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# ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT  
AND LIFE-STYLES IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

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*"Not only additional constraints but also new development possibilities are at the heart of environmental considerations"*

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ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT:  
REGIONAL SEMINAR ON ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT  
AND LIFE-STYLES IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

TOPIC PAPER

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PROGRAMMES OF ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT AT  
THE COMMUNITY LEVEL: BANGLADESH, INDONESIA  
AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

BY

M. ALAMGIR

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## ABSTRACT

Community development programmes have a long history in many countries of the region. Gradually approaches to community development are crystallizing and are coming to be integrated with over-all national and spatial development planning. However, predominantly these programmes have been of an ad hoc nature in their conception, design, implementation and maintenance. Given the initial conditions as regards poverty, unemployment, inequalities in access to income opportunities and to essential amenities, as well as degradation and neglect of natural resources, there is significant scope in the region for systematically, and harmoniously, realizing the goals of social and economic development and environmental protection and improvement, through carefully planned projects and programmes at the community level. Recent experience of some community development programmes in some countries in the region serves as a valuable pointer in this regard.

This paper analyses, primarily from social, economic, environmental and institutional standpoints, the design and implementation of selected community development programmes from Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea. The exposition is supported by pertinent data and factual information and deals with several problems commonly encountered in successful implementation of community development programmes, such as popular apathy and lack of involvement, wrong design, inappropriate choice of sites, conflict among group interests, inequity in the distribution of benefits of development, inequity in the sharing of project costs, lack of co-ordination among various technical and administrative agencies, difficulties in maintenance of created public assets, lack of integration with over-all national planning, inadequacy of economic benefits (productivity increase) or of social benefits (employment generation) and bureaucratic and other limitations and malpractices.

While conceding that optimal approaches to community development programmes have to be situation-specific, the paper points to the great importance of sincere commitment of national leadership to environmental improvement and improving the quality of life of the majority of people at the community level, and to the consequent importance of integration of such programmes in over-all national development planning. The paper underlines the importance of progressive decentralization, under over-all national supervision and direction, of the design and implementation of community development projects, for their healthy implementation and sustenance. It points to the importance of systematic assessment of environmental constraints and opportunities inherent in particular situations and that of prior identification of groups potentially benefiting from individual projects. The paper stresses the importance of training leadership cadres at local level, under whose direction community development movements could spread and grow in the region.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to examine "approaches to promoting satisfaction of basic human needs in rural areas in the ESCAP region by way of programmes of environmental improvement at the community level".<sup>1/</sup> The paper has been structured as follows. In the remainder of this section, we shall define some concepts specifically for purposes of this paper. In defining the concepts, focus on those aspects which we feel are most relevant for the subject matter of this paper.<sup>2/</sup> Issues in environmental development at the community level are identified in section II. Our emphasis, however, remains on community public works programmes. Section III takes up case studies of Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea. In each case, only relatively important programmes on which some prior information is available are considered. The ongoing programmes will be examined within a general framework, so that in addition to a comparative assessment of different case studies, the dynamic interactions between different components of the same programme can be brought out clearly. Besides, a critical evaluation of each programme should help us identify projects that can be successfully taken up elsewhere in the ESCAP region. In section IV, we shall present the design of a programme for environmental improvement at the community level which planners in the ESCAP region may consider for adoption in the 1980s. This design will be based on our analysis in section III of the experiences of community public works programme in different countries.

### A. BASIC CONCEPTS DEFINED

Community is defined here as the lowest level of self-contained unit of collection of individuals, within which projects under a given works programme are prepared and implemented and which maintains direct link with the next vertically placed regional/national authority. A "community" as defined here, is somewhat different from its socio-anthropological interpretation since its domain may vary from programme to programme.<sup>3/</sup> Admittedly, for studying ecosystems  
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<sup>1/</sup> UNEP/ESCAP project document, Project No. FP/0404-78-04 (1992) (Bangkok, 30 March 1978) (mimeo.).

<sup>2/</sup> In a personal communication, Mr. Uttam Dabholkar of UNEP, Nairobi, has rightly cautioned me about the danger that an effort to define specifically some commonly used terms may, in some cases, cause confusion.

<sup>3/</sup> "An ecosystem is any relatively self-contained system of organisms and their environment" as defined in G. Conway and Jeff Romm, Ecology and Resource Development in Southeast Asia, a report to the Ford Foundation, August 1973, p. 1.

this concept of community may cause some confusion but it is obviously more functional in the sense that it enables one to follow closely the organizational hierarchy of public works programme.

Community development is defined as processes that combine local/regional efforts with those of governmental authorities in order to attain certain commonly agreed objectives.<sup>4/</sup>

Community public works programme is defined as that component of community development programme under which specific public sector activities are initiated with the following objectives: protection and enhancement of environment, alleviation of rural poverty, satisfaction of basic human needs and attainment of social, political and cultural enlightenment.<sup>5/</sup>

Environment, natural and man-made, refers to the physical and institutional entities (factors) that contribute to the well-being of the individual and the society. These entities include air, water, minerals, plants, animals and physical and social infrastructure created by man.<sup>6/</sup>

Development is a process by which members of a society move as a collective identity from one stage of well-being to a higher stage reflected in increased material consumption and enhanced mental and spiritual enlightenment.

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4/ In India, "it (community development programme) was conceived as a people's programme, mobilizing their energies, resources and labour for the general upliftment of all. The role of the state was to be catalytic, providing technical support, some material aid and, when absolutely necessary, financial assistance"; quoted from, W. Haque, Niranjana Mehta, Anisur Rahman and Ponna Wignaraja, "Towards a theory of rural development", Development Dialogue, 2, 1977, p. 20.

5/ In a cross-country study of public works programme, S.J. Burki, et al. adopted the following definition. "For the purpose of this study, public works programmes are defined as public sector activities which combine two main objectives: creating new sources of employment and income for low income groups; and constructing assets which will enhance productivity and stimulate economic growth. Such programmes are typically, though not always, carried out through small scale projects in scattered location. This definition excludes the public sector construction works not undertaken as part of a special employment creating programme, even though these may use labour-intensive methods, and also excludes construction programmes of the 'self-help' type which do not pay employees" in Public Works Programmes in Developing Countries: A Comparative Analysis, World Bank Staff Working paper No. 224, February 1976, p. 1. In our definition we include the "self-help" type of projects.

6/ We have adopted here a mixed structuralists' and ecologists' approach in the sense that we emphasize both physical and social aspects of development. For a discussion on different approaches to environment, see Biplab Das Gupta, "the environment debate: some issues and trends", Economic and Political Weekly, vol. xiii, nos. 6 & 7, Annual Number 1978. A typical example of ecologists' approach to the definition of environment can be found in Conway and Romm, op. cit. p. 1; "the environment of any organism is the collection of other organisms and chemical and physical elements with which the organism interacts." In defining environment, we have essentially followed the approach laid down in, UNEP/GC/102, "Environment and development including irrational and wasteful use of natural resources and ecodevelopment", Nairobi, 1977.

In view of the extreme poverty prevailing in many countries of Asia and the Pacific, the need for emphasizing material consumption is obvious but in addition there is the need to promote development of personality of man. In the words of Haque, et al., "our view of development is a process by which one's over-all personality is enhanced. This is so for society as well as for an individual. For society the identity is collective.... Development of collective personality requires physical (material, economic) development, but it is above all the development and application of consciousness and faculties."<sup>7/</sup> The Cocoyoc declaration had earlier redefined the purpose of development in the following way: "this should not be to develop things but to develop man.... Development should not be limited to the satisfaction of basic needs. There are other needs, other goals, and other values. Development includes freedom of expression and impression, the right to give and to receive ideas and stimulus. There is a deep social need to participate in shaping the basis of one's own existence, and to make some contribution to the fashioning of the world's future."<sup>8/</sup> This new concept of development had been further articulated in the Dag Hammarskjöld Report, What Now: Another Development, "development of every man and woman - of the whole man and woman - and not just the growth of things, which are merely means. Development geared to the satisfaction of needs beginning with the basic needs of the poor who constitute the world's majority; at the same time, development to ensure the humanization of man by the satisfaction of his needs of expression, creativity, conviviality, and for deciding his own destiny. Development is a whole; it is an integral, value-loaded, cultural process; it encompasses the natural environment, social relations, education, production, consumption and well-being."<sup>9/</sup>

Poverty is a state of mind and body of a unit (individual, household or community), in which it is unable to procure sufficient means of minimum nutritional requirement and also fails to realize its full creative potential which means that it cannot reach its maximum achievement frontier.

Inequality, on the other hand, refers to imbalance in opportunities for development afforded to different social groups as a result of imbalance in the command over productive resources.

/Quality

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<sup>7/</sup> W. Haque, et al., op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>8/</sup> United Nations General Assembly, A/C.2/292, November 1974.

<sup>9/</sup> Report prepared on the occasion of the seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly, 1975.



Quality of life is defined in terms of the degree to which the basic values regarding human dignity and norms of liberty are upheld through protection and enhancement of environment and provision of educational opportunities.

Basic human needs are defined in terms of minimum requirements of food, clothing, health and shelter.<sup>10/</sup>

Resources are means to provide for basic human needs and to protect and enhance environment. We shall be concerned here with land, water, forestry, livestock, poultry, physical equipment and infrastructure and manpower.

Planning is the process of preparing a set of decisions for future action pertaining to community development along a prescribed course.

Environmentally sound development is a process in which a set of activities (projects) are chosen in such a manner as to make maximum contribution to the satisfaction of human needs, consistent with resource and environmental constraints and opportunities. The constraints refer, for example, to the provision of adequate safeguards against irreversible damage to environment and also against exhaustion of natural resources both of which, to a large extent, reflect a concern for the well-being of future generations.<sup>11/</sup>

Conflict is a state of the society in which interests of different groups fail to converge at the same point, and we have a divided community. This is a natural outcome when a project produces positive environmental impact on one group of people and negative impact on another in the same area.

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<sup>10/</sup> A somewhat broader definition was provided earlier by International Labour Organization in Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-World Problem (Geneva, 1976). "First they include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing are obviously included, as would be certain household equipment and furniture. Second, they include essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, and health and educational facilities." For some related issues, see World Bank, "Basic needs: an issue paper", Policy Planning and Programme Review Department, 1977.

<sup>11/</sup> The concept of environmentally sound development should be read in conjunction with concepts of "another development" and "ecodevelopment" defined earlier by Dag Hammarskjöld Report and UNEP respectively. "Another development" is need-oriented (geared to meet human needs), endogenous (stemming from the heart of the society), self-reliant (each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources), ecologically sound (utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere) and it is based on structural transformations (in social relations, in power structure, in economic activities and their spatial distribution). See Marc Nerfin (ed.), Another Development: Approaches and Strategies (Uppsala, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1977), p. 10. Ecodevelopment is based on the concept that "... development at the regional and local levels should be consistent with the potentials of the area involved, with attention given to the adequate and rational use of the natural resources, and to application of technological styles (innovation and assimilation) and organizational forms that respect the natural ecosystem and the local socio-cultural patterns", as quoted in UNEP/GC/80, 15 January 1976.

## B. PERSPECTIVE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The focus of our study, as indicated earlier, is community development programmes in the context of an environmentally sound development strategy. In order to appreciate the link between the two, we will have to develop an understanding of the interactions over time among population, resources, environment and development. For some countries of the ESCAP region, the relationships are rather obvious, although their long-run implications are not always very clear.

First, in many countries of the ESCAP region, population growth combined with less than proportionate increase of arable land has caused a decline in land/man ratio between 1960 and 1974 (table 1). For some land-scarce countries, the situation seems to have reached a crisis point. Even countries like Thailand, where agricultural growth during the past decades was based on extensive cultivation, has reached the land frontier.<sup>12/</sup>

Secondly, rapid urbanization has led to a loss of farmlands for food. Eckholm refers to an estimate of the Government of India which, "projected an increase in the amount of land devoted to non-agricultural uses from 16.2 million hectares in 1970 to 26 million hectares at the end of the century. A sizable share of the land so converted will likely consist of good farmland."<sup>13/</sup> What has been a matter of concern is that most of the countries in the ESCAP region have experienced a very high rate of urbanization in recent years, by all accounts they appear to be overurbanized in the sense that the urban growth is not commensurate with the growth of production and income in urban areas.<sup>14/</sup>

Thirdly, a high rate of population growth combined with the poverty of the majority of the population, particularly in the rural areas, has given rise to a number of interrelated environmental problems. For example, overgrazing and/or shifting and extensive cultivation has led to deforestation, soil erosion, flooding and siltation in Nepal (hill region), Bangladesh (Chittagong hill tracts), Thailand (northeast), Indonesia (Java), Philippines (Mindanao) and the Republic of Korea (hill area). The expansion of human settlements is pushing the

/Table 1.

