SOME SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR

EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The development of an applied art or science—and community development is some of each—is always marked in its early stage by the competitive interplay of theories and perspectives from a number of different disciplines. Out of this interplay, typically, two sets of tensions arise.

The first of these results from the competition of the points of view of the different disciplines. Whatever their internal disagreements, each tends to present a common front in some phases of the inter-disciplinary competition. Witness, for example, in the literature of community development, the differing emphases and perspectives in the reports of anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, economists, social workers, and educators.[1]

The second set of tensions develops without regard for disciplinary lines, and represents a competition between two avant gardes: on the one hand, the scientific researchers and theorists, and, on the other, the clinicians and appliers, those who are more concerned with the application of existing knowledge than with the systematic cumulation and formalization of new discoveries.

This second set of tensions is a natural consequence of the different demands which each task sets for

its practitioners. In the case of theorists and researchers, the internal requirements of excellence include value-neutrality, an experimental attitude, careful attention to the possibility of alternative theories, and the use of deliberately simplified models in the interest of developing some general propositions of a testable nature.

In the case of the appliers, by contrast, excellence at their craft requires some deliberate value-commitment; a limited pragmatism focused upon the particular case; careful attention to the particulars of the concrete case in hand; and a high priority concern for the achievement of some limited, concrete goals pursued in accordance with a plan.[2]

Under certain conditions it is eminently possible for the enterprise as a whole to profit from, rather than be wrecked by, the interplay of these differences. These conditions include:

(1) a high-priority concern for the progress of the new enterprise;

(2) a preference for wisdom rather than parochial victory;

(3) a genuine effort to understand the fullness of other viewpoints;

(4) mutual aid in the development of a body of common or interchangeable concepts and terms, in order that there be created a vocabulary appropriate to the emergent

discipline, and one in which communication across the lines of the contributing disciplines can be effective.

One way in which to foster these conditions, and thus to make it possible for the business at hand to get on, is to take inventory from time to time, noting the successes and failures as they have been registered in the literature, and reformulating these concrete experiences in a way designed to make clear the limits and possibilities of each of the contributing viewpoints.

The designers of this conference have shown admirable wisdom in these regards by calling for inventory memoranda from representatives of these various approaches and disciplines. If those of us to whom these assignments have been made do our share well, it should become easier to see limits and possibilities, and to note the points at which purposes cross, perspectives clash, and premises compete. Hopefully, it may also thereby be possible to see more clearly the ways in which the various interested groups can more successfully join to enrich the solutions to the most pressing problems.

I. RECURRENT THEMES IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The specific charge of this paper is the statement of the social conditions required for effective community development. An inventory of successes and failures

in concrete experiences which aimed at formulating such
conditions could take two different forms.

One might venture, on the one hand, to state a
series of propositions about the relationships among vari-
ables, couching these in systematic language and hedging
them by the probability powers appropriate to them. Or,
otherwise, one might try to distill out of the large body of
reported experiences certain persisting themes and perva-
sive centers of problems, and to represent the provisional
wisdom of the field workers as best one could. Such an
inventory would deliberately refrain from attempting the
systematic formulation of propositions which is possible
in a mature science and would seek, instead, to try to give
a sense for the trends and likelihoods, put at best in terms
of more and less.

For at least two reasons this paper will make the
latter type of effort. First, many of the field reports
are couched in such different terms that to be able to make
systematic comparative use of them would first require an
extensive exploration of their possible meanings before we
could be sure that we were registering our successes and
failure in the proper and comparable categories. Second,
I am deeply impressed--as a result of attempting recently
to inventory the research in only one limited area of com-
munity development--with the great difficulties and com-
plexities of any master inventory of a mature scientific

Two Ways of Formulating Social Conditions for Effective Community Development

nature in this enterprise termed community development.
In such a case, modesty is clearly the better part of
wisdom.

The particular instance which commended to me the
great complexity of the problems facing us was the task of
compiling a digest of research, as reported only in certain
selected journals in the last five years, on the subject of
segregation and desegregation of the Negro population in
the United States. Here is a field which has commanded an
enormous amount of interest from all types of students and
applied workers. But the research is so uneven, with re-
gard to variables explored, samples studied, code categories
employed, experimental controls, sophistication of statis-
tical analysis, and even the definitions of the basic terms,
that one has the greatest difficulty in saying forthrightly
what it is that we know, what it is we think we know, and
what it is that we know is probably wrong. Moreover, the
reversal of certain traditional assumptions in the field
has gone on at an alarming but encouraging rate. For in-
stance, so much of the research which has been conducted on
the assumption that prejudice naturally becomes translated
into discrimination, now has to undergo serious review and
possible discard in face of the apparently undeniable fact
that prejudice and discrimination not only can but often do
vary independently.

The problem of reducing inter-ethnic group tensions with the active cooperation of all the interested parties must certainly be counted as a problem in community development. The major terms of reference of community development literature are central to this problem as well. If the scientific propositionalization of such a well-worked field is such a complex matter, surely that kind of an effort for the entire body of work of which inter-group relations is but one limited part, is out of the range of realistic aspiration at this point.

For these reasons, then, I have chosen deliberately to react selectively to a limited number of the most recurrent themes in the literature of community development.

Two Major Purposes which often Cross

Most particularly, the focus of attention will be upon the competing claims and demands of two major purposes which often cross.

The first of these emphasizes, predominantly, the need for improvement of the material conditions of life, and measures its success in terms of certain technological gains, or by some indices of economic growth, with only secondary interest in community participation.

The second emphasizes predominantly the need for the development of concern for problem solving and a spirit of self-reliance in communities which have typically depended on others for the solution of their problems, or who have simply learned to live with their problems.

It is pointless to aver solemnly that these two goals constitute equal priority aims of any good student of community development. That goes without saying. The salient fact which must be confronted is that sharp strains and incompatibilities in programs arise with almost monotonous regularity out of the conflict of the different priorities which are given to these two purposes. These conflicts--at their best--flow from competing premises regarding the nature of man, the nature of society, and the nature of social change. An exploration of the successes and failures which each of these schools of thought has experienced may therefore help make more clear which operating assumptions have most successfully withstood the test of experimental application in the living laboratories constituted by the communities in which programs have been attempted.[3]

Eight Recurrent Themes or Dimensions

Before proceeding to such an exploration, it will be useful to locate the competition of emphases on which this paper focuses in the general context of other dimensions along which community development programs tend to vary. Eight such dimensions may be briefly noted.

There is first the size of the unit. Sometimes the community is a nation, sometimes only a small and isolated rural village. Sometimes, in the more general and theoretical literature, bodies of nations, variously

referred to as this or that cultural-world, or underdeveloped area, are the units.

There is second the _scope of the program._ This is to some degree co-variant with the size of the unit. But there is also some independent variability, such that large-scale projects are started in relatively limited areas, while smaller scale projects are tried, more thinly, over larger reaches of social and political space.

There is third the _nature of the developer._ A major distinction here is between public and private agencies. Other distinctions, however, involve official agents of separate governments as against those of government federations. Or, there are differences in the work of small private agencies as against agencies with world-wide organization and scope. Another crucial distinction here is between developers who are members of the same society and those who come from outside.

There is, fourth, the _time perspective._ Again this is co-variant with the size of the unit and scope of the program. But again there is independent variation, such that large-scale programs are sometimes shorter in proposed duration than small-scale programs; and crash programs of short but intense duration are sometimes tried on units considerably larger than some on which prolonged programs are attempted.

There is, fifth, the variation in <u>goal orientation</u>. Sometimes very limited and specific goals, with easily measured criteria of success or failure, are set up. Sometimes a welter of goals, ranging from a definable material product to a relatively indefinable spiritual product, are all defined as the objective of the program.

There is sixth the variance in the balance of <u>welfare vs. science</u> which is built into the definition of the study or the project. This can vary from almost exclusive attention to welfare to an almost equally exclusive attention to scientific research, with all possible intermediary balances.

There is seventh the <u>concern for follow-up</u>. Sometimes the project is defined in such a way that when a particular material or even spiritual condition has been reached, the project is considered terminated. On the other hand, there is a frequent tendency to be greatly concerned with the extent to which certain indigenous incentives to future projects have been created, and the success or the failure of the initial project is judged at least partly in terms of this anticipated and hoped-for follow-up.

There is eighth the variance in the <u>balance of external vs. local resources</u> which are to be employed in the project. The obvious variations range between total external pump priming to total dependence on internal resources.

If there were only three possible variations on each of these eight themes, and, if all the nominally possible combinations are also theoretically possible, it can readily be seen that we are dealing with a staggering array of possible variation, much of which already confronts us in the experience and reports of field workers.[4]

II. SUMMARY FINDINGS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE
(as reported in the literature)

Having specified the larger context within which the particular focus of this paper is located, it is possible to pass directly to that focus with the assurance that it is understood that other dimensions of the enterprise have not been overlooked but only purposely ignored.[5]

For reasons which will become apparent later, no analytic definition of community development will be attempted at this point. Rather, the reference will be in each case simply to that wide range and variety of enterprises which have been called community development.

