growth and development of people in the community."

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24. Rhodesia. *Report of the Secretary for Internal Affairs for the year 1969.* Salisbury, Government Printer, 1970. (Cmd. R.R. 26-1970) p. 25.

25. Information from the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

26. United Nations. *Public Administration Aspects, op. cit.,* p. 47.

27. United Nations. *Community Development and National Development, op.cit.,* p. 9.

28. XIth International Conference of Social Work. *Urban and Rural Community Development, op.cit.,* Paper by Dr. Julia Henderson, "The Evolution of Community Development," p. 72.

29. *Ibid.,* paper by B. S. Murthy, Deputy Minister for Community Development and Panchayati Raj, India, "Community Development Programme in India," p. 134.

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36. United Nations. *Public Administration Aspects, op.cit.,* p. 51.

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38. *Ibid.,* p. 52.

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GOVERNMENT GRANTS TO AFRICAN COUNCILS

AVAILABLE THROUGH THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

The Former Basis

THE INITIAL GRANT

An initial grant of $200 was given to every newly established council.

The System from 1 July, 1970

THE INITIAL GRANT

An initial grant of up to $1 500 was to be given to every newly established council. The grant was to be paid in the following manner:

a) a cheque for $500 to be attached to the council warrant for use during the first year on inescapable commitments such as secretary's salary and messenger's wages, rent of postbox, stationery, bank charges, councillors' allowances, insurance of property and workmen's compensation contributions.

b) the balance of up to $1 000 to be kept in reserve at the head office of the Ministry. The council might draw on this sum during the first year to meet the cost of essential furniture.

The initial grant might be extended in the 2nd and 3rd years of operation in exceptional circumstances. The idea was that within the first year a council should impose rates and collect revenue so that in the second year it would be eligible for a block grant.

THE BLOCK GRANT

Where a council imposed its own rate the following grants were payable—

Up to $499 collected in rates during the year—50c on each $.

$500-$999 collected in rates during the year—70c on each $.

$1 000 or more collected in rates during year—80c on each $.

THE BLOCK GRANT

1. The grant was to be payable to councils that—
   (a) were not in receipt of an Initial Grant;
   (b) had imposed a rate of $1, or more on all adult male inhabitants of the council area, and had collected the rate imposed to the best of their ability;

2. The grant was then to be calculated as $1 for every $ rate collected during the financial year under review, to a maximum of $5 000.

3. However, a diminishing factor was to be introduced as soon as the council's total revenue (from rates collected, plus the Assessed A.D.F. Levy Grant paid, plus receipts from all licence fees paid to the council during the financial year under review) exceeded a total of $10 000.

4. The diminishing factor was calculated as a deduction of 50c for every $ in excess of the $10 000 total revenue.

PRESCRIBED AREAS TAX REFUND

1. All adult males who were resident, or who held statutory or customary rights in any area that had been prescribed in terms of the Prescribed Areas Tax Act were liable to pay a per capita tax of $2 per annum to the central government.

2. This tax was collected by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and credited to the African Development Fund.

3. Where the tax was collected in a council area, the African Development Fund refunded $1,80 to that council, the other 20c being paid to the kraalhead who assisted in the collection of the tax.

4. The Minister of Internal Affairs had the power to exempt certain classes of people from the necessity to pay Prescribed Areas Tax. He exercised this power by exempting all women, and by exempting all adult male inhabitants who were liable to pay a Rate of $2 or more to an African council, in accordance with special applications made by the councils concerned.

ADF LEVY ALLOCATIONS

1. Where a council assumed responsibility for construction and/or maintenance work normally carried out by the District Commissioner, the African Development Fund—

(a) deducted a proportionate amount from the funds to be allocated to the District Commissioner; and

(b) remitted that proportionate amount direct to the council for the specific purpose of financing consruction or maintenance taken over by that council.

2. This principle had been put into practice under—

ITEM "C" General Development.
ITEM "D" Water Supplies.
ITEM "E" Soil Conservation, and
ITEM "F" Roads and Bridges.

3. It should be noted that ITEM "G" Grants to Community Boards and Councils was merely a channel for the distribution of funds provided by the central government for these purposes.

4. No financial assistance was given to councils that assumed responsibility for Dipping (ITEM "H"), for here the African Development Fund passed the

PRESCRIBED AREAS TAX REFUND

1. It was the central government's intention to transfer the responsibility, for both the imposition and the collection of a personal rate of taxation, to local authorities.

2. For this reason the central government had—

(a) exempted from the necessity to pay Prescribed Areas Tax all adult male inhabitants who were liable to pay an annual rate of $2, or more to an African council, and

(b) served notice of the fact that the refund of Prescribed Areas Tax collected in council areas would cease with effect from the 1st July, 1970.

(c) Provided that a newly formed council would receive a refund of this tax in its first year of establishment.