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<sup>12/</sup> M. Alamgir, "Structural transformation of other primary producing countries" (World Bank, December 1978) (mimeo.).

<sup>13/</sup> Erik Eckholm, "Environmental quality and basic human needs: towards a new synthesis", testimony presented to the Select Committee on Population, United States House of Representatives, 19 April 1978.

<sup>14/</sup> M. Alamgir, op. cit.

Table 1. Arable land per capita in selected countries of the ESCAP region

Country	Arable land <u>per capita</u> (ha)	
	1960	1974
Afghanistan	0.75	0.60
Bangladesh	0.15	0.12
Burma	0.43	0.34
Indonesia	0.18 <sup>a/</sup>	0.14
Malaysia	0.32	0.26
Nepal	0.19	0.16
Pakistan	0.36	0.29
Republic of Korea	0.09 <sup>a/</sup>	0.07
Sri Lanka	0.07	0.07
Thailand	0.39	0.31

Sources: Calculated from data given in World Bank, World Development Report 1978 (Washington, 1978) and Food and Agriculture Organization, Production Yearbook 1975 (Rome 1976).

Note: a/ 1961-1965.

/forest

forest/land ratio below a critical level in Bangladesh.<sup>15/</sup> Private commercial interests are literally carrying out the mining of forests with the help of advanced technology without any regard for maintaining the required rotation cycle;<sup>16/</sup> similarly, desertification is steadily spreading to croplands and pastures, for example, in Mindanao (Philippines) and Kalimantan (Indonesia). "Northwestern India, the world's most densely populated desert area, is likewise experiencing severe land degradation. Pastures have been reduced to only 10 to 15 per cent of their original productivity. Declines in crop yields have been registered over the last two decades, and the area blanketed by sand dunes is increasing."<sup>17/</sup>

Fourthly, new HYV technology, has been a source of soil fertility depletion because of increased intensity of land use. Use of pesticides has caused a decline in the productivity of farm (fish) ponds in Indonesia and Malaysia.<sup>18/</sup> Water control structure in the upstream region has caused environmental problems downstream (e.g., Bangladesh and India are currently trying to sort out the problems arising from the construction and operation of the Farakka barrage in India).

Fifthly, "there is an intricate and intimate relationship between the social structure and the physical environment."<sup>19/</sup> We repeat a quote from Bharadwaj that Rogers used to make this point.<sup>20/</sup>

"The introduction of canal irrigation and the subsequent adoption of flood irrigation upset the traditionally worked out ecological balance of the area through inducing intensive overcropping, also bringing up serious problems of waterlogging and salinity in certain areas. Intensive cultivation implied that the conventional practices of fallow were given up; the rapid deforestation with extensive cultivation now turned commercially lucrative, affected likewise the hydrological balance. Further perennial irrigation made possible extended cultivation of commercial and high revenue yielding crops like sugarcane, cotton and wheat in place of the crops which catered to the consumption needs of the poorer peasants. Their dependence on markets and hence their economic vulnerability increased."

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15/ M. Alamgir, ibid.; Conway and Romm, op. cit.; and S.H. Ominde, "Environmental problems of the developing countries", paper presented to the Symposium on Population, Resources and Environment, Stockholm, 26 September - 5 October 1973.

16/ Conway and Romm, ibid.

17/ E. Eckholm, op. cit.

18/ B.B. Vohra, "A Charter for land", Economic and Political Weekly, vol. viii, no. 13, Review of Agriculture, 31 March 1973; and Conway and Romm, op. cit.

19/ Peter Rogers, "Environmental consequences of development projects", Division of Applied Sciences, Harvard University, 1977 (mimeo.).

20/ Krishna Bharadwaj, "Understanding rural social change", Economic and Political Weekly, 21 February 1976, pp. 321-324.

In the poorer countries of the ESCAP region, the interaction between population and environment over time has been felt most markedly with respect to the foodgrain self-sufficiency status of these countries. The last two decades have witnessed food self-sufficient countries turning into food-deficit countries (e.g., Bangladesh and Pakistan), widening of the food deficit of some countries (e.g., Indonesia and Nepal), slowing down of the progress towards attainment of food self-sufficiency in countries desiring to achieve this (e.g., Malaysia and Sri Lanka) and reducing the export surplus of foodgrain exporting countries (e.g., Burma, Nepal and Thailand).<sup>21/</sup> Only the Republic of Korea seems to have been able to make remarkable progress towards attaining self-sufficiency in rice, although the country on the whole remains deficit in foodgrains.<sup>22/</sup> It is the rural poor who share the burden of shortfall in the availability of foodgrains proportionately more than other groups in the society.<sup>23/</sup>

Different types of environmental problems require treatment at different levels. But there is no denying the fact that a lot can be done at the community level to conserve and enhance natural resources, to recycle wastes, to arrest environmental degradation and to soften the impact of environmental degradation when it is unavoidable. What specifically can be achieved at the community level will depend to a large extent on the design of the community development programme and on the projects included in such a programme. We take up these questions in the next section as part of our discussion on the issues in planning for environmentally sound development at the community level.

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<sup>21/</sup> M. Alamgir, op. cit.

<sup>22/</sup> Government of Korea, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

<sup>23/</sup> M. Alamgir, Bangladesh: A Case of Below Poverty Level Equilibrium Trap (Dacca: Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, 1978).

## II. ISSUES IN PLANNING FOR ENVIRONMENTALLY SOUND DEVELOPMENT AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

The major issues concerning community development are determination of the objectives, conceptualization of community development programmes, identification of sources of conflicts generated around projects included in such programmes and methods of their resolution, and finally the question related to the institutions of planning and administration, and the mode of financing of community development programmes. These issues will be elaborated in this section with the purpose of developing a clear perception of individual country experiences to be analyzed later.

### A. OBJECTIVES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Historically, a number of objectives have been associated with community development programmes, although emphasis has varied depending on the situation. Strictly speaking, objectives should imply a consistent set of targets. In reality, however, often the stated objectives of a programme may not be mutually consistent. A review of the experiences of the countries of the ESCAP region reveals that some or all of the following objectives are explicit or implicit in community development programmes.

- (a) Protection and enhancement of the physical environment;
- (b) Alleviation of rural poverty;
- (c) Satisfaction of basic human needs;
- (d) Cultural enlightenment and promotion of new social and political values.

To what extent a programme emphasizes a particular objective depends, of course, on its assessment of the different dimensions of environmental problems. More importantly, for programmes at the community level, the perception and awareness of the members of the community about their own problems influences the choice of targets. The degree of local participation in the over-all design of the community development programme, however, varies from country to country.

Needless to say, the multiplicity of objectives requires that the relevant authorities undertake careful planning at the local level so as to maximize complementarity between different objectives and to ensure efficient use of resources. Efficiency, in this context, should be viewed in terms of the contribution of activities (projects) at the community level to the compound

/community

community objective function. The nature of the function will depend on the relative weights assigned to different components (objectives) and this, in turn, will determine the degree of complementarity between different objectives.

There are four dimensions of protection and enhancement of the environment which are either concerned with tackling the difficult environmental problems or with the augmentation of the resource frontier. The first of these four dimensions involve conservation of resources. Specialized programmes have been initiated at the community level in the Republic of Korea (Erosion Control Programme), Indonesia (Inpres Penghijauan) and Bangladesh (Jhumiah Development Scheme) to tackle problems arising from shifting cultivation and soil erosion.<sup>24/</sup> Associated measures are included in these programmes to rehabilitate the affected populations.<sup>25/</sup> Thailand and Nepal are two other countries facing similar problems.<sup>26/</sup>

The second dimension of protection and enhancement of the environment is protection against degradation of the environment. Such degradation is taking place due to water pollution from industrial and human waste, inadequate sanitation facilities, recurrent flood, waterlogging, salinity intrusion and siltation of tanks, lakes and rivers. In rural areas, the major source of water pollution is the unscientific disposal of human and animal wastes. The use of insecticide and pesticide is also affecting the quality of water in a manner that is inimical to fish habitat and human health. The problem is further compounded by inadequate sanitation facilities and drinking water supply. Elimination of these problems has been accepted explicitly as objectives of community development programmes in the Republic of Korea (Saemaul Undong or New Community Movement (NCM), and in Indonesia (Inpres Desa). The problem of water pollution is further aggravated by recurrent floods in many countries, e.g., Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Projects under community development

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<sup>24/</sup> Personal communications from Kenneth Pickering, Advisor to the Government of Indonesia and Dr. M. Yunus of Chittagong University, Bangladesh; information collected during the author's field trips to Indonesia, Republic of Korea and Bangladesh; Republic of Korea, Office of Forestry, Country Report, 8th World Forestry Congress, Jakarta, 16-28 October 1978; and J.K. Metzner, "Lamtoronisasi: an experiment in soil conservation", Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, Jhumiah Development Scheme of Bangladesh is a proposed programme, it is yet to be implemented.

<sup>25/</sup> Both Inpres Penghijauan and Jhumiah Development Scheme incorporate provisions for assisting the affected farmers directly. In the Republic of Korea, the systematic resettlement of shifting cultivators has been undertaken since the enactment of the Shifting Cultivation Resettlement Law (1964). See Report, ibid., p. 28.

<sup>26/</sup> M. Alamgir, "Structural transformation", op. cit.

programmes cannot really be expected to solve this problem given its dimensions. However, localized floodings have been effectively checked by small control structures built through community development programmes. Such activities have been undertaken through Saemaul Undong in the Republic of Korea, Padat Karya and Kabupaten Development Programme in Indonesia and the Rural Works Programme and Food-for-Work Programme in Bangladesh. To a large extent in many areas, flooding is related to deforestation, soil erosion and siltation problems. Another dimension of water management problem is waterlogging which can be remedied by construction of appropriate drainage system. Community development programmes which have addressed themselves to these problems include the erosion control programmes of different countries referred to above. Finally, Bangladesh, among other countries, has been plagued by the problem of salinity intrusion in the coastal area of the country. To save farmland from saline water, a number of coastal embankment projects were undertaken at the community level through Rural Works and Food-for-Work Programmes.

The third dimension of protection and enhancement of environment is more efficient utilization of physical and human resources. This basically involves construction of infrastructural facilities to increase the productivity of land and labour. Such items include irrigation facilities, roads, bridges, culverts, schools, health clinics, community buildings, market structures and housing. In many countries of the ESCAP region, public works projects of these types have been undertaken at the community level. In Bangladesh, projects under Rural Works Programme and Food-for-Work Programme included construction of irrigation facilities, rural roads, bridges, culverts, fish ponds, community buildings and market structures. Construction of health clinics was undertaken by privately operated community development programmes such as Savar Peoples' Health Centre and Bangladesh Rural Advancement Centre (BRAC). In Indonesia, different programmes are directed toward different needs, such as Inpres Desa, Inpres Kabupaten and Padat Karya for the construction of directly productive economic infrastructures, Inpres Sekolah Dasar for schools, Inpres Kesehatan for health and Inpres Pasar for markets. The last mentioned programme has, so far, been confined to the urban and semi-urban areas only. In the Republic of Korea, all of these activities are currently undertaken through one programme, that is Saemaul Undong (NCM). Community public works programmes in other countries which undertake such projects are Crash Scheme for Rural Employment and Drought Prone Areas Programme in India, Rural Works Programme and People's Work Programme in Pakistan and Provincial Development Programme in Afghanistan.



The fourth and final dimension of protection and enhancement of the environment is augmentation of natural resource base. This can be done through reforestation and afforestation, land reclamation and construction of fish ponds. Inpres Penghijauan and Inpres Reboissasi in Indonesia are concerned with reforestation and afforestation. On the other hand, the Padat Karya Programme sometimes takes up construction of fish ponds. In the Republic of Korea, reforestation and afforestation have been carried out through Erosion Control Programme and the Ten Year Regreening Drive which is implemented under Saemaul Undong. Similarly, hill land and tidal land reclamation have been pursued through Erosion Control Programme and Saemaul Undong. Reforestation in Bangladesh is to be taken up under the proposed Jhumiah Development Scheme, while some of the fisheries development and land reclamation projects have been undertaken through the Rural Works Programme and Food-for-Work Programme.