The following statements, then, represent some pervasive and persisting experiences which have been had by field workers and agencies as they have proceeded, by their lights, with various programs of community development.

Substituting New Problems for Old

(1) No project of community development--no matter how successful--has ever reduced the total number of problems which the community has to face. Rather, it has substituted new-level problems for old ones, and sometimes

the new ones are more perplexing and perhaps even more difficult to face.

Relative Inefficiency of Dollar Investment

(2) No community development project in underdeveloped areas has ever been as efficient, by Western criteria of economic efficiency of dollar investment, as under typically Western conditions of social organization and culture patterning.

Requirement of Participation

(3) No community development project has ever had carryover value and continuity to new problem-solving by the community without genuine participation by the members of the community in the previous problem-solving context.

(4) Some of the most nominally successful projects have been self-terminating, without any carry-over value, and indeed with negative valence, so far as further project work is concerned, even though the basic conditions and requirements of the local community have been satisfied and the probable costs had been clearly anticipated.

Requirement of Substantial Material Improvement

(5) No community development project has had carry-over value for the people of the community unless the previous problems solved, with their genuine participation, have represented a substantial improvement in the material conditions of their lives, as they themselves have seen it.

(6) Projects whose success has depended, by the lights of the local population, on the resolution of a material problem, have been relatively unsuccessful to the extent they have required the use of inadequate local resources. No project has ever failed because Western technology has been utilized. Local populations seem

to find no charm nor to gain anything worthy from working with poor equipment, no matter how much do-it-yourself has been involved.

(7) There has been no project in which nominal technical efficiency and economic rationality, Western style, have not had to be sacrificed to some degree to permit the genuine participation of the local community.

Compromise between Efficiency and Participation

(8) There has been no project in which the insistence on highest priority for technical efficiency and economic rationality has not resulted in some failure to involve the local community in such a way as to give some carry-over value to the project.

(9) The carry-over value of any community development project depends importantly on the extent to which forceful and energetic local leadership is present to redefine the project in local terms and to act as agents of inspiration for local followers.

Local Leadership and Community Support

(10) The success of any project, as defined by the responses of the locals, varies with the extent to which this leadership is representative of the diverse interests in the community which are likely to be affected by the project, and the extent to which these different interests have been satisfactorily compromised in the final plan.

(11) No community development project has ever achieved — even when it has sought to do so — the full and equal endorsement, enthusiasm and cooperation of all segments of the community in which the project has been located. Some disagreement, dissension, sus-

picion and refusal to be convinced has always been present at
every phase of any project from inception to completion.

(12) No community developers have ever successfully an-
ticipated all or even the major consequences of their projects.

(13) No local agents — not even the most enlightened
of local leadership — have ever been able to anticipate all the
major consequences of the project.

(14) Every relatively successful project of community
development has in some way or another adversely affected the
basic traditions and cultural themes of the local community. It
has proven impossible to solve substantial problems of material
conditions of life without in some way disrupting traditional
understandings, social organization, and cultural balance.

(15) Every project has had to meet the persisting ten-
dency of local populations to be limited in their desires for
change and to be more intrigued with the short-range satisfactions
of immediate consumption than with the long-range promises. This
has always tended to reduce the carry-over value of a project, no
matter how theoretically inspirational it should have turned out
to be.

(16) None of the indices by which the economic gains
of a community development project have been measured has ever
had the wholehearted and unanimous assent of the major economists
in the field as the best measure of development.

The marginal labels read:

Unpredic-
tability
of Out-
comes and
Social
Change

Problems
of Eval-
uation

(17) No community development project has ever specified its spiritual goals or set up its measurements of outcome so clearly beforehand, that it was possible to demonstrate unequivocally the extent to which success or failure had resulted.

(18) It has never seemed quite possible at the termination of a program to estimate the extent to which alternative programs might better have achieved the same goals; or, the extent to which the program followed was definitely superior to other possibilities. This is most particularly true with regard to the possible long-term outcome of programs.[6]

Here then are eighteen generalizations which purport to summarize some of the results and experiences of programs of community development. Not all of these generalizations are on the same level of abstraction. Not all are completely different from each other in their major component terms. But they are, by and large, sufficiently general and different to represent a reasonable cross-section of project outcomes as these have been reported in the literature, remembering always that these have been selected with special reference to the tension between the emphasis upon economic development and the growth of community spirit.

Most of these propositions have been put in negative terms for two purposes: (1) to indicate clearly the limits which must be placed upon any intransigent claims for the superiority of one emphasis as upon another; and (2) to evoke from those with more profound experience and wider command over the range of experience the exceptions which probably are properly to be taken. If we can establish the conditions under which these propositions are not true, as well as those under which they hold more rather than less, we shall have done a great deal toward formulating the social conditions for effective community development.

Toward that end, it is now appropriate to take the major sense of these propositions and attempt to account for the claims made.

1. Substituting New Problems for Old

The relevance of this matter to community development is given to us by the resentment and hostility which are encountered among indigenous populations when certain reasonable solutions to some pressing problems have resulted in other problems of even greater perplexity. The populations have tended to query whether indeed they are better off than they were before. Since much of the carry-over value of a project depends upon the favorable overview of the project which is had by the community, the incurrence of such bewilderment at new problems is clearly dysfunctional for successful community development. [7]

It is of course extremely difficult to impress
upon a population which is not accustomed to thinking in
terms of social change and problem-solving that one ex-
changes sets of problems, rather than reduces the total
bulk they will have to face. But such an impression is
indispensable to successful community development, if that
term is meant to include a carry-over value of interest in
further problem-solving.

Actually, the experience of moving from one level
of problems to another, or of incurring one set of problems
in exchange for others, is a common human experience given
by the very nature of the human condition. All human rela-
tionships, whether of man to man, man to nature, or man to
society, involve some unpredictable future outcomes toward
which human activity is always oriented. No permanent or
perfect guarantees of outcome are possible. We can increase
our favorable betting odds by getting to know under what
conditions events are more likely to transpire, and by
directing human energy and vigilance toward these condi-
tions. But, in effect, this is the process of intelligent
problem-solving, rather than of the reduction of the total
bulk of problems which any community must confront.

One may sum up the import of these findings by
the assertion that successful community development always
requires the effective education of the community with re-
gard to the continuously problematic character of social
life, and the extent to which man, as the agent of his own
destiny, is responsible for, and unable to avoid, this fact.

2. The Relative Inefficiency of Dollar Investment

If education of native populations in the problematic character of social life--a typically Western point of view--is essential, it is equally essential that the developers perceive the natural limits or possible success in such communities, and refrain from imposing Western standards of efficiency upon the projects.

In the West, maximization of dollar investment always implies or requires a model of social organization in which the strain is toward perfect rationality, clarity of communication, clearly charted formal organization according to relevant criteria of skill, unequivocal specification of roles, and mobility proportionate to ability.

This model is sharply at variance with the average social structure in which developers have traditionally done their work. For there, considerations of kin and local loyalties, supernatural sanction, age and generational criteria of status, and a host of other non-rational, non-economic purposes and orientations always are intertwined with the purely economic ends.

Nor are these two sets of varying considerations ordinarily separable in the minds of the members of such communities. Any attempt to separate the economic from the non-economic matrix in which the former is always embedded encounters the resistance of deeply institutionalized habits and themes.

For, in such social structures, the importance of the eco-
nomic ends and the desirability of their achievement is con-
tingent upon and defined by non-economic means and ends.

Successful community development thus clearly in-
volves a redefinition of the concept of efficiency as that
is to be applied to projects in cultures with basically dif-
ferent life schemes and in social organizations with diff-
erent criteria of association and obligation.[8]

3. The Requirement of Participation

While there is no guarantee that participation in
the making and implementation of decisions will commend
problem-solving as a way of life, it is impossible, without
such participation, to achieve first-hand knowledge and ap-
preciation of the possible profits. Without such knowledge
and appreciation, there is little or no chance that a community
will be impelled to alter its traditional acceptance of a
fate it sees as inescapable. Under these conditions, the
development of energetic self-reliance and autonomy in the
confrontation of problems--one of the most frequently men-
tioned goals of community development--is clearly impossible.

However, there is a worrisome tendency among some
community developers to become cultist about participation,
to the point of investing it with an inherent virtue, and
to insist upon it, as a requirement of social process, in
all contexts and at all levels of projects. Almost-magical
properties are assigned to group process so that any decision

reached by a group is by that fact rendered superior to any other decision.