ASSESSED ADF LEVY GRANT

1. With effect from the 1st July, 1970, the African Development Fund would keep records from which it might assess the amount of A.D.F. levy collected in each council area during each financial year. These amounts, less a small service charge and a further deduction for the establishment of an equalisation fund; would be paid as a grant to the councils concerned. These grants would be paid during the financial year following that in which the levy was collected. The first payments would fall due in the financial year commencing 1st July, 1971.

2. The levy was withdrawn in Purchase Areas in 1965. Where a Purchase Area council wished to benefit from the assessed ADF levy grant it must make application to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the re-imposition of the levies within its area.

3. The central government had still to announce the purposes for which a council might use the finances thus accruing to it through this refund of assessed A.D.F. levy collections in the council area.

4. The 'equalisation fund' mentioned in paragraph 1. above would provide for any shortfall in the collection of A.D.F. levy occasioned by drought, disease or

̶̶̶̶ to impose, and to collect an economic dip fee to the council concerned.

5. Further assistance was available under ITEM "J"—Plant and Machinery, for the African Development Fund permitted councils to hire this type of equipment.

any other reason that might reduce the average amount collected in any one year.

SALARY-GRANTS

a) Secretary/Treasurer*
(i) Up to 60 per cent of the salary paid to a Domboshawa-trained secretary/treasurer on the approved scale commencing at $60 per month. (The scale was $720 a year rising by increments of $36 a year to a maximum of $1 260 a year).
(ii) Up to 50 per cent of the salary paid to an un-trained specially approved secretary/treasurer.
Subject to a satisfactory annual efficiency report.
Persons recruited to fill grant-aided posts of secretary/treasurer must be men who were not less than 21 years of age and who had a minimum educational qualification of G.C.E. 'O' level or its equivalent.

b) Council Clerk

Nil

SALARY-GRANTS

a) Secretary/Treasurer*

Former basis to continue

b) Council Clerk
(i) Up to 25 per cent of the salary of a man who remained untrained during the first 3 years of service;
(ii) up to 10 per cent of the salary of a man who remained untrained during the second 3 years of service;
(iii) no grant to be paid in respect of personnel who remained untrained in the 7th and subsequent years of service;
(iv) as soon as a council clerk passed the basic training course at Domboshawa the employing council would become entitled to claim up to 50 per cent of the salary paid to that clerk.

Persons recruited to fill grant-aided clerical posts must be men who—
 (i) were not less than 18 years of age
 (ii) were in possession of either—
　　a G.C.E. 'O' Level Certificate, with passes in English Language and Mathematics;
　　　　or
　　A Cambridge School Certificate with credits in English Language and Mathematics;
　　　　or
　　A Junior Certificate with very good

*The functions of secretary and treasurer of an African council were carried out by one person trained to fulfil both tasks.

passes in English and Mathematics or Arithmetic.

(iii) were able to produce a satisfactory health certificate and a birth certificate.

Scale of Pay: The scale of pay recommended by the Ministry was—

$480 per annum by increments of $24 per annum to $600 per annum in the sixth year of service.

Further advancement was to be at the council's discretion.

c) **Supervisor of Works**

c) **Supervisor of Works**

A grant was to be paid in respect of the employment of a supervisor of works, the amount to be negotiated between the council and the Ministry of Internal Affairs

Recruits to the post of supervisor of works must be mature men who—

Nil

(i) had the ability to lead, supervise and control labour; and

(ii) had the qualifications and proven experience necessary to meet the expectations of the post prescribed.

Scale of Pay: No scale of pay was recommended by the Ministry but councils' attention was drawn to the fact that they would have to attract suitable men from other professions.

d) **Senior Council Officer**

d) **Senior Council Officer**

A grant was to be paid in respect of the employment of a senior council officer, the amount to be negotiated between the council and the Ministry of Internal Affairs according to circumstances.

The Ministry expected a senior council officer to be a man who—

Nil

(i) was not less than 30 years of age;

(ii) had had 9 years continuous experience with a grant-aided council or 10 years experience in a senior administrative post and a letter of exemption from the need to attend the Domboshawa training course for council secretary/treasurers;

(iii) possessed the certificate of—

an Intermediate Examination of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries

or

an Intermediate Examination of the Chartered Corporation of Secretaries

or

a commensurate qualifying examination for membership of the Institute of Administration and Commerce

and

had a record of service which showed that he had the necessary knowledge, skills and abilities for the post

had proved his own ability in administrative rather than clerical matters.

Senior council officer posts might only be created by special authority in terms of the African Councils Act and after amendment of the council warrant to reflect that authority.

Application for such authority was to be accompanied by a statement of the council's expenditure and income during the previous 5 years; an outline of the public services rendered and contemplated by the council; a report by both the internal auditor and district commissioner on the work of the council; and a statement of the proposed functions and salary of the senior council officer.