The main concern of community public works programmes remains alleviation of poverty. In most countries of Asia and the Pacific, poverty is the outcome of low incomes, and is closely related to widespread unemployment, underemployment and low productivity of labour. The different projects included under community development programmes are either income-augmenting or employment-creating, the two being generally mutually supportive. In the process of income and employment generation, community public works programmes undertake activities that involve protection and enhancement of environment. Therefore, protection and enhancement of the environment is not often considered separately as an end in itself; rather, it comes as a means to an end, which is to generate new activities that will provide productive employment and additional income for those who have none or little of it now. There are few instances where projects under community public works programme have built in facilities for upgrading skills of the employed labourers. It may be noted that many public works programmes at the community level were initiated as a response to certain crisis situations (natural disaster, famine etc.) which characterized them as pure relief programmes without having an impact on the long-term income and employment generation for the poor. In the Republic of Korea, the Saemaul Undong has initiated many projects which promoted income generation and employment creation for the poor. In Indonesia, Inpres Kabupaten, Inpres Desa, Inpres Penghijauan and Padat Karya were such programmes. Both the Rural Works and Food-for-Work Programmes of Bangladesh were primarily income-augmenting in nature. Most of these programmes were designed to generate seasonal income and employment opportunities in slack seasons.

/Recently,

Recently, policy makers and planners, at the national and international levels, have diverted their attention from removal of poverty to the satisfaction of basic human needs as an objective of development. So far, community public works programmes do not seem to have adopted this goal explicitly in designing projects, except that some specialized programmes have been directed toward augmenting the resource base and effecting a better utilization of resources which resulted in an improvement (although only marginal) of the supply of nutrients, drinking water, health care and educational facilities and housing. To use basic human needs satisfaction as a criterion for evaluating the success or failure of individual community development programmes will require a fairly detailed information about the impact of community development programmes on patterns of consumption of the target groups. Such data are difficult to come by because very seldom such projects are systematically monitored over time.

Finally, the community development programmes have social, political and cultural objectives also. Indeed, sometimes these objectives may assume greater importance than others. The Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh, the Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea and the Inpres Kabupaten and Inpres Desa programmes of Indonesia emphasize such objectives as development of collective consciousness, leadership training, increased popular participation, development of local government and institutions, spiritual enlightenment and attitudinal reorientation. While there has been no serious attempt to change the life styles of different groups (particularly the affluent sections) in the society, such attempts are implicit in an endeavour to bring about spiritual enlightenment and attitudinal reorientation. Other implicit social and political objectives incorporated in community development programmes are promotion of national solidarity (Saemaul Undong), consolidation of state power by the ruling elite through decentralized patronage distribution (Rural Works Programme, Peoples' Work Programme, Saemaul Undong, Inpres Kabupaten and Inpres Desa) and the liberation of bonded labour and women (Food-for-Work Programmes, Saemaul Undong and Inpres Kabupaten).

Two points should be noted here. First, the different community development programmes under consideration have gone through different stages so that the relative emphasis placed on different objectives has changed. For example, the Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea initially emphasized spiritual enlightenment and environmental improvement, greater concern for increased income emerging only recently. Similarly, the Rural Works Programme and the Food-for-Work

of Bangladesh emphasized creation of off-season employment and income more than anything else for a number of years; but subsequently, the authorities concerned started assigning greater weight to the objective of creation of productive assets. This objective was included in the original design of projects under these programmes, but it was not adequately emphasized. There was little effort in maintaining the physical assets created and the impact in terms of sustained output growth was minimal.

Secondly, only a few programmes specifically incorporated the environmental factors in designing projects. One example is the Saemaul Undong which was explicit in its emphasis on environmental improvement. Other programmes responded from time to time to environmental issues only when they perceived a crisis. But as we shall see later, the attempts so far to improve the environment have not been very successful in any of the case studies considered except Saemaul Undong. This is of course not to say that the community development programmes were totally neutral with respect to their impact on the environment.

#### B. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The second issue is how to conceptualize the development problem at the community level. In practice, most programmes were initiated on an ad hoc basis, in response to specific situations which warranted government action. The experience of such programmes shows that systematic evaluation of constraints and opportunities is required in particular situations if community development programmes are to make significant impact on the societies and the economies of Asian countries in the 1980s.

It is possible to view the problem of community development as a constrained optimization problem in which activities (projects) are so chosen as to maximize growth of income of the population in poverty, subject to constraints such as harmonious growth, ecological balance, conservation of resources and socio-cultural gains. The requirement of harmonious growth implies intersectoral balance; ecological balance implies specification of limits of tolerance for the degradation of the environment; resource conservation implies ensuring adequate resource endowment for future generations; and socio-cultural gains imply satisfaction of basic human needs, on the one hand and fulfilment of non-economic objectives, on the other. An important element here is the question of intergenerational equity. Today's decisions not only affect the well-being of the present generation, but they often have serious implications for the

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well-being of future generations. Admittedly, the community development programmes considered included in many cases, short-term projects, but even then, these may produce a negative environmental impact for future generations, if not carefully designed to take into account all interdependencies.

### C. RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS

Conceptualization of the community development programmes along the lines outlined above provides an analytic framework for planners to accommodate their own perceptions of the relative importance of competing goals of development in designing projects.

However, there are other conflicts without whose resolution community development programmes cannot be effectively implemented. These conflicts are centered around diverse interests of different factions, kinship groups or social classes in the community. The situation is further compounded by the presence of political alignments between community power elites and national power elites resulting in a process of selection and implementation of community development projects which often bypasses the interests of the general masses. The outcome of projects under community development programmes is often pre-empted by dominant social groups because they exercise in effect the decision-making power. Therefore, the success of community development programmes in alleviating poverty depends on whether such community leaders are willing to forego the opportunities to promote their own interests in favour of the interests of the poor.

Bureaucracy plays an important role as a link between the national government and the local government. Besides, members of the bureaucracy are often called upon to mediate the conflicting interests of different groups in a community. This is a vital source of power for the bureaucracy at relatively lower echelons of the government. The performance of the bureaucracy in respect of protecting the interests of the poor has been a function of the degree of commitment of the national political leadership to the promotion of the interests of the poor. The same is true of protection and enhancement of the environment. Our impression is that the bureaucracy in the Republic of Korea has been relatively more successful in promoting the basic objectives of community development programme (Saemaul Undong) as compared with others studied.

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D. PLANNING, ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The final issue in planning community development programmes concerns their institutional framework. Questions of particular interest are those relating to the planning set-up at the community level, selection of target groups, degree of decentralization of authority, integration of locally felt needs in the selection of projects, determination of techniques of production/construction, integration into the national plan, sources of finance and the level and mode of payment of labour. Each one of these questions is important in its own right and needs to be satisfactorily resolved for successful implementation of community development programmes. Countries have followed different approaches in tackling these questions and sometimes the approach adopted has varied between programmes within the same country.

The planning set-up at the community level generally does not take institutionalized forms. Therefore, the quality of the projects undertaken and the nature of its outcome depends largely on who plans and how at the community level. The general pattern indicates that different ad hoc committees at the community level assume tasks of preparing projects and of implementing them once they have been approved by a higher authority.

The selection of target groups has often proved to be a delicate task, because it is closely tied to selection of projects. Country experiences diverge and within a country the situation varies from one project to another. In general, two main situations exist. In one, projects are designed and implemented with specific target groups in mind while in the other, projects are taken up without reference to any particular target group. In either case, the actual outcome sometimes turns out to be different from what was anticipated by the planners. Different classes in the society are affected differently by the projects undertaken under a community development programme. Here some important problems are the following: (i) how to ensure that the benefits of the project are equitably distributed among the members of the community; (ii) given prevailing power structures at the community level, how to ensure design of projects specifically to promote the interests of the poor; (iii) whether and how powerful groups in the society can be restrained from designing and implementing projects which would have serious negative environmental impact, especially on the weaker sections of the population among others.

The degree of decentralization of authority is an important issue with respect to project preparation, approval and monitoring. A decentralized structure is the essence of community development programmes. So far, planning in the countries of the ESCAP region has been highly centralized and, in most cases, it has failed to address properly the problem of poverty alleviation and satisfaction of basic human needs.<sup>27/</sup> While references to these are made in plan documents, they are rarely translated into specific projects which could be successfully implemented at the community level. Neither have the centrally designed and implemented projects been able to reflect adequately the concern for protection and enhancement of the environment. Therefore, not only is there a need for re-orientation of the philosophy and content of planning, but also there has to be a restructuring of the organizational authority in respect of formulation and implementation of projects to that consistent with environmentally sound development at the community level. The restructuring should aim at greater decentralization, so that the projects can involve and benefit the people and their implementation is expedited. Within a framework of decentralized decision-making, any inadequacy in project planning can be corrected quickly without much damage to the desired outcome.

A question that is closely related to the decentralization of authority, is the degree of integration of local level wishes in the selection of projects. Countries in the ESCAP region have followed different methods with different degrees of effectiveness to provide a forum for the members of the community at large, to express their opinion regarding community development projects. By and large, such participation has largely been taken, the real issues have always been settled out of the sight of the general public and the projects themselves presented as fait accompli.

Since many projects under community development programmes are designed to provide additional employment to the unemployed and the underemployed, the labour intensity of these projects is an important consideration in the selection of choice of technology. All available programmes start out being highly labour intensive, measured by the proportion of total expenditure devoted to wage payment, but over time the labour intensity seems to decline.

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<sup>27/</sup> For an analysis of the experiences of some Asian countries, see M. Alamgir, *ibid.*, and M. Alamgir, *Bangladesh..., op. cit.*: International Labour Organization, *Poverty and Landlessness in Rural Asia* (Geneva, 1977).

A recent study has shown that the Republic of Korea is somewhat different in this respect, in that the decline in labour intensity of public works projects at the community level has been much less (from 94 per cent. in 1964 to 70 per cent. in 1972) as compared with some other Asian countries for which data were available.<sup>28/</sup>

The question of integrating community development programmes into the national development plan is only recently being addressed. As indicated earlier, important community public works programmes were initiated on a rather ad hoc basis with little or no link with the over-all national development plan. Whatever the amount of resources that was allocated to a programme, it was done without any serious test for cost-effectiveness. This was actually a result of the absence of clear thinking on the role of community development programmes in national development. If these programmes are to be more effective in realizing their objectives, they will have to be formally integrated into the national development plan.

A rather loose approach to resource allocation and planning for community development can be attributed to the fact that its most important component, the rural public works programme, was in many cases foreign-financed where the funds were obtained almost free (e.g. United States PL 480 wheat). In other cases, either the Government largely considered the programme to be only a semi-relief programme (e.g. Crash Scheme for Rural Employment and Drought Prone Areas Programme in India and the Food-for-Work Programme in Bangladesh) or a means of distributing central government patronage to the local communities (Inpres programmes of Indonesia).

In the administration of community public works programmes, the question of the level and mode of payment of project wages has been tackled in different ways. Wage payments are made in cash, in kind (food) and in cash-cum-kind. Different countries have followed different systems and again within the same country, different programmes have followed different modes of wage payment. Similarly, wide variations are observed in the scale of wage payment. Table 2 presents the relevant information for some programmes in selected countries of the ESCAP region.

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<sup>28/</sup> S.J. Burki, et al., op. cit., p. 59.

Table 2. Levels and modes of payment of wages in community public works programmes in selected countries of the ESCAP region

Country	Programme	Mode of wage payment	Wage scale
Afghanistan	Provincial Development	Food/cash	Approximately 1/2 Agricultural wage
Bangladesh	Rural Works Programme	Cash	Agricultural wage
	Food-for-Work Programme	Food	Approximately 1/2 <sup>a/</sup> Agricultural wage
India	Crash Scheme for Rural Employment	Cash	Slack seasonal wage <sup>b/</sup>
	Drought Prone Areas Programme	Cash	Varies
Indonesia	<u>Kabupaten</u>	Cash	Agricultural wage
	<u>Desa</u>	Voluntary labour/cash	Agricultural wage
	<u>Padat Karya</u>	Food/cash up to 1970 Cash after 1970	4/5 Agricultural wage 4/5 Agricultural wage
Pakistan	Rural Works Programme	Cash	Agricultural wage
Rep. of Korea	Self Help Work Programme	Food/cash	Approximately 2/3
	<u>Saemaul Undong</u> Projects	Voluntary labour/cash	Agricultural wage
Sri Lanka	Rural Works Programme	Cash	Agricultural wage

Sources: S.J. Burki, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 46; M. Alamgir, "The experience of rural works programme in Bangladesh," Development Planning Division, ESCAP, Bangkok, 1977; Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", Working Paper, Korea Development Institute, 1977; Amartya Sen, Employment, Technology and Development (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975) and author's field survey.

Notes: a/ The relationship between the Food-for-Work Programme and the market wage depends on the price of foodgrain.

b/ In reality wage rate often exceeded the market wage.