This is a form of hyperdemocratization of social process. Time and time again the insistence on continuous participation has acted to discourage any such participation at all by those who are willing to give partly of themselves, where they feel relevant, but who are dismayed by the insistence that they be involved actively even when they are not interested, or feel they do not have the relevant skills, and would be far more pleased to entrust the decision to others. Clearly, then, if adequate community development requires genuine participation at relevant points, it just as importantly requires refraining from insisting on that participation at irrelevant points.

An important side problem which is raised here concerns the extent to which Western-style democratic participation in decisions is a relevant and reasonable expectation in non-Western forms of social organization. The great faith in democracy held by Western developers appears sometimes to make it difficult for them to perceive that there may be other forms of participation which will satisfy the demands of different segments of a community, that they have been adequately represented in the major decisions affecting their welfare, and that they have effectively participated in the implementation of these decisions.

If Western developers insist—as perhaps they should—that programs must have the agreement and participation of representatives of the major diverse interest of

any community, they would be well advised to inquire carefully
into the nature of the indigenous social organization, to
see whether forms for such representative participation do
not already exist.[9]

In summary of this point, we return to the theme
of the importance of participation by the local community,
but now hedge it with the qualification that such participa-
tion may be had in a variety of ways not ordinarily familiar
to or consonant with the experiences of Western developers.

A final query must be raised--one to which no
answer can be anything but tentative. If community partici-
pation, community enthusiasm, and an increase in community
self-reliance can be developed inside of traditional, non-
Western, non-democratic forms of social organization, is
the requirement of democratic forms so crucial to the Western
developer that he will make this requirement a _sine qua non_
of his interest and his involvement?

This may be an unrealistic question on the grounds
that democratic forms are in fact required for the results
desired. But if this is the case, then substantial com-
munity development will require, in many cases, the sharp
disruption of traditional social forms. The community de-
veloper faces, then, the unpleasant choice between his
respect for the integrity of indigenous social structure
and culture, on the one hand, and his desire for substantial
success of his mission, on the other.

This in turn leads us to the problem of the propriety of disturbing the way of life of a people with whom one has no persisting identity nor any chance for continuing responsibility. To cause changes for "their own good," even though "they" may not be able to see why the changes are good for them, may be proper for parents and teachers. But outside of these privileged contexts, some serious problems of the morality of intervention face us.[10]

4. The Requirement of Substantial Material Improvement

There is a tendency in the literature of the community development to assert that what matters is not what is done but how it is done.

It is hard to conceive, however, how a community development project can commend itself as worthy to the community unless it itself deems the problem important and the solution satisfactory.

There are very different arithmetics by which peoples add and subtract what has been expended and achieved, and thus arrive at an answer as to whether the whole matter was worth the effort. An understanding of the indigenous form of social and psychic bookkeeping is therefore clearly indispensable to successful community development.

Indeed, sometimes no project can even be begun until some alteration is achieved in the traditional form of bookkeeping. That is to say, re-education in the relative value of goods and services, in the balances of pleasures and pains, and in the calculus of effort and

reward--all these may be required before a change sufficiently substantial to impress the population can even be attempted.

There is implied here a requirement to build the groundwork for community development before any such development can take place. It does not matter whether we define this groundwork as a prior condition, or as an actual part of the development process. What is important is that we understand that some such education into new values, and hence new cultural arithmetics, may be a requirement for the initial interest in, as well as the steam power to carry through to, a successful solution to a problem.

If the vagaries of different cultural arithmetics are taken into account, it will be recognized that the local community may value the total project less, more, or the same as the external evaluators. However irrational the judgment of the local community may seem to the external agents, it is the former's judgment which is critical in determining the extent to which there will be any enthusiasm for any similar projects in the future.

One of the frequent experiences reported in the literature is that of the apparently successful completion of a project, under specified conditions of community participation, and with considerable regard to probable costs and consequences, but with no carry-over value, and indeed, sometimes, with negative value for any future projects.

This may be due to either of two factors relevant to our discussion here. The first is that the costs as experienced have been greater than the costs as anticipated, even though the anticipation was realistic and sound. The second is that though the costs have been no greater than anticipated, and the benefits have been as great as expected, the project has commended itself as one which, while worth the effort once, was never to be repeated.[11]

Nor is it likely, once such an experience has been had, that impetus to further development can successfully be reinvigorated. All humans--not just those in so-called underdeveloped communities--tend to reason in categories and to judge future prospects on the basis of analagous past experiences. If, therefore, the project gets defined as too costly for the gain, or not too costly for the gain, but still not worth repeating, then, it is this model of an experience to which the community will refer itself when it comes to judge the worthwhileness of another venture.

This is the reason why it seems so important to make the initial project sufficiently modest so that costs in local energy and resources, and in disturbance of traditional ways of life can be minimized; and equally important to make the external contribution sufficiently heavy and supportive to produce an outcome which has a chance of leaving the community with a sense of discernible net gain.

External pump priming in both material goods and technical services would therefore seem to be an important

condition for a development project in its first try-out
in communities with no prior experience. There is always a
delicate balance which must be kept between the external
aid and the internal contribution, so that the sense of ef-
fective local participation can be had by the community.
But at least in the initial stages, what is done matters
as much if not more than in the way in which it is done. To
insist otherwise is, on the one hand, to make a fetish of
participation, and, on the other, to run the kind of a risk
which even moderate wisdom about social change shows us is
an odds-on favorite to lose.[12]

5. The Compromise of Efficiency and Participation

The achievement of a discernible net gain, per-
ceived by the community as such, is important not only to
give some possible local continuity to the spirit of community
enterprise, but also, just as importantly, to give some pos-
sible continuity to the sources of external supply of funds,
personnel and facilities.

If the local community will not be inspired to
venture more in the future without a successful past exper-
ience, the supporting outside agencies are hardly likely to
lend further support unless they themselves perceive a net
gain by their system of bookkeeping.

Successful community development thus requires a
skill in mediating the demands for results of two different
communities, the home offices or nations or legislatures,
on the one hand, and the local communities on the other.[13]

In this light, the spiritual uplift of 330 natives of Pango Pango is hardly likely to impress a national legis-lature of a large country or the board of trustees of a large foundation as an outcome whose reproduction or repetition is worth devoting more effort and resources.

We now have two reasons to advance in support of the contention that programs of community development which focus alone or primarily upon local communities and villages are likely to experience serious difficulties.

First, it is extremely difficult to give continuity to such programs in terms of the local community spirit it-self. Second, it is equally difficult to give continuity to such programs in terms of meeting the criteria of worthi-ness of the large formal organizations who provide the ex-ternal aid.

Our discussion thus far has ignored the interplay between those development programs which aim at altering the economy and social institutions of the nations as a whole, and those which focus primarily upon local community enter-prise. But for the reasons just asserted, considerable at-tention to this interplay, and a recognition of its unavoid-ability, as well as the chance of making it positively func-tional all around, now become urgent.

It therefore now becomes possible and important to assert that the success of any local community development project is probably proportional to the following two things:

(1) the extent to which simultaneously there is being
developed certain fundamental material improvements in the
way of life of the total society in which the community is
located; or, at the least, provisions are being made for
such improvement to occur by economic assistance programs
aimed at the mainsprings of the national economy; and
(2) the extent to which these national improvements or devel-
opments set in motion a series of radiating impulses--new
labor force demands, new schooling facilities, new posts in
government, new export requirements, and the like--some of
which are felt by the local communities as pressures and
opportunities from within their own society. These help to
reduce the strangeness and the interventionist character of
local projects, as they are led by external agents, and com-
mend, more forcefully than would otherwise be possible, the
kinds of new values and new cultural arithmetics which are
a precondition of effective social change.[14]

There is a strategy of social change implied here
which recognizes the importance of giving the new cultural
values some grounding in the promise of material gain, seen
as proceeding from one's own efforts and as encouraged by
one's own people. Local projects may succeed in building
local schools and in getting school teachers. But if the
new education of the children can find no payoff in new
opportunities, the enthusiasm for schooling will atrophy
and rot just as quickly as the unattended wall and roofs
of the school building itself.

On the other hand, if throughout the country a
series of changes are taking place, impelled by certain fun-
damental improvements in the national economy, the useful-
ness of education can come to commend itself in terms of
the new powers, privileges and property which accrue to
the better educated persons. It takes a considerable num-
ber of forceful examples of the value of education, seen in
terms of deferred but worthy gratifications, before tradi-
tional-minded fathers, who can use the labor of their young
children on the farms, can grasp the possible value of sending
their children to more than a nominal number of years in
school. And when the sons themselves are stimulated by
the examples of their peers who have gone different ways in
life, and when they in turn exert pressures on their par-
ents, then there are decent chances that some impulses will
develop to involve oneself in the new values and to start
adding and subtracting one's gains and losses in different
ways. [15]

A useful concept in this context is that of the
critical level of emergence. In every situation of impor-
tant social change there appears to be a level up to which
the tensions must be accumulated, and the impulses corre-
lated, before any genuine opening-up of the traditional
system can be effected.