No scale of pay was proposed by the Ministry but councils' attention would be drawn to the need to attract suitable men from other professions.

A report would be required from the district and provincial commissioners concerning the recommended levels of grant to be paid.

All salary grants were to be subject to the establishment by councils of properly approved pension and gratuity schemes. (A national pension and gratuity scheme for members of the African Council's Service was under investigation at the end of 1969.)

PERCENTAGE GRANTS

A 50 per cent grant on approved expenditure on the following—

(i) Agriculture
(ii) Animal husbandry
(iii) Forestry
(iv) Health (grant paid direct by Ministry of Health)
(v) Water supplies
(vi) Road and bridge construction and maintenance.

AD HOC GRANTS

Grants towards any specific purpose approved by the Secretary for Internal Affairs, for example—

(i) provision of something new by the council such as a demonstration project;
(ii) to meet cases of misfortune or unpredictable troubles;
(iii) to assist new councils to obtain essential items not otherwise provided for, prior to revenue being received.

PERCENTAGE GRANTS

Former basis to continue

AD HOC GRANTS

No *ad hoc* grants were to be payable after 1st July, 1971.

THE AFRICAN COUNCIL LOAN FUND

1. In order to assist councils to spread certain capital costs over a number of years, and thereby ensure a more equitable distribution of those costs to future rate payers, the central government had established an African Councils' Loan Fund within the African Development fund. These funds might be used to assist councils to meet the capital costs incurred in the erection of—

Administrative buildings;
Primary school buildings, including teachers' housing;
and to purchase office safes or safe-doors.

2. These loans were secured against the future grants that might be payable to the borrowing council. They might be repaid over any agreed period up to a maximum of 10 years, and they bore interest at the rate of 3 per cent per annum on the unpaid balance.

THE AFRICAN COUNCIL LOAN FUND

1. This fund was to continue to operate.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs provided specifically that no salary-grant would be made in respect of managers or other personnel employed in council trading ventures. Classified under this head were such persons as supervisors of liquor undertakings and dip services. A reason for this rule was the proviso contained in the African Councils Act that any service or undertaking operated by a council should be self-supporting. Further, in terms of the Act such personnel were classified as "employees" not "officers," and only officers were eligible for the salary-grants. The intention behind the grant was that efficiency should be secured in the key-positions.

In addition to the assistance given by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there were the grants payable through various other ministries as shown below.

OTHER SOURCES OF FINANCE AVAILABLE TO COUNCILS

THE FORMER BASIS

1. The Ministry of African Education

This Ministry offered to councils the same grant-aid as it had made available to all other responsible authorities operating schools in the African areas. In order to obtain this assistance, a council must negotiate the hand-over of responsibility for existing schools in the council area, or obtain the Ministry of African Education's authority to open new schools within that area.

The Ministry offered to pay—
100% of the salary paid to teachers on the approved scales; and
Small percentage grants to assist councils to comply with the Ministry's requirements regarding proper supervision by a schools manager.

THE NEW SYSTEM FROM 1st JULY, 1970

The Ministry of African Education

The salary grant was to be—

95% of salary paid to approved teachers on the approved scales, from **1.1.71.**

Otherwise, the system would remain unchanged.

Under the new system a salary grant of 95 per cent would be paid in respect of approved school managers with a minimum number of 30 schools under their supervision.

2. The Ministry of Health

Subject to the condition that a council must accept responsibility to supply an approved medical service, and to employ properly qualified staff, this Ministry offered to pay—
- 50% of salaries paid on approved scales to approved members of staff employed by the council's health service;
- 50% of mileage costs incurred by staff travelling on official journeys (ambulances were not grant-aided);
- 50% of approved building costs,
- 25% of the cost of normal drugs and dressings; and
- 100% of the cost of specified vaccines and sera of a preventive nature.

3. The Ministry of Local Government and Housing

This Ministry paid councils a proportion of all licence fees received in respect of motor vehicles that were normally kept overnight in the council areas.

4. The Ministry of Lands

This Ministry undertook to provide the public water supplies and main roads system necessary in an African Purchase Area.

Other Ministries

Ministries were prepared to make technical knowledge and equipment available in order to supplement resources in the council areas.

Some were prepared to pay normal agency-fees to councils accepting responsibility for the running of public services on an agency-basis. The Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, for example, assisted certain councils to provide public call boxes and run postal agencies, the Ministry paying a percentage on the sale of postage stamps in terms of a Stamp Vendor's Licence.

The Ministry of Health

Former basis to continue

The Ministry of Local Government and Housing

Legislation was in the course of drafting designed to transfer to local authorities all responsibility for the fixing and collection of motor vehicle licence fees.* The transfer was to be made on terms and conditions determined by the Minister for Roads and Road Traffic.

The Ministry of Lands

Former basis to continue.

Other Ministries

The former basis to continue.

*The Vehicle Registration and Licensing Act No. 23 of 1970.

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