## E. BRIEF REVIEW OF SELECTED EXPERIENCES

We refer here to some of the community development experiences which are not included in the detailed discussion of the following section. Community public works programmes in one form or another existed even many centuries ago in the Indian sub-continent. They were first conceived of as a measure to alleviate the hardship of people in distress due to natural calamities which often caused famine over large geographic areas. From Indian history, one can find instances during the reign of Emperor Akbar when public works in the form of building a fort was undertaken to relieve the distress of the people during famine.<sup>29/</sup> Under the British rule, the state governments, initiated the Public Works Programme from time to time to afford relief to the poor affected by famine. In the initial years, the central government was not always sympathetic to such attempts by the state governments. However, in the Famine Codes of 1883, it was recognized "that an Indian famine being a problem of temporary lack of employment for the mass of agricultural population, the principal form of relief needed was the opening of relief works and offer of employment to those who needed it."<sup>30/</sup> To go back a little further, it was during 1790-1792 famine in Madras Presidency, that the Government first employed the poor on public works.<sup>31/</sup> The public works programme during the British rule was financed mostly from government cash and kind grants.

Famine apart, various attempts were made in India and Bangladesh at rural reconstruction with an emphasis on the utilization of surplus manpower either on a self-help or on a wage payment basis. One such experiment was initiated by F.L. Brayne of the Indian Civil Service, who visualized rural reconstruction on a self-help basis, under the guidance of the Deputy Commissioners (District Administrators). While this attempt deserves credit for its pioneering contribution to organized programmes for alleviating poverty in rural India, the actual achievements of the programme were not significant.<sup>32/</sup>

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<sup>29/</sup> M. Alamgir, Famine in South Asia: Political Economy of Mass Starvation (forthcoming).

<sup>30/</sup> B.M. Bhatia, Famines in India (Delhi, Asia Publishing House, 1967), second edition, p. 184. The Scarcity Relief Works Programme is an outcome of the evolution of various famine codes. M. Alamgir, ibid.

<sup>31/</sup> Cornelius Walford, "The famines of the world: past and present", The Journal of the Statistical Society, September 1878, p. 444.

<sup>32/</sup> A.H. Khan, "Theory and practice of rural works", National Institute of Social and Economic Research, Karachi; reproduced in "Writings of Akhtar Hameed Khan", Integrated Rural Development Programme, Dacca, 1977 (mimeo.).

The attempts at rural upliftment during pre-independence India were primarily geared towards disaster relief and the massive unemployment and underemployment problem. There was no systematic conceptualization of a community development programme, neither was there any expressed concern for environmental issues discussed above. After independence, in the early 1950s, a beginning was made at community development under a comprehensive programme designed to protect and enhance the environment (through the construction of health, drinking water and educational facilities and roads) and to promote agricultural production and cottage industry.<sup>33/</sup> The emphasis was placed on local effort and local resource mobilization with little state intervention. Unfortunately, the programme did not produce the desired results. In philosophical terms, the programme was supposed to promote the well-being of the poor, but in reality there was little change in the relative position of the dominant (local elites) and the dominated (small farmers and landless labourers) groups in the society. More specifically, "the lack of mass participation (which was the basis of the strategy), excessive bureaucratization and unequal distribution of benefits were clearly recognized as the proximate causes of failure."<sup>34/</sup>

Many observers felt that the community development programme of India in the 1950s did not adequately emphasize production. The intensive agricultural development programmes of the 1960s concentrated on output growth through diffusion of HYV. Selected areas like the Punjab reaped the benefit of the programme in terms of output and income growth as well as environmental improvement. There is, however, some controversy as to how equitably the benefit of output growth was distributed among the various classes in the society and

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<sup>33/</sup> This part of the discussion is based on, among others, Wahidul Haque, et al., op. cit., pp. 20-27.

<sup>34/</sup> Ibid., p. 21. The movement, however, had a positive side, as clearly reflected in the following remarks by Rajni Kothari, "... it needs to be said of the earlier period that despite all the defects of the Community Development movement and its largely bureaucratic character, there did indeed take place considerable development of the countryside, at least in terms of laying out a vast infrastructure of Welfare Services, Co-operatives and Voluntary Organizations. What is more, that period was also characterized by a significant transfer of resources from urban to rural areas, which to no small extent contributed to a steady relationship between the two sectors.... This was also the period when political power shifted to the rural areas even though this still left out the very poor and the under-privileged." "India: an alternative framework for rural development" in Marc Nerfin, (ed.), Another Development, op. cit., p. 208.

whether there was a real gain in the well-being of the landless agricultural labourers. The rest of India could not catch up with the spirit of the agricultural output growth movement, for one reason or another. Besides, the dream of the 1950s of a comprehensive community development remained unrealized.

In the 1960s, a Rural Works Programme was initiated under the Third Five-Year Plan, but the actual expenditure (Rs 190 million) turned out to be much less than what was envisaged in the Plan (Rs 1,500 million). Evaluation of the projects carried out under this programme by various authorities<sup>35/</sup> reveals a familiar pattern of failings which is succinctly summarized by Dantwala.<sup>36/</sup>

"Every evaluation report has been narrating the same story for the last fifteen years; lack of competent, manpower seeking local leadership, red tape, and its obduracy, lack of interdepartmental co-ordination, if not active non-co-operation, bureaucratic ineptitude, lack of knowledge of local conditions, absence of prior survey and preparatory work. Perhaps a report can be written even prior to the evaluation and the subsequent field investigations can be guaranteed to confirm it."

In recent years, the Government of India has introduced a number of specific target group-oriented programmes which have been implemented at the community level. These programmes include the Pilot Employment Guarantee Scheme, the Crash Schemes for Rural Employment, the Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA), the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Programme (MFAL), the Drought-Prone Areas Programme.<sup>37/</sup> The SFDA and MFAL were designed to increase the productivity of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers by supplying them with inputs and credit. Other programmes were of the employment-generating type. For example, the target of the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment was to provide work to one thousand persons in each district for ten months a year in labour-intensive project (wage bill should equal at least three quarters of the total cost of the project). The wage rate and duration of employment was regressive in the sense that, in the absence of these restrictions, more people would have been employed and perhaps more assets would have been created.<sup>38/</sup> This programme was introduced in 1971 and the first phase was continued until March 1974.

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<sup>35/</sup> See for example, Ranjit Gupta, "Rural works programme: where it has gone astray", Economic and Political Weekly, vol. vi, 15 May 1971

<sup>36/</sup> M.L. Dantwala, Poverty in India: Then and Now 1870-1970 (Madras, The Macmillan Company of India Limited, 1973).

<sup>37/</sup> See Amartya Sen, op. cit., pp. 135-145; S.J. Burki, et al., op. cit.; V.M. Dandekar and N. Rath, Poverty in India (Poona, Indian School of Political Economy, 1971); and M.L. Dantwala, ibid.

<sup>38/</sup> Ibid., pp. 136-140.

The Drought-Prone Areas Programme is a typical works programme. It was introduced in 1970 to provide relief to the people in chronically drought-affected areas. Like the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment, an equal amount of money was allocated to each district (total 40) covered by the programme. Between 1970 and 1975, the Drought-Prone Areas Programme generated 37.9 million worker days of employment, while the Crash Scheme generated 178 million worker days during the 1971-1975 period. The direct cost per worker day was \$US 0.67 and 0.50 respectively. However, the total amount allocated was only modest, 0.15 per cent of GDP in 1972 for the Crash Scheme and 0.05 per cent for the Drought-Prone Areas Programme. The fund was generated internally. Both programmes emphasized directly productive and economic infrastructural activities.<sup>39/</sup> There is relatively little scope for local level decision making in these programmes. Burki *et al.*<sup>40/</sup> shows that about 64 per cent of the critical decisions are made at the national level.

In Pakistan, the pre-independence approaches to community development were similar to those in India. Nothing much was added in the post-independence era except that a Rural Works Programme was introduced in 1963. The programme was geared to provide income and employment to poor agricultural labourers. The regional allocation of funds was based on the poverty index and population density. The motivation on the part of the Government to initiate the programme was more political than welfare-oriented. The programme funding was utilized to give a boost to the local elite who controlled the newly introduced local government system (Basic Democracy). The introduction of the works programme was facilitated by the availability of the United States PL 480 foodgrain.

According to the estimates made by Burki *et al.*,<sup>41/</sup> during the period 1963-1972, an annual average of 4.4 million worker days of employment was generated by the programme. This, however, did not make much of an impact on

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<sup>39/</sup> The above figures are quoted from S.J. Burki *et al.*, *op. cit.* According to S.J. Burki *et al.*, directly productive infrastructure includes irrigation, drainage, land reclamation and bench terracing projects and fisheries and veterinary centres development; economic infrastructure includes construction of roads, culverts and bridges, flood control, market development, rural electrification, reforestation and land conservation; social infrastructure includes construction of schools, clinics, community buildings, low cost housing and parks and drinking water systems. We shall follow a similar classification here.

<sup>40/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>41/</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

the unemployment and underemployment problem since the above employment figure represented only 0.3 days (annual average) of employment per member of the labour force. There has been a steady decline in the size of the programme, measured in terms of indicators like, worker days/members of labour force and programme expenditure/GDP.<sup>42/</sup> Unlike works programmes in India, there was considerable emphasis on social infrastructure in Pakistan. About 46 per cent of the Rural Works Programme expenditure was allocated to the social infrastructure during 1963-1972 period.<sup>43/</sup> The labour intensity of the programme was low and remained stable around 30 per cent.<sup>44/</sup> The decision making authority was more centralized than in India as indicated by the fact that 72 per cent of the critical decisions were made at the national level.<sup>45/</sup>

In Thailand, the noteworthy movement at community development is the Thai Rural Reconstruction Movement (TRRM).<sup>46/</sup> The movement attempts to release the creative potential of the peasants through four programmes, livelihood, health and sanitation, education and self-government. The programmes are carried out through young rural workers. The livelihood programme which promotes production and income augmenting activities seems to have been quite successful. The movement has been going on for about a decade in selected areas of the central plain of Thailand. W. Hague, et al. summarize the accomplishment of the movement in the following words.<sup>47/</sup>

"In sum, the TRRM has made a substantial impact on the life of the villages it has covered. The productivity has increased and the process of modernization has accelerated. The poor have derived some benefits, particularly through animal production programmes. The organization has established close rapport with the village through its activities in education and health and has partly translated this confidence into self-managed forums which are promoting unity and facing certain basic issues. A more universal involvement is inhibited by the lack of a programme to tackle the fundamental contradiction - marketing."

The need for creating employment opportunities in rural areas and thereby reducing the pressure of rural-urban migration led the planners in Sri Lanka to adopt a new approach to community development. They recognized that like many other Asian countries, earlier experiments at rural development

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<sup>42/</sup> Ibid., p.28.

<sup>43/</sup> Ibid., p.30.

<sup>44/</sup> Ibid., p.59.

<sup>45/</sup> Ibid., p.65.

<sup>46/</sup> W. Hague, et al., op. cit., pp. 103-112.

<sup>47/</sup> Ibid., pp. 110-111.

did not succeed because, such attempts could not generate mass participation and were carried out in a haphazard manner in the sense that no effort was made to integrate rural development strategy with the over-all national development strategy. To overcome these problems, under the 1972-1976 plan, Divisional Development Councils (DDCs) were set up to prepare and implement small labour-intensive projects at the community level based on local resources. This marked the beginning of a new era of decentralized planning in Sri Lanka.<sup>48/</sup> Beginning in 1975, a number of organizational changes were brought about in the rural public works programme which, on the one hand, politicized the programme and on the other hand, the project implementation and management was made more effective by giving the responsibility to the newly set up development co-operative society in each district. The DDCs maintain close links with the District Planning Office and the Regional Development Division at the top as well as the development co-operative society at the bottom.

The projects undertaken by the DDCs include agricultural projects, industrial projects, fisheries projects and infrastructural projects. An evaluation made by Gunasekara and Codippily found that the projects have relatively low capital/labour ratios and they have generated more income than what would have been obtained from alternative investment in large projects. However, the size of the programme is still very modest as indicated by the fact that only about Rs 45 million was allocated to it up to the end of 1975 which created 38,400 jobs.<sup>49/</sup> But there is no denying the fact that the programme has tremendous potential for the future. The most important contribution of the programme has been that, it introduced a new concept of decentralized planning which deserves closer scrutiny by planners elsewhere in the ESCAP region.