For instance, in Puerto Rico, if parents send
their children only to one or two or three years of school,

or if they themselves have had less than four years of
school, there appears to be no real impulse to move out of
the traditional problem context to a new level of problems.
But once the fourth year is achieved, whole new vistas of
possibilities appear to be opened up and perceived by the
Puerto Ricans--at every and any level of poverty, landless-
ness, or prior involvement in traditions. At this point,
there emerges a genuine, even though tentative, willingness
to experiment; to risk the certainty of the few cents a day
to be earned from the child's labor, against the possible
larger gains to be achieved in the future by sacrificing
those few cents a day now in order to keep the child in
school. There also appears a new vocabulary of motives
which becomes current in the local communities--or at least
current and popular enough so that one is not sticking out
like a sore thumb when one argues the value of schooling in
these new terms. There also appears, with much greater fre-
quency and regularity, the reinforcement of living examples
of local boys who have gone out and "made good." [16]

It is inconceivable that these developments could
have transpired in Puerto Rico without major impulses ra-
diating from the central government and the national economy.
These have taken the form of new job opportunities in new
factories and industries; new vocational schools at which
valuable new skills can be learned, which can then find
their proper level of use in the new industries.

We need not here argue how much this could have been done without the extensive pump priming by the United States which, it is said, Puerto Rico has atypically enjoyed, compared with most other underdeveloped areas. For it is not at all unlikely that precisely this form of relatively lavish pump priming at the outset is, in the end, the most economically reasonable and efficient way to achieve the national development and the local self-help and self-esteem which are said to be the goals of community development.

Essential to the Puerto Rican case is the fact that the impulses coming into the local communities from the outside are seen as coming from their own countrymen and from their own institutions. Puerto Ricans can therefore identify with these impulses, can sense them as part of their handiwork, and take pride in them. This is so partly because they feel they have had an effective voice in choosing rulers who represent them adequately, and who have their interests at heart. But, just as important, it is because they can identify these people as their own kind, with their own orientations to life. [17]

We can profit from this and other examples of simultaneous national and local developmental work by seeing the evidence that the two-pronged program is not only more theoretically desirable, but, in fact, may be a necessary condition for effective development at either level.

We have noted that local impulses can hardly accumulate enough, in an isolated pocket, to become self-sustaining, without the assistance of external impulses radiating from the society-wide economy and institutions. It is just as true that national incentives and opportunities can hardly be effectively utilized and thus come to have firm institutional rooting, if voluntary participation at the local community and village level is not forthcoming.

6. The Requirement of Local Representative Leadership

The importance of local leaders, oriented toward problem solving, and capable of translating and mediating between the new world and the old, has been stressed so often it almost seems meaningless to repeat here.

There is, however, one troublesome fact about experiences with local leaders which needs examination. Typically one must expect that some of the locals most ready to understand and cooperate with the developers will be those who in some degree are marginal to their own cultures. In that sense, they are likely to be the worst possible representatives of the traditional society, some of whose mainstays are threatened by the implications of the proposed project. In that sense, then, too, such marginal leaders are likely to force least compromise upon Western style plans as they come to be translated into community projects.

The tendency to select such marginal local leadership is to be expected when the field workers have not been trained to be wary of such marginal men. Again here, a wisdom is required which only sound training and experience can give: the wisdom which enables one to keep from being mired down by the intransigent resistance of the most traditional of the leadership, on the one hand, and from being too easily beguiled by the overreadiness of marginal men in the culture, on the other.

Usually the traditional leadership proves resistant to change to the degree that such change may imply alterations in the traditional status system which might undermine their own positions. Expectably marginal men will solicitously cultivate those possible changes which might improve their own changes for advantaged position in a new social structure. The effectiveness with which traditional leadership can sabotage projects is matched by the ease with which marginal leadership can overcommit the community and the developers to unrealistic goals, thereby insuring a defeat equally as decisive as the sabotage of the traditionalists.

Careful attention must therefore be paid to the variable meanings of representativeness as applied to leadership. Unfortunately no preconceived formula can be developed which will guide field workers in the future in the identification of such leadership. What will surely help is the willingness to listen attentively to local cues

and hints, and to respond sensitively to the kind of almost
inaudible, minimal resentments and resistances which local
leaders are likely to voice if they feel that the developing
agents represent a power structure against which they can-
not prevail.[18]

In sum, the field worker is always faced with the
need for sensitivity to the interplay of the threats and
promises of the social change of which he stands as an ad-
vocate.

7. The Unpredictability of Outcomes

The consequences of any social change in community
life always involve more and different things than are
anticipated. This is true even when one adds the anticipa-
tions of the locals to those of the developmental agents.
The problematic aspect here is that the unanticipated con-
sequences are invariably mixed in their nature, so that some
fall on the profit and some on the loss side of the ledger.

Community development theory is thus forced to
face the fact that both the short-range and the long-range
consequences of development, and both the anticipated and
the unanticipated consequences, will be mixed. Some will be
viewed as benign, some as destructive and undesirable by
the locals as well as by the externals. Not even the most
controlled social change, nor the best intentioned, nor the
best equipped, nor the most thoughtful and reflective has
ever been able to avoid producing mixed results.

Surely this fact imposes upon the community developer an imperative to be tentative and modest in his aspirations; and to refrain from being overly forceful about the introduction of new values. What else can the developers do about this persisting fact?

One and only one response to this fact seems relevant. That is to bring squarely to the forefront the problem of follow-up. No community development enterprise can begin to consider itself successful except as it faces the question of the extent to which it is willing to accept continuing responsibility for some of the long-range and unpredicted outcomes which it has helped set in motion. Equally important, the developers must be equipped to deal effectively with the resentments of those disgruntled portions of any community who unavoidably willprofit less or suffer more from a project than other segments.

This is not simply a question of morals. Rather it is a question of whether any long-range commitments to new values and new goals can be built in a community which has experienced temporary uplift through community development only to experience later a series of adverse consequences which they see as flowing from the project. They therefore naturally expect help in solving these problems from those who, by their lights, have produced these problems.[19]

But, no single agent or agency, or any body of external representatives, can be expected to shoulder the

responsibilities for the _total_ range of consequences of
action in which the local community has voluntarily parti-
cipated. The willingness of a community to bear this burden
and to meet it with its own resources is one of the undeniable
criteria of successful community development.

Again there is here the delicate interplay between
the need for external support and for development of in-
ternal self reliance. If the agent of development feels
defeated because he is not loved by everyone in his com-
munity, or because he has not been able to help his commu-
nity avoid the unpleasant consequences of its actions, he
is likely either to cause the defeat of his own program,
for his failure of nerve, or to cause his own ego to be
smashed for his failure of modesty.

8. The Disagreement on Criteria and the Difficulty of
   Evaluation

Community development has suffered a heavy bur-
den of disagreement regarding the success or failure of past
projects, thus making it extremely difficult to learn effec-
tively from past experience. In part this disagreement about
success is due to differing criteria. In part it may be
attributed to the fact that any project is mixed in its
outcomes, and thus there is gain and loss to be added,
without any standard rules for such arithmetic.

Some small comfort may be taken from the fact that
this disagreement is true even among economists, whose
models tend to involve the fewest and simplest assumptions

and whose indices of outcome are usually able to be put in quantitative terms. But, as one economist indicated in a recent article on economic development,[20] none of the major criteria which have been offered as measures of adequate economic development is by itself a sufficient indicator. Not per capita income; nor per capita productivity; nor growth in gross national product; nor equalization of incomes: none of these can be shown to be necessarily associated with that type of upturn in the economy which gives promise of continuity and expansion.

When the model of successful community development is broadened to include not only material improvement but also some increment in community enterprise and self-sufficiency, one must expect the task of evaluating success and failure to become incalculably difficult.

But these difficulties are characteristic of any human enterprise in which diverse parties have interests and to which they bring differing expectations and hence different criteria by which to evaluate success and failure. Such is the fate of any educational institution or system; of any profession; of any political party; indeed, even of any primary group as small as a nuclear family.

The literature suggests two possible aids in the partial resolution of these difficulties.

The first is that some genuine effort be made to clarify the meaning of the terms which are used when one

states the purposes of a particular project, so that some more precise measurement of achievement becomes possible. Terms such as community self-sufficiency and autonomy evoke strong sentiments and commend themselves to us for their connotations. But they do not lend themselves easily to observation. No single index or set of indices may be sufficient to exhaust the rich meanings of these terms. But some indices must be developed and agreed upon. Else we shall be in never-ending debate about these matters.

The clarification of the terms which describe the desired end results is an indispensable precondition for testing the worthiness of alternative means to these ends.