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<sup>48/</sup> According to Gunasekara and Codippily, "at the end of 1974 there were a total of 607 DDCs, the main functions of which were:

- preparation of a co-ordinated development programme for the area;
- co-ordination of popular effort and government services for the implementation of programmes approved by the Government;
- regular review of the implementation of government programmes within the area;
- recommendation of corrective action where shortfalls had occurred."

"Employment creation through regional development: recent experience in Sri Lanka," International Labour Review, vol. 116, no. 1, July-August 1977, p.40.

<sup>49/</sup> Gunasekara and Codippily, *ibid.*, p.45.

### III. CASE STUDIES OF BANGLADESH, INDONESIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

#### A. BACKGROUND

##### 1. Assessment of environmental problems

We present here a measurement (quantitative and qualitative) of the environmental problems faced by the countries under study. For reference, we also present data on other countries of the ESCAP region as much as possible. Wherever possible, we have used comparable source materials.

The per capita income of ESCAP countries vary widely, from a low of \$US 110 for Bangladesh to a high of \$US 860 for Malaysia in 1976 (table 3). The majority of the countries fall within the low-income group as defined by the World Bank (per capita income \$US 200 and less). Within ESCAP, our choice of three countries represents low, middle and high income levels. Bangladesh experienced a decline in the per capita income during 1960-1976 period, while Indonesia and the Republic of Korea experienced moderate (3.4 per cent per annum) and high (7.3 per cent) growth respectively.

However, per capita income and its growth do not reflect adequately the situation prevailing in rural areas. In all countries under consideration, rural income per capita was lower than urban income per capita. Given the high rate of population growth and a worsening of the land scarcity situation, the problem of rural poverty is becoming more acute. On the whole, both Bangladesh and Indonesia fell short of the required average calorie supply. But this still hides the real situation because available supply is inequitably distributed. As expected, the situation is somewhat better in the Republic of Korea in comparison with Bangladesh and Indonesia. The situation has been aggravated in the latter two countries because of, among other factors, unequal distribution of landholding and low and/or stagnant productivity in the agriculture sector. In terms of the level and trend of productivity of rice growing, Bangladesh compares unfavourably with most of the other ESCAP countries while the Republic of Korea's performance in recent years has been remarkable (table 4).<sup>50/</sup>

/Table 3.

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<sup>50/</sup> See M. Alamgir, "Some aspects of Bangladesh agriculture: review of performance and evaluation of policies", The Bangladesh Development Studies, vol. III, no.3, July 1975; Ingrid Palmer, "Rural poverty in Indonesia: with special reference to Java", Working Paper, World Employment Programme Research, International Labour Office, July 1976; D.H. Penny and Masri Singarimbun, "A case study of rural poverty", Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, March 1972; Eddy Lee, "Egalitarian peasant farming and rural development: the case of South Korea", Working Paper, World Employment Research Programme International Labour Office, April 1978 and Pal Yong Moon, and Byung Seo Ryn, "Korea's agricultural policies in historical perspective", Working Paper 7704, Korea Development Institute, April 1977.

Table 3. Growth of income and population, and per capita calorie supply as percentage of requirement in selected ESCAP countries

Country	<u>Per capita</u> <u>income (\$US)</u>	<u>Rate of</u> <u>growth of</u> <u>per capita</u> <u>income</u>	<u>Average annual</u> <u>rate of growth</u> <u>of population</u>		<u>Per capita</u> calorie <u>supply as percentage</u> <u>of requirement</u>	
	1976	1960-1976	1960-1970	1970-1975	1960	1970
Afghanistan	160	0.0	-	2.2	86	80
Bangladesh	110	-0.4	2.8	2.0	86	80
Burma	120	0.7	2.2	2.2	88	103
India	150	1.3	2.3	2.1		
Indonesia	240	3.4	2.2	2.4		87 <sup>a/</sup>
Malaysia	860	3.0	2.9	2.7	102	94
Nepal	120	0.2	2.2	2.2	92	93
Pakistan	170	3.1	2.8	3.0	84	99
Philippines	410	2.4	3.0	2.8	83	106 <sup>b/</sup>
Rep. of Korea	670	7.3	2.6	1.8	86	103
Sri Lanka	200	2.0	2.4	1.7	92	107
Thailand	380	4.5	3.1	2.9	95	105

Sources: World Bank, World Tables 1976, and World Development Report 1978, (Washington).

Notes: a/ Rural Java.

b/ 1975.

/Table 4.



Table 4. Productivity of rice growing in  
selected ESCAP countries  
(yield per acre in lbs)

Country	1961-1965	1970	1975
Bangladesh	990	944	1,075
Burma	967	1,001	1,076
Indonesia	-	2,008	2,409
Malaysia	1,475	1,602	1,773
Nepal	1,151	1,225	1,226
Pakistan	835	1,031	1,338
Republic of Korea	2,673	2,895	3,412
Sri Lanka	1,128	1,561	1,139
Thailand	956	1,161	1,043

Source: Food and Agriculture Organization,  
Production Yearbook 1975 (Rome).

/The

The productivity trend in agriculture is reflected in the trend of real wages of agricultural labourers. With some fluctuation, the index of real wages has shown a declining trend in Bangladesh, there has been a slight increase in Indonesia over the last decade while between early 1960s and mid-1970s, the Republic of Korea experienced a substantial rise in agricultural wages (table 5), although it was not entirely commensurate with productivity gain. In fact, during the early and mid-1960s the widening rural-urban wage differential was a serious problem in the Republic of Korea as it led to an acceleration of rural-urban migration<sup>51/</sup> and prompted the policy makers to initiate Saemaul Undong.<sup>52/</sup>

Wage rate is a synthetic indicator reflecting the outcome of the interaction between factors influencing the demand for and supply of labour in these countries; in order to appreciate the relevance of this index in the present context, the following facts about rural labour market need to be borne in mind. First, census estimates of open unemployment as shown in table 6 are misleading in view of the presence of large-scale underemployment in the countries under study; the available aggregate estimates suggest that the figure could be anywhere between 30 and 40 per cent of the total labour force.<sup>53/</sup> Secondly, the employment pattern in agriculture is highly seasonal. The marginal workers are forced to accept employment at a very low wage rate during the slack season, and such employment is available to only a few.<sup>54/</sup> Thirdly, different social classes have different degrees of access to the labour market which implies that the weaker sections of the population require assistance both for strengthening their bargaining position as well as for supplementing their current income. The existing structure of the

/Table 5.

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<sup>51/</sup> Edwin S. Mills and Byung Nak Song, "Korea's urbanization and urban problems 1945-1975", Working Paper No. 7701, Korea Development Institute, May 1978.

<sup>52/</sup> Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong," Working Paper, Korea Development Institute, February 1977.

<sup>53/</sup> M. Alamgir, Bangladesh and "Population growth and economic activity," op. cit.; Richard Patten, Belinda Dapica and Walter Falcon, "An experiment in rural employment creation: Indonesia's Kabupaten Development Programme", 1974 (mimeographed); World Bank, "Employment and Income Distribution in Indonesia," op. cit.; and Sung Hwan Ban, ibid.

<sup>54/</sup> M. Alamgir, ibid.; Belinda Dapice, Sri Widayati and Walter Falcon, "A report on cropping systems and seasonal employment in East Java and South Sulawesi", 1973 (mimeographed) and Gillian Hart and Sisler Daniel, "Aspects of rural labour market operation: a Javanese case study", 1978 (mimeographed).

Table 5. Index of real wages of agricultural labourers in selected ESCAP countries

Country	Year	Wage index
Bangladesh (1966=100)	1950	107
	1960	102
	1965	116
	1970	122
	1975	86
Indonesia (1967=100)	1967	100
	1970	102
	1977	109
Malaysia (1952=100)	1952	100
	1963	104
	1965	103
	1970	102
	1973	102
Republic of Korea (1970=100)	1961	62
	1965	72
	1970	100
	1975	108
Sri Lanka (1952=100)	1953	100
	1960	109
	1965	98
	1969	109
Thailand (1965=100)	1965	100
	1970	104
	1976	156

Sources: Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Malaysia: author's own estimate based on data from national sources; Indonesia: "Employment and income distribution in Indonesia," Development Economics Department, World Bank (1978); Republic of Korea: Growth and Prospects of the Korean Economy, Statistical Appendix, World Bank (1977).

/Table 6.

Table 6. Rural labour force and employment  
in selected ESCAP countries

Country	Year	Labour force (million)	Labour force participation rate			Unemployment as percentage of labour force
			Total	Male	Female	
Bangladesh	1961	16.5	34.2	56.0	11.1	0.6
	1974	18.5	28.4	52.8	2.5	2.2
Indonesia	1961	30.1	55.4	81.5	30.4	4.9
	1971	34.3	51.7	70.4	34.2	1.8
Rep. of Korea <sup>a/</sup>	1963	15.1	55.3	76.4	36.3	8.1
	1974	21.1	57.1	74.8	40.6	4.1

Sources: Bangladesh: M. Alamgir, "Population growth and economic activity of the population in Bangladesh," Population Division, ESCAP, 1977; Indonesia: World Bank, "Employment and income distribution," op. cit.; Republic of Korea: Growth and Prospects, op. cit.

Note: a/ Total.

/rural

rural labour market discriminate against the landless labourers as a result of the patron-client relationship between large landowners and small tenant holders.<sup>55/</sup> The rural labour market conditions clearly suggest that new initiatives are necessary at the community level to help the poor. Recent experiences of the few attempts in the countries under consideration show that despite many shortcomings, good results can be obtained from the implementation of community development programmes. From the point of view of poverty alleviation alone, the task is formidable as can be seen easily from the figures presented in table 7. Admittedly, the situation in an absolute sense is not as bad in the Republic of Korea as it is in other countries, but the problem of relative deprivation of rural areas cannot be ignored altogether.

Some other aspects of quality of life in ESCAP countries are reflected in tables 8 and 9. By all criteria, Bangladesh and Indonesia rank low among the countries for which we have data. In all countries concerned the distribution of health and educational facilities is heavily biased in favour of urban areas. However, all Governments are making an effort to change this situation by experimenting with new concepts of community-based health care and educational programmes.

We shall briefly review other environmental problems affecting adversely the quality of life in the rural areas of the countries selected. From the project proposal of the Jhumiah Development scheme, one gets an idea of the soil erosion problem in Bangladesh. The district of Chittagong Hill Tracts which is situated in the south-eastern part of Bangladesh is a hilly area covered mostly with forests. Only 3.5 per cent of the total land area of the district is suitable for agriculture. In the past, the tribal population of the area had been left out of the development effort. These people are very poor, marginally subsisting through shifting cultivation. In recent years their forest clearing cycle has come down to only three years. The destruction of forests is fast reaching a critical point. Already, there is a severe problem of top soil erosion which in addition to reducing the fertility of the land, has been silting-up all rivers and streams passing through the district. The lake behind the dam at Kaptai which supports a power plant is being silted-up at a very rapid rate (observations at certain points revealed silting-up of several feet a year) so that the power plant

/Table 7.

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<sup>55/</sup> G. Hart and D. Sisler, *ibid.*

Table 7. Poverty in rural areas of selected ESCAP countries

Country	Year	Population below poverty line	
		Percentage	Number (million)
Bangladesh	1964	88	49.9
	1969	79	55.1
	1974	84	62.7
Indonesia			
Java	1970	61	38.0
	1976	59	40.5
Outside Java	1970	45	15.8
	1976	42	16.8
Malaysia	1970	68 <sup>a/</sup>	0.6 <sup>a/</sup>
	1975	65 <sup>a/</sup>	0.6 <sup>a/</sup>
Republic of Korea	1975	14	2.0
Thailand	1963	57	14.4
	1969	37	11.2
	1976	28	10.0

Sources: Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia: M. Alangir, "Structural transformation", op. cit.; Indonesia: World Bank, "Employment and income distribution," op. cit.; Republic of Korea: Montek Ahluwalia, "Absolute poverty: present dimensions and future prospects", World Bank (mimeo.), 1978.

Note: <sup>a/</sup> Households.

/Table 8.

Table 8. Health-related indicators in selected ESCAP countries

Country	Life expectancy at birth		Infant mortality rate		Population per physician		Percentage of population with success to safe water 1975
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1976	
Afghanistan	-	35	-	220	40,000	26,100	9
Bangladesh	39	42	160	140		9,350	56
Burma	43	50	130	62	9,900	6,910	17
India	42	50	139	122	5,800	4,160	31
Indonesia	40	48	82	-	41,000	18,160	11
Malaysia	52	59	69	35	6,500	4,400	34
Nepal	36	44	-	-	72,000	36,450	8
Pakistan	42	51	142	113	11,000	3,970	25
Philippines	49	58	85	72	1,600	-	40
Rep. of Korea	53	61	58	38	3,000	2,010	66
Sri Lanka	61	68	57	45	4,500	6,295	19
Thailand	49	58	49	27	7,800	8,530	25

Source: World Bank, World Development Report, op. cit.

/Table 9.

Table 9. Education-related indicators in selected ESCAP countries

Country	Adult literacy rate		Numbers enrolled in primary schools as percentage of age group			
	1960	1974	Total		Female	
			1960	1975	1960	1975
Afghanistan	8	14	9	23	2	7
Bangladesh	20	23	47	73	26	51
Burma	58	67	56	85	52	81
India	24	36	41	65	27	52
Indonesia	47	62	67	81	55	75
Malaysia	23	60	96	93	83	91
Nepal	10	19	10	27	3	10
Pakistan	16	21	30	51	13	31
Philippines	72	87	95	105	93	103
Republic of Korea	71	92	94	109	88	109
Sri Lanka	61	78	95	77	90	77
Thailand	68	82	136	78	128	75

Source: World Bank, World Development Report, op. cit.

/itself



itself may be threatened one day, not to speak of the loss of the fishery potential of the lake. Besides, in the absence of any water conservation scheme, the rapid run-off of rain water has led to severe water shortage during the dry season. It has been correctly appreciated in many quarters in Bangladesh that the problem of the Chittagong Hill Tracts requires an integrated watershed management approach involving the people at the community level.

By all accounts, the soil erosion problem of Indonesia is one of the most serious ecological problems in the world. As elsewhere, the same cycle of destruction in a more intense way has been operating. For example, shifting cultivation by poor peasants on steep hillsides has led to deforestation at an accelerated rate on which tropical rains has had the devastating effect of topsoil erosion, loss of soil fertility, increased flooding and silting-up of lowlands, irrigation canals and reservoirs. The situation appears to be more serious in West Java, Madura and Bali. According to Kenneth Pickering, "... the number of hectares rehabilitated each year may be exceeded by the additional hectares annually claimed by erosion."<sup>56/</sup>

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) carried out a soil survey in the upper Solo region in 1973. It was estimated that 8.5 million tons of soil go into the sea from the Solo Watershed.<sup>57/</sup> Another estimate in 1975 put it at 6.25 million tons. There has been a big deterioration since 1971. Some of the areas are beyond repair. In the southern Solo Watershed, the land above 35 degrees slope can no longer be terraced for agriculture though tree planting is still possible. The customary dividing line elsewhere is 50 degrees slope. To give some further estimate of the dimension of the soil erosion problem, the annual average soil erosion is 0.5 mm in the world, while in the Chimaunk River Basin alone the rate is 7.0 mm. It is estimated that about 10 million cubic metres of soil is going into the sea every year. For the whole of Java, the loss of soil due to erosion is placed at 40-60 million tons annually.<sup>58/</sup> Like other parts of the

/world

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<sup>56/</sup> "Soil conservation and rural unemployment in Java: a proposal", 1975 (mimeo.). Our review of the Indonesian situation is based on, among others, discussions with Mr. Pickering and a number of other authorities in Indonesia.

<sup>57/</sup> Indonesia has 26 watersheds, 16 of them are in Java. Solo is the biggest river basin.

<sup>58/</sup> We have independent assessment of the situation with respect to soil erosion in two Kabupatens. During our field trip to Kabupaten Subang in West Java, we were told that in the Citarung watershed, 7,000 hectares belonging to 5 kecamatans were identified as critical areas on the basis of soil erosion. According to Metzner, in Kabupaten Sikka on the island of Flores in east Nusatenggara, 30,000 hectares of slope required protection against erosion.

world facing similar problems, it is the abject poverty and a situation of total helplessness of the people that is causing almost irreversible damage to the environment and, in fact, it is in turn reducing their life support even further. Oppressive tenurial arrangements, increasing inequality of landholding and landlessness, and declining size of average landholding per household due to population pressure and the law of inheritance are feeding into the process by which the poor are being driven up the hill with the inevitable consequence of the environmental degradation. It seems that people who are victims of this "vicious circle" of environmental degradation and poverty are, in general, aware of the erosion problem, but they are unable to provide themselves with suitable income-earning alternatives during the interim period when a relatively long-term corrective measure gets under way. It is interesting to note that in Bangladesh and Indonesia, both official and non-official authorities alike agree that the solution to the soil erosion problem does not lie in dispossessing the farmers on the upper slopes, rather there has got to be community-based rehabilitation programmes for target population groups and environment.

Forestry plays a vital role in life in the Republic of Korea. As much as 67 per cent of the total land area in the Republic of Korea is under forest. Forests are distributed all over the country. Forest resources had come under pressure due to indiscriminate cutting for fuelwood and also shifting cultivation. The cleared areas on rugged topography were exposed to heavy rainfall during summer with the result that water erosion became a significant problem. To quote the Country Report on Forestry referred to above, "recent survey (1975) reported an annual soil loss of 1.65 mt per hectare in stocked land and 9.6 mt per hectare in unstocked land. Total annual soil loss in Korea was estimated as much as 16,156,000 mt."<sup>59/</sup> The situation was further aggravated because of the social chaos during 1945-1954 when bare land increased at the rate of 28,000 hectares or 0.37 per cent of the total forest land annually. The situation is summarized in table 10 which presents data on the distribution of bare land along major rivers in the Republic of Korea in 1935, 1956 and 1977. From the table it is clear that the situation has considerably improved since the 1950s, on account of deliberate government effort.

/Table 10.

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<sup>59/</sup> Republic of Korea, Office of Forestry, op. cit., p. 22.

Table 10. Distribution of bare land in the Republic of Korea

Name of river	Bare land (ha)		
	1935	1956	1977
Nagdong-gang	85,490	190,000	22,120
Genn-gang	38,837	120,000	5,340
Han-gang	25,760	90,000	12,540
Yungsan-gang	-	40,000	1,420
Scomjin-gang	-	30,000	3,122
Total	150,087	470,000	44,542

Source: Adopted from Country report, op. cit., p. 24.

Flood is the most serious environmental hazard in Bangladesh. Different regions of the country are subjected to different degrees of flooding every year, depending on the amount of rainfall and water discharged through the major rivers and waterways. According to the available survey data of UNDP/FAO, in a normal year 27 per cent of the cultivated area is flooded up to 1 foot, followed by 40 per cent between 1 to 3 feet, 18 per cent between 3-6 feet and 15 per cent above 6 feet. Because of the rise of river beds over the years, the frequency and the extent of flood damage increased manifold beginning mid-1950s as compared with earlier years. Severe (measured in terms of losses of life and property) floods occurred in 1954, 1955, 1956, 1962, 1963, 1968, 1969, 1970 and 1974.

In Indonesia flooding is confined very close to the river basin areas. The extent of flooding is linked to rainfall. The normal year flooding is about 0.5 to 1.5 metres. About 3 per cent of the cultivated area of West Java is affected by flood. The total area affected is approximately 15,000 hectares, and the number of adversely affected families is about 75,000. In the Republic of Korea, flood has caused considerable damage over the years and in affected areas it has resulted in low agricultural productivity. As mentioned before, flood has been caused by a combination of heavy summer rainfall and hillside erosion. However, the area damaged by flood has gone down in recent years owing to the preventive measures taken by the Government (flood control structures and erosion control measures). The average annual area damaged by flood during the 1961-1971 period was 1,758 km<sup>2</sup>; this amount of damage came down to only 310 km<sup>2</sup> in 1976.

## 2. Evolution of community development programmes

### Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, the first attempt at employment-oriented rural development programme was made through V-AID (Village Agricultural and Industrial Development) project developed with United States assistance. It was hoped that aided self-help projects will help create employment and stimulate all-round village development. The project did not receive adequate administrative and technical support required to realize its objectives. In order to analyse the more recent programmes, it is helpful to review the problems of the V-AID programme that ultimately led to its abolition in 1959.

The village council, one of the main instruments of implementing the programme (under the guidance of V-AID workers), did not function well because of conflicting group interests. Self-help projects suffered because voluntary labour lasted only a few days. Projects requiring inter-village co-ordination in planning and implementation presented serious problems since it was not easy to bring about such co-ordination. No one appeared to be responsible for the maintenance of completed projects. The priorities assigned by villagers to various projects were often in conflict with those of V-AID workers.

The Rural Works Programme of the 1960s emerged out of a number of pilot experiments made in the Kotwali thana (sub-district) of the Comilla district - the social laboratory of the Academy for Rural Development. The Rural Works Programme received a boost in Bangladesh following an agreement with the United States Government in 1961 for expanded supply of agricultural surplus commodities worth \$US 621 million over the course of the next four years. On request of the Planning Commission the Comilla Academy designed a Pilot Works Programme to be implemented in Kotwali thana. The programme aimed at attaining the twin objective of capital formation and income generation. The programme was to be financed by counterpart funds created as a result of import under PL 480 and the purchasing power generated was to be absorbed largely by additional supply of wage goods. The Comilla Pilot Works Programme was implemented beginning December 1961. The physical achievements of the first six months provided a basis for spreading the programme over the whole of the country in 1962-1963.

/The

The Food-for-Work Programme was introduced in December 1974, essentially as a relief works programme for the victims of the 1974 famine. It was intended to make all able-bodied, distressed people work for food wage instead of relying on doles. Since then it has developed into a separate, but related, programme for alleviating the hardship of destitute population (landless and near landless rural people). Like the Rural Works Programme, the Food-for-Work Programme aims at increasing employment and building rural infrastructure for marketing and production. The Food-for-Work Programme was initiated with the special wheat grant received from the World Food Programme and later under USAID Title II. At the national level, the Rural Works Programme is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development while the Food-for-Work Programme is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, thus underscoring the "relief" character of the programme.

In post-liberation Bangladesh, the national leadership has been making attempts to revive the old concept of self-help projects based primarily on voluntary labour mobilization. The idea of mobilizing surplus labour on a voluntary basis was first mooted in a proposal soon after liberation by a section in the Government to organize freedom fighters to provide leadership in such a work programme. The proposal met with strong political resistance and therefore never got off the ground. A similar proposal incorporated in the first five-year plan of Bangladesh to utilize unemployed and underemployed labour force in asset creating activities was never taken up seriously by the political authority.<sup>60/</sup> Unlike the previous governments, the present Government of Bangladesh has been trying to popularize the Voluntary Labour Mobilization Programme beginning late in 1976. The result was two highly publicized projects: one is the Ulashi-Jadunathpur Canal Digging Project (in Jessore district) and the other Brahmaputra River Diversion Project (in Mymensingh district). Besides, a number of other projects involving mainly river bed excavation have also been initiated.

Yet another programme of community development called the Swanirvar Bangladesh was initiated in 1975. The concept of Swanirvar Bangladesh emerged from a programme of district-based foodgrain self-sufficiency drive started at Comilla following the 1974 flood. The various components of the programme were originally incorporated in what is known as the "Comilla Declaration".

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<sup>60/</sup> The Plan came up with a very interesting suggestion of imposing a "head tax in kind" in terms of labour input from every able-bodied adult.

The Swanirvar programme, which is now in operation in a number of areas of the country, is still at an experimental stage, and no well-defined "model" seems to have emerged yet. Nevertheless, certain characteristics are discernible which may ultimately lead to the development of a model. Swanirvar Bangladesh is a movement in search of a programme. Its fundamental aims are to develop effective local-level leadership and to harness local resources for local development.

Two voluntary projects attempting environmental improvement at the community level deserve mention. These are the Gonoshasthya kendro (People's Health Centre) at Savar near Dacca and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. Both are indigenous voluntary organizations involved in primary health, family planning and rural development. "The main focus of the Savar Project has been health care and family planning, but a distinctive feature of the project is its efforts to relate the health and family planning activities with other basic essentials for improving the welfare of rural families such as growing subsistence food, raising women's social status and income-earning capacities and expanding the opportunities for basic education."<sup>61/</sup> This project was initiated in 1972 by a group of Bengali doctors who worked in a field hospital during the liberation war. This was a dedicated group, members of which looked upon the new venture as an attempt to design a health care system that could reach the rural population at a minimum cost. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee which functions in selected rural areas beginning 1972 "... attempts to bring a limited amount of external assistance and the idealistic impulses of a group of educated young people to bear on the problem of extreme poverty and deprivation among the rural people in Bangladesh."<sup>62/</sup> The first area covered by the programme was a cluster of villages in Sylhet district in the north coast of the country. In 1976, two other project areas in Dacca and Mymensingh districts were taken up under this programme.