This leads to the second suggestion, namely, that much more rigorous attention be paid to the requirements for successful comparison of alternative proposals, considered as means to the desired ends.

An indispensable requirement for such comparisons, and hence for making capital out of past experiences, is the systematic recording of such experiences in comparative categories.

A prerequisite of success in this effort, in turn, is the provision, in the budgets of community development projects, for the necessary time during and after the field experience to make such experience available in useful terms to other interested students. But time is not enough.

For the field worker or some associate observer must have
been adequately trained beforehand in the methods of
scientific observation if his records are to lend them-
selves appropriately to scientific analysis and comparison.

This is not to prefer rigorous scientific method
to clinical sensitivity in the makeup of the field worker.
It is to say, however, that the major portion of the pos-
sible cumulative gain of the experience of clinically sensi-
tive field workers will be lost if we do not develop effec-
tive methods for describing their procedures in terms which
make it possible then to tally success or failure, and to
understand the reasons. Similarly, of course, rigorous
training in scientific method will avail little if the re-
lationship to be observed and analyzed is doomed to medioc-
rity by the insensibility and clumsiness of the field agent.

Of course, even were all these conditions to be
met, the problem of reconciling diverse criteria of success
and failure would still be unresolved. But the advantage
would have been gained of having narrowed the field of dis-
agreement to its relevant and appropriate elements. For
it would be possible, once we came to know more surely what
will and what will not work, to be able to constructively
criticize proposals to achieve certain stated ends which
clearly involve means about whose efficacy we have reasonable
evidence. Only the give and take of demand and compromise
can ultimately determine which purposes will be given highest
priority in the work of community development. But it will

be eminently useful in that political give and take to know what will probably not work and what will probably work best.

III. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It now becomes possible and obligatory to attempt to define community development in such a way as to take account of the conditions for its success which have been offered throughout the body of this paper. Such a definition will be more of an enumerative check list of components than a precise and analytic device.

Community development, then, comprises the sum total of the following elements which have been grouped for convenience under two headings: first, those which relate primarily to conditions necessary in the local community and, second, those which deal with the relationships between the external agents and national government, on the one hand, and with the local community on the other.

Conditions
Necessary
in the
Local
Community

(1) A felt discontent by the community itself with certain material conditions of life.

(2) An active desire to alter those conditions to a more favorable state.

(3) A perception of the problems involved, such that the community sees that human effort may be relevant and efficient in the alteration of the conditions.

(4) A sense on the part of the community that at least some portions of the requisite effort are within the powers of the local personnel, even though other significant portions are seen as necessarily coming from the outside.

(5) A grasp of the consequences of attempting to solve the problem, with its probable costs and benefits, as against the consequences of not attempting to solve the problem, with its costs and benefits.

(6) The presence of a value system such that an active preference emerges for the prices and profits of attempting to solve the problem rather than for those which accrue from continued tolerance of the problem.

(7) A process of community organization and inter-action such that the decision to go ahead with the proposed solution to the problem is agreed upon by representatives of the different interests and segments of the community likely to be affected, within the limits of reasonable time and persuasion, as these are judged by the members of the community themselves.

(8) A process of community interaction at various stages of the problem-solving to take stock of successes and failures and to revise the conceived solution, if need be. Added to this, a deliberate communal effort at stock taking after the nominal completion of the project in order to evaluate the total process and to communicate the sense of experienced costs.

Necessary Relation-ships be-tween Com-munity and External Agents

(9) A continuous interaction between the local community and the external agents, such that the types of the external aid available are known beforehand, and the ex-tent to which the community must rely on its own resources is perceived at the very outset of the definition of the problem.

(10) The involvement of the national unit of which the local community is a member in a developmental pro-gram deliberately designed to radiate its benefits to and

depend for its success upon the participation by local communities.

(11) A continuous line of clear communication and interaction between the local and the national programs such that they are made relevant to each other and mutually facilitate each other.

(12) Wise intervention by developmental agents in order to avoid disaster, matched by equally wise abstention from intervention in order to permit the community to make its own mistakes as it sees fit, where these are judged not likely to lead to disaster.

(13) A genuine strain on the part of all concerned to create a material product or emerge with a material result which can be observed, calculated, sensed, benefited from, and evoked as a testimony to the possible worthiness of the effort which went into its creation.

(14) A provision, in the very definition of the project as established by the developing agents, for adequate resources of time, money and personnel for scientific observation and reporting of the experiences in process and for post-project evaluation.

(15) A provision for maintaining continuing lines of communication between the agents and the local community such that aid can be requested and invoked to meet unanticipated and long-range consequences of a problematic nature.

These fifteen elements try to take into account without
being able to resolve the following considerations relevant to com-
munity development which have frequently been cited as typical ob-
stacles to that development. These obstacles relate to attitudes
toward problem solving, economic considerations, and traits of exis-
ting social organization.

(1) The discontents of different cultures vary considerably,
and genuine concern for a problem cannot be imposed from the outside.

Attitudes
toward
Problem
Solving

(2) Most communities the world over -- including the so-called
developed or over-developed portions of the globe -- seem more willing to
live with their problems than to do what may be required by way of solving
them.

(3) Most problems facing communities arise from the very nature
of their social structure and culture patterning, and are to be seen as
the natural pathologies of those systems. Any genuine solution to such
problems therefore is likely to involve some considerable re-shuffling
of the status quo.

(4) The troublesome and dysfunctional consequences of solving a
problem can hardly ever be viewed with as great equanimity as those con-
sequences of living with the problems to which the community has become
traditionally adjusted.

(5) Most people throughout the world see their way of life as
unavoidable, as supernaturally sanctioned, and therefore beyond effective
resolution by human agencies.

(6) Those segments of a nation or community who prove to be
most ready for enterprise and entrepreneurship are likely to care as
little for the common welfare and to refrain as little from attempting

to maximize their advantages as do their counterparts in the Western world.

(7) Programs which do not result in palpable improvement of the literacy, the standard of living and the conditions of work of the most depressed segments of the population are likely quickly to be defeated by the tendency to quick consumption, leaving little or no productive capital, material or psychic, from which further development can spring.

(8) Programs of national development which do not take into account the high fertility of population, and do not provide for this contingency at every point, are likely to be defeated by the rapid consumption of economic gains by the increased population which invariably results when health and sanitation are introduced into underdeveloped areas.

(9) Market-orientations, and money-criteria of worth and success, once successfully engendered, tend to develop a power which rapidly brushes aside traditional considerations of community consensus and organization. The very requirements for successful economic development may, at this stage, be the very conditions for demolishment of community enterprise.

(10) The sense of relative deprivation, and the corollary resentment of developmental programs, may be just as great at higher as well as lower standards of living.

(11) Throughout the world, various patterns of mutual aid have been indigenously developed and practiced. These tend, however, to be specific to certain regular cultural requirements, such as housebuilding or harvesting. Moreover, they tend to be free of market or monetary considerations. The transferability of such existing forms to new tasks, involving at least some market considerations, has almost always proven extremely difficult if not impossible.[21]

(12) Where social organization of communities uses age, sex and kin as major criteria for the ascription of status, it may be possible to achieve a great deal by way of material improvement within the existing forms, but little or nothing when task-achievement requires new forms.

(13) Where the national society consists of a tiny handful of very privileged elite and a mass of depressed and underprivileged persons, there is likely to be little elite enthusiasm for projects of national and local development which could conceivably result in greater equalization of the life chances of the two groups.

(14) The borderline between national spirit and spirited national- ism is easily crossed. When programs are developed within national sovereign units, as most always they are, the spirit of international cooperation which motivates such programs may find itself subverted by its own efforts to engender and increase national spirit.

(15) National sovereign units, or local community units do not necessarily constitute the most effective units, from an economic point of view, in terms of the distribution of resources and the relative comparative advantages of neighboring units. Actually, any correspondence between the boundaries of a sovereign state or a local community, on the one hand, and the boundaries of an effective economic unit, on the other, are likely to be random rather than organically co-variant. The advantages of common culture and social organization of a traditional political unit, so far as development work is concerned, may be highly diminished and perhaps much outweighed by the disadvantages of the distribution of resources which do not respect man-made lines of cultural community and political sovereignty.

IV. OF SUCH SORROWS AND JOYS IS THE CONDITION OF MAN

As one scans the fifteen component elements of the process
called community development and the list of typical difficulties, it
is hard to avoid a sense that men the world over must pay great prices
for the gains they hope to secure from life when they purposively go
about wrenching open their traditional ways of life in an effort to move
from one level of problems to another at which their human talents and
potentials may be more fully utilized.

One need not entertain an image of a happy savage to realize
that no major social change has ever produced a positive increase in
human happiness. Nor, conversely, can one claim that humans were any
happier before they changed than afterwards. In short, we cannot hope
to be guided in our deliberations by any calculus of felicity or euphoria.
Probably under conditions of minimal desires, maximum insensitivity, com-
plete ignorance of alternatives and a profound unawareness of the nature
of human potentials: — under such conditions man experiences a kind of
anaesthesia which is sometimes confused with life. Otherwise, we are
unavoidably caught up in the human condition, in which we choose one type
of pain over another, prefer one set of freedoms and restraints to another,
and opt for problems which vex us at one level of our talents rather than
another. In these experiences we find our meaning and we probe our purpose.

I am led to such final observations by the realization that some
of the changes envisioned by community development, to the extent that I
Funda-
mentally   have reflected them moderately accurately in this last brief summary, are
Descrip-
tive   bound to be fundamentally disruptive, in the long run if not in the short,
Changes
of the traditional ways of life of the people who beguile themselves and

us into believing that the new ways of life are truly to be preferred.

For, in store for such people, if past experiences are any guide, are:

(1) changes from sacred to secular sanctions for the way of life;

(2) losses of the securities and stabilities of kin-based social relations in exchange for the gains, such as they may be, of relatively individualized and self-determining existences;

(3) the need for ever-increasing attention to the making of choices among alternatives, as against the faithful following of pre-fabricated formulae;

(4) increasing involvement in a world of ever-expanding desires for more material goods and services, no matter what level has already been reached;

(5) sharp generational discontinuities instead of the smooth flow of assumption of social obligations and positions in conformity with traditional criteria of age and generation;

(6) increase in the diversity and competition among the numerous roles which any individual must play in the round of social life, as against the relative internal consistency of roles in the limited round of traditional life;

(7) the continuous quest for purpose and meaning, in a world which offers numerous possible sets of purposes, but guarantees none as adequately as did the traditional society.[22]

Finale: A Personal Evaluation

I am aware of the fact that the way in which these changes have just been formulated is a function of my own tempermental inclination to a type of romantic pessimism. A more indulgent attitude toward self and civil-

ization — sometimes humorously called a positive approach — could
rephrase the character of these changes so that they would be beguiling
in the excitement, enchantment and adventure they seem to promise. But
this would be at least as distorted if not more distorted than my own
formulation. And I find my own formulation a salutary and impressive
restraint upon my own natural inclinations to lay hands upon the lives
of others and to reshape them in accordance with my own values.

The fact of the matter is that the moment one steps out of a purely
scientific role— and all applied and clinical work, including so-called
community development, is in part outside of science — one is involved
in making some value judgments about the desirability of certain outcomes.
Even if we had perfect predictive knowledge of the outcomes of our proposals,
we would ultimately have to express a value preference for some courses of
action over others. Because our knowledge of probable outcome is so pro-
visional and so necessarily hedged by all types of contingencies, I per-
sonally advocate the greatest caution in interfering in the lives of others,
no matter for what reason, unless they specifically ask for help. Even when
help is asked for, it is still highly doubtful, from a moral and ethical
point of view, whether one ought to provide such help if he knows beforehand
that in some significant ways the lives of the people concerned are going to
be affected above and beyond the solution of the immediate problem.

Some of the old slogans by which we lived in previous decades will
not now provide us the kind of guidance they used to offer. Previously,
many of us could be touched into unqualified sympathy by the evocation of
such terms as "the labor movement," "disarmament" and "civil liberties." Each
of these terms now has come to include such diverse causes and consequences,

and to be used as rallying cries by such diverse forces and groups,
that one cannot afford any longer to extend automatic and unqualified
sympathy when they are used as the summons to conscience.

Some of the same considerations apply to the term "community
development". Only the most indiscriminating type of morality would permit
one to respond favorably and without question to the wide range of diverse
plans and products which have emerged under this banner, or which seek
support in these terms. It is my personal judgment that each and every
proposal for such "community development" has to be considered on its own
merits, without benefit of any halo effect from the terms in which it is
phrased. Necessarily this means that one must be extremely cautious in
his consideration of probable outcomes, before one can be reasonable in
his decision regarding the merit of the proposal.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. I shall deliberately refrain, in the body of this paper, from
(from page citing any particular field project or any particular student
1)
of the problem of community development. Moreover, except in

the most general way, I shall also refrain from applauding

or deploring any particular report or any particular experience.

Nor will it make much sense to append any exten-

sive bibliography. I am restrained from doing so by the fact

that though in preparation for this paper I have read a wide

range of book-length reports, including symposia, theoreti-

cal works and case studies, not to mention a small mountain

of periodical literature and shorter works, the works I

have covered are only a fragment of the total body of liter-

ature which is either directly classified as relevant to

community development, or becomes relevant with only one

cross classification. I had barely finished writing this

paper when my attention was drawn to an unpublished 55-page,

single spaced bibliography of materials relevant to only

selected aspects of economic development. Fortunately, it

bore the ominous injunction "Private--Not for Circulation."

Try as one might to reflect equally the range of

experiences encountered in such literature, it is probably

unavoidable that his perceptions will tend to be shaped by

those experiences with which he is most deeply familiar and/

or most sympathetic. Probably therefore I have been most

affected in my own thinking by the cases of Guatemala,

Puerto Rico, the American South, Mexico, Israel and a

number of American Indian groups.

If the recency and the intriguing character of a
case make it especially important, I suspect I have been
especially influenced, then, by the reports of the experiments
in Vicos, especially as these have come from the pen or the
personal conversation of Allan Holmberg. Probably the same
ought to be said for the work of Sol Tax and his students
with the Fox Indians. Certainly the single most impressive
body of work in my own training and learning has been that
of Robert Redfield, not alone for his various and superb
writings about the Yucatecans, but for his general sense for
the peasant way, the character of little communities and the
transformation of the primitive into the civilized world.

I also confess gladly to a very deep and personal
admiration for Puerto Rico and its people and governors.
The more-than-a-year's worth of field exposure I had there
recently, and my present involvement in analyzing the pro-
cesses of social change going on in that Island must surely
shape my thinking in a decisive way. Finally, I have been
working closely for the past year with data from a study of
readiness for desegregation in North Carolina, and much of
my sense for the conditions of emergence of a community out
of deep seated traditions comes out of these data.

2.
(From Page
2)
These tensions are natural, legitimate and relevant to the
total enterprise called community development, as the limits
of that enterprise have come to be defined by those who have
explicitly devoted themselves to it.

But two other sets of tensions have also plagued

community development. Both of these are also expectable,
but one of them is probably more easily avoided than the
other.

The more easily avoided tension is that which
develops between the field workers, with their first-hand
experiences, and the rear guard of critics, and johnny-come-
lately-theorists, adapters, and popularizers who are un-
willing or unable to view the enterprise as an emergent
discipline, with numerous and sometimes competing sets of
purposes tumbling upon each other; or, who, variously,
oversimplify, overstate and overclaim in their attempt to
be interesting rather than accurate, as they orient their
reports to the possible reception of a variety of journals.

The less easily avoided tensions are those which
develop out of the highly political context in which most
community development unavoidably goes on. Needless to say,
political exigency and sociological appropriateness hardly
ever make compatible bed fellows. When these two sets of
criteria are simultaneously imposed upon a plan for com-
munity development, the latter--if we may continue the bed-
room metaphor--almost always end up on the floor.

3. The disagreement between these two emphases is best seen when
(From Page   the extremes of each point of view are posed against one an-
7)   other. Being extreme, they are, to that extent, unrepresenta-
tive.

The most parochial of the economic developers, that
is, those who claim highest priority for some form of material

improvement, curiously advocate a vulgar brand of economic determinism in insisting that such improvement in the material conditions of life of a community   not only is what the members of the community themselves want, but is also a _sine qua non_, a prerequisite, and well-spring for all other possible developmental achievements. Naive reliance is placed upon the impersonal operations of the so-called laws of the market place. Equally naive evolutionary schemes are offered both to account for the different developmental levels on which various communities are found and to justify the assumption of certain unavoidable next steps.

The naivete of this extreme point of view is matched on the other side by a type of chronic euphoria about man's basic sensibility, wisdom and creativity, and his ever-readiness suddenly to blossom forth into a new type of Renaissance universalist, under the gentle solicitation and benign encouragement of those who believe in him. This is the school of thought which actually says, from time to time, that it is not what is done which matters, but rather the way in which one does it. The emphasis is upon the magical properties of "togetherness." This is curiously accompanied by a kind of Rousseauian premise regarding the happiness of the savage when uncontaminated by the material technology and the social organization of the civilized world. A decided preference is expressed for any product, no matter how inept, technologically inefficient and crudely designed so long as it is home made. There is a corollary belief in the natural blessedness of cooperation as against competion;

and a curious pressing for a type of social organization of cooperative, mutually-aiding and mutually-loving individuals which has never been seen in action anywhere in the world.