/Indonesia

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<sup>61/</sup> Manzoór Ahmed, The Savar Project: Meeting the Rural Health Crisis in Bangladesh, (Essex, Connecticut, International Council for Educational Development, 1977), p. iii.

<sup>62/</sup> Manzoór Ahmed, BRAC: Building Human Infrastructures to Serve the Rural Poor, (Essex, Connecticut, International Council for Educational Development, 1977), p.1.

## Indonesia

In Indonesia, programmes of environmental improvement at the community level emerged in response to the concern of the Government for over-all rural development. A government brochure lists the following as the main problems in rural areas of Indonesia.<sup>63/</sup>

- "Uneven population distribution."
- "Low rates of production and income."
- "Inadequate supporting infrastructure."
- "Insufficient education, poor technological adaptation,  
poor general knowledge."
- "Inadequate health facilities, poor environmental  
sanitation and poor housing."
- "Socio-cultural and administrative constraints."

A large number of programmes have been incorporated in the five-year plans of the country to tackle the problems of rural areas. As indicated in sections I and II, labour intensive works (Padat Karya) and the Presidential Grant-in-aid (Inpres) projects are of special interest to us. Padat Karya has a longer history than Inpres projects. It was first started as an emergency project at the suggestion of ILO and the United Nations. The idea was to alleviate the unemployment problem in poor regions. Soon, the emergency character of the programme was abandoned, and it was converted into a regular Food-for-Work Programme beginning in 1963 to provide slack season employment in rural areas. Like the Works Programme in Bangladesh, the impetus came from the availability of food aid under the United States PL 480. The programme continued on an experimental basis for a number of years. With the start of Replita I (first five-year Plan) the Padat Karya programme became more structured in terms of administration of the programme and the method of selection and management of projects.

However, the Padat Karya, despite its significant expansion in 1969, could not alone make much of an impact on rural problems, particularly those of unemployment and underemployment, inadequate transport and irrigation infrastructure. Since the Japanese occupation in the 1940s, the road and irrigation networks in rural areas of Indonesia have deteriorated due to a lack of a serious effort to rehabilitate and maintain these facilities. Inpres Desa (village) and Inpres Kabupaten (district) were initiated in 1969 and 1970 respectively to address these problems. The inspiration for the Inpres Kabupaten Programme came from the Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh. The programme was

/formally

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<sup>63/</sup> Republic of Indonesia, Department of Home Affairs, Rural Development in Indonesia, 1977, p. 6.

formally started under a Presidential instruction (Number 1) issued in 1970.<sup>64/</sup> Other Inpres programmes were started at various points in 1970, for example, Inpres Sekolah Dasar in 1973, Inpres Kesehatan in 1974, and Inpres Penghijauan in 1976.

#### Republic of Korea

Historically, the origin of programmes of environmental improvement at the community level in the Republic of Korea can be traced back to the pattern of development of the agriculture sector. In the pre-1945 era, Korean agriculture went through a number of successive production increase plans beginning in 1918. Much of the over-all strategy of these plans, however, was geared to serve the interests of the Japanese. Following the Second World War and until the establishment of the present regime in 1961, the most noteworthy policy measure adopted in the agriculture sector was the Land Reform Act of June 1949, under which, "... the absentee land ownership was eliminated and land ownership was placed in the hands of operators."<sup>65/</sup> Until about the late 1950s, agricultural investment received low priority because of the circumstances arising from the Korean military actions and the resulting rehabilitation effort. Among the economic sectors, the industry sector was accorded a high priority. The accumulation of a "Counterpart Fund" against the United States food aid, which started in 1955, enabled the Government to expand agricultural credit and establish an Agriculture Bank. In addition to credit expansion, extension services were reorganized.

With the change in Government in 1961, there was a shift of emphasis from rehabilitation to economic growth. In the following years, through the first, second and third five-year plans, the economy attained a remarkably high rate of growth (around 10 per cent per annum), sustained largely through the expansion of manufacturing output and exports. While the agriculture sector made considerable gains, it lagged behind the non-agricultural sector. "For the 1962-1971 period agriculture grew at an average annual rate of 3.7 per cent compared to a 17 per cent rate of growth in the mining and manufacturing sector."<sup>66/</sup>

/Both

<sup>64/</sup> Y.B. de Wit, "The Kabupaten Programme", Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, March 1973; and T.A. Salim, "The Kabupaten Development Programme: a special public work scheme in Indonesia", a country report presented at the Meeting on Interregional Project on the Planning and Organization of Special Public Work Schemes held in Kathmandu, Nepal, 16-27 September 1976.

<sup>65/</sup> Pal Yong Moon, "Korea's agricultural policies", op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>66/</sup> Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", pp. 1-2.



Both wage and productivity in the agriculture sector was much lower than the non-agriculture sector in urban areas. As mentioned before, during this period, agriculture sector was characterized by substantial seasonal unemployment. All of these factors led to a large migration from rural to urban areas.

At various points in time since 1960, the Government has initiated different community based programmes to improve the living conditions in rural areas by raising the employment and income of the people. First came the National Construction Service which was introduced in 1961 and continued up to 1964 when a second programme called the Self Help Work Programme was started. Both of these were basically income augmentation programmes. Finally, the big push came in 1970 in the form of a new programme called the Saemaul Undong which, "...evolved from President Park's long cherished desire to transform the tradition-bound, stagnant rural sector into modern, progressive and hopeful communities."<sup>67/</sup> The movement was initiated as a comprehensive rural development programme. "The Saemaul Undong stresses the building of comfortable, convenient and progressive villages by the villagers themselves. It attempts to improve the village environment and to increase family income by inculcating a spirit of industrious, co-operative self-improvement."<sup>68/</sup>

In its pilot phase in 1970, the movement was called the New Village Cultivation Movement (Saemaul Kaggugi Undong). Taking advantage of the cement surplus in the country, the Government subsidized purchase of 350 bags of cement by each village (total - 33,267) without specifying the use of the material except vaguely suggesting that it be used for community development projects.<sup>69/</sup> The outcome was that some villages used the cement very effectively (in the construction of water wells, warehouses, farm feeder roads, village centres etc.) while others did not (some leakage into private use took place). However, the Movement demonstrated that proper incentive leads to community development under local leadership and thus the seed for Saemaul Undong was sown. Official reports indicate that the New Village Cultivation Project created about 12.2 billion won worth of national wealth with a total investment of 4.1 billion won in cement.

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<sup>67/</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>68/</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>69/</sup> The Government had actually recommended (not insisted upon) ten projects which included, reforestation, road widening, repair of riverbanks, construction of manure storage facilities, repair of small pond reservoirs, repair of irrigation ponds, cleaning of village paths and ditches, construction of public water wells, construction of public laundrying places and rodent control.

## B. CONTENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

### 1. Objectives

In section II, we discussed the objectives of community development programmes in general terms. We will now pull together the experiences of the different programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea and present in table 11 a comparative picture of the objectives associated with these programmes. Among all programmes considered here, only Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea attempts to bring about an all round improvement in the life and living conditions of the people in rural areas. All other programmes can be divided into two types; community public works programmes and special purpose programmes. The objectives of community public works programmes include, among others, employment creation, income augmentation and asset creation. The special purpose programmes are designed to tackle the problems of primary health care, family planning, soil erosion, deforestation and education.

As indicated before, the asset creating activities included under community public works programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea include those geared towards conservation of natural resources, protection against degradation of the environment, efficient utilization of resources and augmentation of natural resource base. Special socio-political and cultural objectives are incorporated in a number of programmes in all countries. These objectives have been expressed as mass participation, leadership and skill training, vitalization of local institutions, promotion of self-reliance, raising dignity of physical labour, raising the status of women and spiritual enlightenment. Few of the programmes emphasize disaster relief or make any explicit reference to distribution of benefits. There were a few exceptions. The Food-for-Work Programme of Bangladesh and Padat Karya of Indonesia started out as relief programmes. In the post-liberation Bangladesh, until 1973, the Rural Works Programme was carried out essentially as a relief work within the framework of the general post-war relief and reconstruction plan of the national authority. The Inpres Desa programme of Indonesia lists equitable distribution of benefits as one of its objectives.

In all cases, the national political leadership is clearly interested in employment creation, income augmentation and asset creation, but it was not much concerned with income redistribution except in the Republic of Korea where a drastic land reform law was enacted in 1950. Since there was no serious attempt to redistribute productive assets in rural areas of Bangladesh and Indonesia, pursuance of productivity-raising activities under the Rural Works

**Table 11. Objectives of community development programmes in  
Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea**

Bangladesh		Indonesia		Republic of Korea	
Programme/period	Objectives	Programme/period	Objectives	Programme/period	Objectives
1. Rural Works Program 1961 - Present	a) Employment creation b) Income augmentation c) Asset creation d) Mass participation e) Leadership and skill training f) Vitalization of local government institutions	1. <u>Padat Karya</u> 1963 - present	a) Employment creation b) Income augmentation c) Asset creation	1. National Construction Service 1961 - 1964	a) Income Augmentation b) Asset creation c) Student and Mass participation
2. Food-for-Work 1974 - Present	a) Provide food to the rural poor lacking purchasing power b) Create assets c) Generate employment d) "Grow-more-food" e) Stabilize the price of foodgrains	2. <u>Inpres Desa</u> 1969 - present	a) Asset creation b) Mass participation c) Establishing a direct link between central government and villages d) Equitable distribution of benefits	2. Self-Help Work Programme 1964 - 1972	a) Income Augmentation b) Employment generation c) Asset creation
3. Voluntary Labor Mobilization Program 1976 - present	a) Utilize surplus labor b) Create assets c) Generate mass consciousness d) Promote self-reliance e) Raise dignity of physical labor f) Increase output and income	3. <u>Inpres Kabupaten</u> 1970 - present	a) Employment creation b) Income augmentation c) Asset creation d) Mobilize local resources e) Mass participation	3. <u>Sacmaul Undong</u> 1970 - present	a) Spiritual enlightenment b) Environmental improvement c) Income Augmentation
4. Swanirvar Bangladesh 1975 - Present	a) Attain self-sufficiency in foodgrains b) Mobilize domestic resources c) Mass participation in productive work d) Develop village leadership e) Promote family planning and adult education	4. <u>Inpres Sekolah Dasar</u> 1973 - present	a) Increase primary level enrollment	4. Erosion Control Programme 1958 - present	a) Soil conservation b) Reforestation
5. People's Health Centre 1972 - present	a) Primary health care b) Family planning service c) Rural development d) Raising the status of women	5. <u>Inpres Kesehatan</u> 1974 - present	a) Primary health care	5. 10 Year Forest Development Plan 1973 - 1982	a) Afforestation
6. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee 1972 - present	a) Income augmentation b) Basic preventive and curative health care c) Family planning service d) Building local institutions e) Improvement of social and economic status of women	6. <u>Inpres Penghijauan dan Reboisasi</u> 1976 - present	a) Erosion control b) Income augmentation c) Reforestation	6. Shifting Cultivation Resettlement 1967 - present	a) Reforestation b) Income augmentation
7. The Jhumiah Development Scheme - Proposed -	a) Erosion Control b) Income augmentation c) Afforestation			7. Korea Health Development Institute (KHDI) Pilot Health Projects 1977 -	a) Primary health care delivery

/Table 11 (continued)

Table 11 (continued)

Sources: M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme", op. cit.; Burki, et al., Public Works Programmes, op. cit.; M. Alamgir, Bangladesh, op. cit.; Manzoor Ahmed, Savar Project, op. cit.; Manzoor Ahmed, BRAC, op. cit.; Personal communications from Prof. M. Yunus, Chittagong University, Bangladesh; Y.B. de Wit, "The Kabupaten Programme", op. cit.; T.A. Salim, "The Kabupaten Development Programme", op. cit.; Richard Patten, Belinda Dapice and Walter Falcon, "An experiment in rural-employment creation: Indonesia Kabupaten Development Programme", 1974 (mimeo.); Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", op. cit.; Bong Ok Kim, "The new community movement and Korea", 1974 (mimeo.); Republic of Korea, Office of Forestry, "Country report", op. cit.; Author's field survey; Korea Health Development Institute, Maul Geon-gang Saup (Community Health Project), Seoul, 1977; Personal communications from Mr. Kenneth Pickering.

/Programme

Programme implied raising the income of asset (e.g. land) owning households by an amount significantly higher than that of non-asset owning households.