These descriptions of the two competing schools of thought are clearly parodies of what most students in the field would affirm. But the hyperbolic terms in which these descriptions have just been couched reflect the kinds of views one hears expressed privately and off the record when representatives of both schools have been pushed to the extremes and forced to take adamant stands instead of conducting the exchange of their differences in a mutually profitable way.

Derisively the latter school has been called sentimentalist--almost always with a sneer, or, variously, members of the order of bleeding hearts. But these are pale terms compared to the excoriations which I have heard hurled upon the so-called hard, stone or block heads of the economistic school.

We will all naturally arise and quickly insist that we are concerned with both aspects of the life of a community; that we recognize that they are in some regards interdependent and inter-determining; and that in the long run both aspects of community life must be attended to. Yet when we come to specify proper procedures, as we see them, the fact of real disagreement is apparent. In brief, the mutual assurances of general common concern rapidly vanish when operating procedures are called for.

First off it seems important to recognize that even
the hardest of the so-called hard-headed school are as guilty
of sentimentality--if that is the proper way to say it--as
the most chicken hearted of the sentimentalists. One has
only to ask why it is felt proper to define development in
terms of increases in per capita income or per capita pro-
ductivity or some other presumably value-neutral and non-
sentimental criterion of material improvement. If one pushes
the line of questioning hard enough, certain implicit value
premises begin to emerge, and we see that at bottom there is
a concern for the welfare of the people in question which is
guiding the hard-headed one in his selection of that opera-
ting procedure which he feels will most quickly, and with the
least cost (by his system of cost accounting) to all concerned
conduce to this welfare. Even those programs which seem to
call for a good deal of short-term suffering and painful
cultural change in the proximate future are at least impli-
citly justified by the apparent promise of long-term gains
and pleasures which will presumably compensate for the short-
term losses. Even when the security of the country from whom
the developers are recruited and whose resources are to be
used is taken as a major criterion without any apparent direct
concern for the welfare of the community to be developed, it
often turns out that the program is conceived as one which
ultimately will bring to the community a way of life, a
material standard of living and a spiritual orientation which
will make them feel more kindly and friendly to the developing
nation.

Not even the most hard headed rationalist, however, has yet dared make the developing nation's interests the only ultimate measure of the worthiness of the program. At the most, some have been bold enough to assert that two sets of interests must be given equal ultimate importance, those of the developing country and those of the community to be developed. The climate of opinion, within which the area of community development has grown, either makes it impolitic or impossible to prefer oneself over all others. Or, the students and field workers cannot think or conceive of their work in these terms. Perhaps, something of both these elements is involved. In any case, at least explicitly in the literature, a concern for the welfare of the communities to be developed is always one of several ultimate guides, and more frequently than not it is the single ultimate measure.

On the other side of the equation, even the most wishy-washy of the so-called sentimentalists can be seen paying at least passing and casual acknowledgment to the fact that some hard headed economic considerations must be taken into account in any adequate program of community development. Even that school of thought which says openly that it is not what is done which matters, but only the way in which it is done, is not totally indifferent to what it is that is to be done in the desired way. And even when the apparent ultimate 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 newly-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.

The only other possibility is that one should in-
sist that it is the happiness of the people--at no matter
what level of material existence--which is of paramount im-
portance. But this clearly gets us nowhere. Moreover, it
raises questions--and serious ones at that--as to why in the
world anyone is bothering the communities, to begin with.
The embarrassing fact in so many of the community development
situations reported in the literature is that the people in
question seemed reasonably satisfied with their existences
and their ways of life--at least as satisfied as most of us
in the overdeveloped world happen to be--before some profes-
sional troublemakers came around and began to create discon-
tent among them.

4. Still, it is clearly important to see what we can distill out
(From Page of this variety by way of useful generalization. Only then
10) can we begin to see whether and in what senses it is reason-
able to subsume so much and so many different experiences
under a common term. The generalizations we may be able to
sort out of the particulars may prove to be nothing more than
insignificant platitudes and certain moral obiter dicta.
But this can't be decided beforehand.

Nor can it be said beforehand that it is useless
to make this kind of effort because, after all, each field

experience is unique. In some regards, all things are unique. The important question is whether they are unique in the relevant regards and on the level of abstraction on which we are working. By analogy, one might say that since all personalities, cultures and societies are in some regards unique, no sciences of psychology, anthropology, or sociology are possible. But the same kinds of judgments would then have to be made of the sciences of biology, botany, physics and chemistry on the grounds that all animals, plants, rocks, chemical compounds and structural arrangements in nature are in some regards unique.

Actually, what one senses when he encounters this kind of objection to generalization, at least in the literature of community development, is the fear that different field situations will be treated as if they were only repetitions of previous situations, without enough concern for the special circumstances of the particular case. This would of course be an error as fatal to both welfare and science as the obverse error of refusing to see anything common between two cases.

Perhaps there is also the sense--and a correct one, at bottom--that the final empirical application of general knowledge to a particular situation almost always involves some emergent and creative element, arising out of the relationship between a sensitive field worker and the concrete case in front of him.

But it is one thing to insist, quite properly, that room and resources must always be provided for the operation

of this imaginative and creative element in the individual case--the art of the matter, as it were. It is quite another thing to insist that it is all art and that no science is relevant. Between the clinical psychologist and his patient, there is always, or always should be, some play of unique, creative, imaginative elements. But the best clinical psychologist starts off from a baseline of the widest familiarity with the science of psychology and comes into each particular relationship armed with this familiarity. So, too, the sensitive practitioner of any human enterprise bases himself on prior experience and takes off from there, or else loses out and perhaps has to rediscover painfully what has been already well established.

In this sense, the practice of community development work in the actual field situation quite clearly needs, when it is being done in the best way, plenty of room for the imagination and sensitivity of the field workers. But this imagination and this sensitivity are likely to be most productive when they flow from a fund of systematic knowledge about previous work in the field. In any event, it is patently absurd to insist that a field worker should come into each situation with no preconceptions and assumptions. Either he comes in with them explicitly and therefore at least partially subject to control, or they operate implicitly and unbeknownst to him and hence they tend to control him.

5. An excellent treatment of both competing theories and comparative data, which bears particularly on the problem of labor

systems, as they are relevant to social change, is Wilbert Moore's Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development (Cornell University Press, 1951). In general, Moore has probably done more than any other American sociologist to promote an awareness of the social context within which economic development takes place and to systematize the data and theory in this field. A precis of his book, cited above, would have made an excellent statement of the social conditions for effective community development. It was for this reason in addition to those cited that I chose to focus my attention differently.

A recent issue of Human Organization is an example of the kind of general wisdom which social scientists can bring usefully to bear upon particular problems. See W. F. Whyte and A. R. Holmberg, "Human Problems of U. S. Enterprise in Latin America," Human Organization, Vol. 15, No. 3, Fall, 1956 (special issue).

6. I have been much impressed by material in the following recent
(From Page 14) symposia which convey, sometimes very forcefully, the kinds of problems facing community developers.

Benjamin D. Paul (editor), Health, Culture and Community, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1955.

Edward A. Spicer (editor), Human Problems in Technological Change, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1952.

Margaret Mead (editor), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, UNESCO, Paris, 1953.

Bert F. Hoselitz (editor), The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1952.

S. Kuznets, W. E. Moore and J. Spengler (editors), _Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan_, Duke University Press, Durham, 1955.

National Bureau of Economic Research, _Capital Formation and Economic Growth_, Princeton University Press, 1955.

Phillips Ruopp (editor), _Approaches to Community Development_, W. van Hoeve, the Hague, 1953.

7. One of the most unpleasant types of experiences reported by

(From Page 15)

community developers is that in which a problem which seemed to both the developers and the people of the community to be limited and without challenging ramifications into the social structure, the traditional culture and the basic security systems somehow quickly sets up waves of consequences which become markedly destructive of the traditional way of life. And this has been true even when the problem in question has been a felt need of a pressing intensity, one which the community seemed to recognize as a problem and for whose solution it was clamoring.

Lauriston Sharp reports one such case with regard to the introduction of steel axes into the stone-axe culture of the Yir Yoront group of aboriginal Australia. Wesley Bliss reports such a case in the introduction of the wagon to the Papago Indians of southern Arizona; Sasaki and Adair cite some such events with regard to new agricultural practices among the Navaho Indians; Margaret Lantis describes similar effects, during a transitional stage, of the introduction of Reindeer Herding to the Natives of Alaska. (Digests of these cases are presented in the Spicer volume cited above.)

And one could cite case after case where the most pressing
felt needs were responded to, often with much community self
help, in such a way that large scale incursions were made into
the traditional culture and the attendant security systems,
often to the consternation and disturbance of everyone con-
cerned. Often enough, too, the new problems created by so-
lutions of old problems were worse, relative to available
resources, than the old ones themselves, as judged not only
by the locals but by the developers themselves. The worst
of such instances occurs when a development program succeeds
beautifully from the point of view of technical standards,
genuinely resolving certain pressing needs as felt by the
locals, and making po sible a series of continuing solutions
to new problems, but is rejected and despised by the locals
because of the disruption of certain traditional securities
which were locked up, part and parcel, with the traditional
problems. No other case of this kind has been as well re-
ported as the instance of the program of soil conservation
and stock reduction on the Navajo Indian Reservation. The
evidence seems strikingly to indicate that the Navajo them-
selves would probably never have voluntarily and cooperatively
participated in any of the several kinds of plans which had
some chance of being effective in solving their problems.
Or, at least, by the time the kind of ground work had been
done which might have prepared the Navajo to see the virtue
of various stock reduction plans, the problem would have
multiplied alarmingly in its dimensions.

No can one contend that there was not great effort

to take into account at all points the human equation, the
existing social organization and culture pattern, the per-
sonalities of the Navajos, and all other such humanly rele-
vant factors. Even John Collier concedes that a great deal
was done, though he insists it was not enough. But he also
admits the strong possibility that further efforts along
these lines might have been made only in vain.

Even if we grant that the Navajo are extraordinarily
resistant to proposals designed not so much to make them
first-rate problem solvers, but simply to keep them from
starving to death, we have much to learn from their type
of reaction.

8. For an incisive analysis of the ways in which non-economic
(From Page 18) considerations infiltrate apparently pure economic consider-
ations, and for an analysis of the limited value of any
single economic criterion, see Jacob Viner, "America's Aims
and the Progress of Underdeveloped Countries," in The Pro-
gress of Underdeveloped Areas, ibid.

9. The experiences which Useem reports among the Palau in
(From Page 20) terms of their development of auxiliary social forms to
satisfy the demands of the outside forces, while, simul-
taneously keeping intact an indigenous social structure,
are highly exemplary in this context. In some regards, of
course, the foreign-facing chiefs served useful purposes
to both the outsiders and insiders. But the conflict gener-
ated by the presence of two sets of "heads" must also be
weighed in the balance when one is estimating how successful

was the administrative device which was forced upon the natives by the demands of the territorial administrators.

Perhaps the most important lesson we can learn from experiences such as these is that as great caution must be exercised in imposing Western criteria of effective social organization as an imposition of Western criteria of economic efficiency.

10.

(From Page 21)

For a consideration of these and related problems regarding community life as a generic form of human existence see Baker Brownell, The Human Community, Harper & Bros, New York, 1950.

11.

(From Page 23)

In his Utopia, Ltd. (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1953) Harold Orlans has given us an excellent case study which has both historical depth and sociological insight, of the interplay of forces and the flow of problems when community development projects are ventured without adequate preparation. Even more interesting are the reactions, which Orlans chronicles so well, of the "threatened" segments of the community, as they acted upon their reasonable estimates of the costs of the project.

12.

(From Page 24)

For brief views of varying aspects of these matters in Puerto Rico, see the January 1953 (Vol. 285) issue of The Annals, entitled "Puerto Rico: A Study in Democratic Development." See especially Harvey Perloff's "Transforming the Economy," (pp. 48-54). Perloff's full-length work, Puerto Rico's Economic Future (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1950) can in some senses be regarded as the guidebook to economic development in Puerto Rico.

The extent to which self-help can be invigorated if the initial help is adequate is seen in the very title by which Puerto Rican development is publicly known, namely "Operation Bootstrap." For a popularized version of this process see Stuart Chase, "Operation Bootstrap in Puerto Rico," National Planning Association, Washington, 1951.

That there can be important disagreements on the most effective way in which to engender economic development goes without saying. For some of the details of this disagreement vis-a-vis Puerto Rico, contrast with the Perloff volume cited above the work by Nathan Koenig, A Comprehensive Agricultural Program for Puerto Rico, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1953.

13. But this is not a unique role. College presidents or deans
(From Page 24) typically must mediate in much the same way between the competing demands of their faculty, on the one hand, and their trustees and state legislatures and alumni, on the other. And if faculty are often repulsed by the kind of annual presidential report which stresses quantities of material productivity, the alumni and legislatures and trustees are probably just as equally repulsed by the otherworldliness of the faculty criteria of success. This is not to suggest that the ordinary university faculty is, in all relevant regards, comparable to an underdeveloped non-literate community.

14. There are, of course, dangers as well as advantages in the
(From Page 26) interaction of national and local levels. A strong national government, especially if headed by a charismatic leader, may

be able temporarily to work wonders in local areas, only to
have those wonders become midden-heaps when the strong leader-
figure retires from the scene. The development of some genuine
local autonomy vis-a-vis the central government, as well as
vis-a-vis the external developers, is an important condition
of community development. Many of the more recent and im-
pressive cases of national emergence have seemed to involve
a leading role for a central charismatic figure, who has
personally energized and excited local populaces beyond any
reasonable expectations. But more often than not, this has
led to a failure to develop second-line leaders and person-
nel to whom the populaces feel they can relate themselves.
And with the demise of the leader the rate of development in
such communities has tended to slacken as spectacularly as
it rose in the first instance.

15. There may be other instances which are outstanding in these

(From Page   regards, but I personally do not know of any which can match
27)
Puerto Rican development over the last fifteen years for the
scope and profundity of its development.

16. The concept of emergence, especially with regard to the im-

(From Page   pact of formal education, is employed in the following short
28)
studies of Puerto Rican development.

Melvin Tumin and Arnold Feldman,
      "Status, Perspective and Achievement: Education and
       Class Structure in Puerto Rico," American Sociological
       Review, Vol. 21, August 1956, No. 4.

----"Theory and Measurement of Occupational Mobility,"
      American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, No. 3, June 1957.

----"Meanings and Measures of Occupational Mobility: Puerto
Rico, a Case Study," (in press).

----"The Emergence of Puerto Rico," Ciencias Sociales,
(forthcoming).

The concept is also utilized to help account for

the different attitudes toward desegregation of various seg-

ments of a southern community.   See, for instance,

Melvin Tumin, "Exposure to the Mass Media and Readiness for
Desegregation," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI, 2,
Summer 1957.

17.   This ability to identify strongly with the central government

(From Page   and to have faith in the wisdom of its decisions does not neces-
29)
sarily require the total structure of Western type democracy.

Such identification appears to be at least temporarily

possible under conditions even of autocratic rule, so long as

the autocrat commends himself as a person fundamentally in-

terested in the people's welfare.   No particular instances

of these need be cited in order to bring forcefully to mind

the varying conditions under which considerable identifica-

tion between a populace and its rulers can be achieved.   Sure-

ly many of the most outstanding cases have been as far from

democracy as one could ever wish them not to be.

Thus, again, on the national level, there is placed

before us the problem of the extent to which Western style

forms of democratic social organization are required for

effective community development.

18.   While not directly relevant to community development in the
(From Page   senses in which that term has been used here, there is a
32)   superb study of the different roles played by traditional as
against marginal leaders in a situation of social crisis and
change, written by David Mandelbaum, entitled "Social Trends
and Personal Pressures," in L. Spier (editor), Language,
Culture and Personality, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941. See also
a much more limited treatment of some of the same problems
in Melvin Tumin, "The Hero and the Scapegoat in a Peasant
Community," Journal of Personality, 19, 2, 1950.

19.   A most interesting discussion of different concepts of
(From Page   efficiency, as these include long- and short-range consequences,
33)   and self-set goals vs goals set by others is to be found in
C. S. Belshaw, Changing Melanesia, Oxford University Press,
1954, especially Chapter 10.

For a classic statement of the "villager" point of
view, which also takes cognizance of the nation, see M. K.
Ghandi, Rebuilding Our Villages, Navajivan Publishing House,
Ahmedabad, 1952 (edited by B. Kumarappa).

For an essay in which one can perceive the diffi-
culties resulting from trying to achieve several different
goals simultaneously, see, I. C. Jackson, Advance in Africa,
Oxford University Press, London, 1956. In this essay, empire
and welfare and economic growth and group process are all
somehow preferred to each other. It is Jackson who approves
of seeing community development as a process in which "It
ain't what you do, it's the way that you do it." (See p. 13).

20.   Jacob Viner, *op. cit.*
(From Page
35)
     21.   There are, of course, numerous excellent studies of the econ-
(From Page   omic systems in non-literate societies and some well-known
42)
comparative analyses. One of the most striking shorter state-

ments which gives a vivid impression of the interconnections

of economic and non-economic activity is the essay by Sol

Tax, "Economy and Technology," in Sol Tax (editor), *Heritage*

of Conquest, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1952.

22.   The classic modern study of such culture change is Robert

Redfield's *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, University of Chicago

Press, Chicago, 1941.