The direct political objectives of the national authorities with respect to many of these programmes were even more subtle. In Bangladesh, the Government attempted to shift its power base from the urban to rural areas and looked upon the Rural Works Programme as an instrument for strengthening its hold on the working of the local government institutions and ensure complete allegiance of the rural elite. According to some observers, the political objective evolved over time rather than having been built into the programme at the onset.<sup>70/</sup> Two important changes of emphasis can be discerned during the 1960s. First, despite its stated objective of promoting mass participation, the national authority did nothing to censure the local leadership when it openly indicated its reluctance to allow such mass participation in the selection of project priorities or in the process of implementation (except as hired labour). Secondly, in the late 1960s, the total subservience of the economic objectives of the Rural Works Programme to political objectives was almost enthusiastically supported by the national leadership.<sup>71/</sup> It is interesting to note that the successive regimes in Bangladesh since 1970 perceive the political potential of community public works programme in about the same way as the regime that ruled the region in the 1960s.

The Inpres programmes of Indonesia represent appreciation of a number of political realities by the national leadership. First, it was realized that the rural areas could not be totally deprived of the benefit of rising oil revenue. Secondly, it was understood that the villages had become delinked from the central governmental authority and therefore, there was need to establish a direct line of communication with the villages. Thirdly, as the institution of Bupati and Lurah emerged as key sources of power and favour distribution at the district and village level, there was need to strengthen their resource position so that their political standing could be protected. Fourthly, the need was felt to popularize top down community development programmes and thereby prolong the status quo. Finally, there was a need for increasing fiscal resources available at the regional levels so that the regions could use their natural resource endowments to improve living environments of

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<sup>70/</sup> John W. Thomas, "The Rural Public Works Programme in East Pakistan", in Walter P. Falcon and Gustav Papanek (eds.), Development Policy II, The Pakistan Experience (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1971).

<sup>71/</sup> M. Alamgir, "Rural Works Programme," op. cit.

human settlements, thereby slowing down the process of regional polarization.<sup>72/</sup>

The Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea is unique in its emphasis on spiritual enlightenment which has three dimensions; the establishment of a right view of value, the practice of the spirit of self-help, self-support, and co-operation in everyday life; and the establishment of a clear outlook on the nation and national independence. The right view of value is interpreted as adoption of modern progressive attitudes that go with a modern competitive society. Needless to say, it is a point of debate as to how far a country can go in terms of abandoning traditional values and adopt alien values (modern competitive). Promotion of self-reliance is perhaps a less controversial objective. Moreover, for the Republic of Korea, preservation of national independence has been an important political rallying point which has promoted national solidarity and a "work hard" attitude among people. The Saemaul Undong is also unique in clearly including environmental improvement as one of its major objectives. Indeed, in the initial years, the programme pursued this objective more vigorously than any other initially.<sup>73/</sup>

## 2. Type of projects undertaken

Table 12 presents the type of projects included in community development programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea. As expected, projects undertaken are similar across the countries although the details may vary from country to country and also from one programme to another within the same country. It was suggested before that projects can be grouped as directly productive, economic infrastructure and social infrastructure. Some programmes include all three types of projects, while others are more limited in project coverage. Examples of the former are, Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh, Inpres Kabupaten and Inpres Desa of Indonesia and Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea, and examples of the latter are, the People's Health Center and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (Bangladesh), Inpres Sekolah Dasar, Inpres Kesehatan and Inpres Penghijauan (Indonesia), and the Erosion Control Programme Forest Development Plan, Shifting Cultivation Resettlement and the KHDI Health Projects (the Republic of Korea). There is indeed a close link between the types of projects undertaken and the objectives of different community development programmes.

/Table 12.

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<sup>72/</sup> For a discussion of regional planning in Indonesia, see A. Majid Ibrahim and H. Benjamin Fisher, "Search for strategy: regional development studies and planning in Indonesia", paper presented at the World Regional Development and Planning Conference, University of Tsukuba, 21-23 August, 1978.

<sup>73/</sup> Sung Hwan Ban, op. cit.

**Table 12. Type of projects included in community development programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea**

Bangladesh		Indonesia		Republic of Korea	
Programme	Type of projects	Programme	Type of projects	Programme	Type of projects
1. Rural Works Programme	a) Roads b) Bridges and culverts c) Embankments d) Canal and drainage e) Field channels f) Fish ponds g) Thana Training and Development Center h) Union Office i) Workshop and godown j) Flood shelter k) Markets	1. Padat Karya	a) Dams b) Irrigation channels c) Roads d) Replanting	1. Saemaul Undong	a) Roads b) Housing c) Improvement of ditches d) Public laundry places e) Water supply f) Community centers g) Land rearrangement h) Irrigation facilities i) Warehouse (Public) j) Compost pits (Public) k) Workshops (Public) l) Barn (Common use) m) Rural electrification n) Saemaul factories o) Reforestation p) Education
2. Food-for-Work Programme	a) Flood control dykes b) Irrigation and drainage canals c) Roads	2. Inpres Desa	a) Funding b) Repair of dirt roads c) Markets d) Community centers e) Poultry, fish, rabbit farms		
3. Voluntary Labor Mobilization Programme	a) Irrigation canals b) Excavation of river beds	3. Inpres Kabupaten	a) Roads b) Bridges and culverts c) Irrigation canals and dams d) Markets e) Others (i) Bus stations (ii) Fish landing harbors (iii) Fish ponds		
4. People's Health Centre	a) Health Care b) Family Planning c) Agriculture and Nutrition d) Women's Vocational Training and Education	4. Inpres Sekolah Dasar	a) School building b) Books c) Equipment d) Teacher education	2. Erosion Control Programme	a) Planting b) Terracing c) Maintenance d) Check dams
5. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee	a) Functional Education b) Health care c) Family Planning d) Agriculture: (i) Extension (ii) Demonstration (iii) Irrigation equipment (iv) Irrigation canals (v) Flood embankments (vi) Fisheries	5. Inpres Kesehatan	a) Health centers b) Equipment c) Water supply	3. 10 Year Forest Development Plan	a) Planting b) Forest industry
		6. Inpres Penghijauan and Reboisasi	a) Planting b) Terracing c) Maintenance d) Check dams	4. Shifting Cultivation Resettlement	a) Resettlement of households b) Removal of households c) Settlement of households d) Community Health Centers e) Equipment f) Primary Health Units g) Primary Health Post or Village Health Post h) Personnel training

Source: See table 11.

/The

The relative importance of major types of projects is brought out in table 13. It is clear that economic infrastructures dominate programme expenditures; social infrastructure which covers many projects that directly affect the quality of life ranks lowest in priority. This picture changes if we include health and education related projects included in separate programmes, as in Indonesia where during 1976/77 and 1977/78, Inpres Sekolah Dasar and Inpres Kesehatan averaged about 35 per cent of total Inpres programmes.<sup>74/</sup> In general, roads, bridges and culverts and irrigation facilities are among the more popular projects. As mentioned before, the Republic of Korea emphasizes more than other countries do, projects which are directly related to environmental protection and improvement.

### 3. Time and size of project

In selection of projects, it is not only the type but also the time horizon and size that are important considerations. Generally speaking, projects under community public works programme are taken up with a one year time horizon; that is, they are expected to be completed within a year.<sup>75/</sup> This does not, however, apply to projects like the construction of schools and health centres and erosion control measures which are phased over a number of years. For example, in Indonesia the elementary schools of six-room units are built over two years, three-room in each year. Similarly, erosion control, terracing and planting are carried out in successive phases and under each project only a limited area is taken up at a time for treatment.

/Table 13.

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74/ Ministry of Finance, budget data.

75/ Observers feel there has been far too little investment indeed in bench terracing as yet under Inpres Penghijauan Programme in Indonesia. I have benefitted immensely from discussions with Mr. Pickering on these points. In a personal communication, Mr. Pickering pointed out that,

"The trees/fodder/livestock (T/F/L) projects which, on slopes above 50 per cent, provide the only technology so far discovered for reforestation and regenerating natural humus on the steeper eroded slopes while simultaneously keeping the peasant on the slopes and working through his efforts and energies, have not been undertaken under the Inpres Penghijauan Programme." The T/F/L project involves planting of grass between the trees; the grass which grows relatively quickly will provide the basis for a flow of income by supporting livestock during the period taken by trees to mature and yield income.

On the other hand, Mr. Richard Patten of USAID pointed out to me that in the Indonesian context, the best protection from erosion is good agriculture, highly productive agriculture on hillside in which plants cover the ground closely since the main problem is splash of rain drop rather than surface run-off of water. A good cassava is a solution. I present different views here because not being an expert myself, I am not in a position to pass judgement on the appropriate choice of technology for erosion control and reforestation.



Table 13. Percentage distribution of community development expenditure by major types of projects

Country/programme/period	Directly productive	Economic infrastructure	Social infrastructure
<u>Bangladesh</u>			
Rural works programme			
1963-1972	7.2	76.6	16.2
1973-1978	43.6	47.6	8.8
1978-1980 <sup>a/</sup>	20.9	60.6	18.5
<u>Indonesia</u>			
<u>Inpres Kabupaten</u>			
1971-1978	12.0	88.0	0.0
<u>Inpres Desa</u>			
1973-1978	26.7	44.9	28.4
<u>Republic of Korea</u>			
<u>Saemaul Undong</u>			
1974-1977	32.9	38.5	28.6

Sources: M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme", *op. cit.*; Government of Indonesia, BAPPENAS and Department Dalam Negeri.; Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", *op. cit.*; Dong Hi Kim and Yang Boo Choe, "Economic implication and investment strategy of rural Saemaul Undong", paper presented at the seminar on "The Role of Saemaul Undong in Integrated Rural Development", Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organization, Seoul, 21-28 August 1978.

Note: <sup>a/</sup> Proposed under Two-Year Approach Plan.

/The

The size of projects undertaken is usually small, though there is considerable variation from case to case. The deciding criterion is, what can be managed at the village, sub-district and district level. A large proportion of projects are village-based; there are however instances when a single project may cover more than one village. Technical considerations also influence both the size and type of community development projects at all levels. Relatively large and costly projects are undertaken at the sub-district and district levels. The nature of the project and specific environmental factors determine its size. This is true for bridges, culverts, embankments, sluice gates, irrigation canals or flood control structures. In Bangladesh, such projects always have to be vetted by the Water Development Authority from a technical standpoint.

Many projects included in community development programmes are "counter seasonal" in character, in the sense that construction activities are taken up during the slack season. For example, in Bangladesh Works Programme, the projects are executed mostly during dry winter months which usually coincide with the slack season, construction and earthwork can be more conveniently carried out during this period. However, in recent years both the Rural Works Programme and the Food-for-Work Programme are being spread over other months, particularly the rainy season when many people remain idle with little alternative source of support. However, such flexibility is not available for planting under afforestation and reforestation programme. Such planting usually has to be completed in the dry months.

#### 4. Nature of input and choice of technique

In principle, community public works programme projects are intended to use primarily local materials and local labour. Data are available on the use of local materials in projects under Inpres Kabupaten programme in Indonesia over the period 1971/72 to 1977/78 (table 14). While there have been some year to year fluctuations, the share of local materials in total expenditure has been close to 40 per cent. Although hard data are difficult to come by, it is well-known that cost of materials used in Inpres Desa projects does not exceed one third of the total and the materials are almost entirely procured locally. Comparable figures are available for total cost of materials in selected projects under the Saemaul Undong programme. These figures are based on a sample survey of 151 villages carried out in 1974 (table 15).

In general, projects vary in labour intensity and therefore the labour intensity of a programme depends upon the mix of projects undertaken. Labour intensity is defined as the proportion of labour cost to total cost of the project. Table 16 presents data on labour intensity of selected projects in

/Table 14.

Table 14. Cost of local materials of Inpres Kabupaten Projects as percentage of the total cost

Year	Cost of local materials (percentage)
1971/1972	43.2
1972/1973	40.7
1973/1974	39.1
1974/1975	39.0
1975/1976	39.6
1976/1977	42.2
1977/1978	37.9

Source: Government of Indonesia, BAPPENAS.

Table 15. Materials cost in Saemaul Undong projects in the Republic of Korea

Type of project	Cost of materials (percentage of total cost)
Village road	13.0
Farm-feeder road	9.4
Small bridge	50.8
Streams	54.6
Brooks	52.4
Total	23.1

Source: Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", op. cit., p. 95

/Table 16.

Table 16. Percentage of labour components of selected projects in Bangladesh and the Republic of Korea

Bangladesh		Republic of Korea	
Type of project	Labour percentage	Type of project	Labour percentage
Embankment	91	Village road	52.5(80)
Drains, canals, tanks	100	Farm-feeder road	45.0(83)
Non-metalled roads	94	Small bridge	49.2(49)
Metalled roads	40	Streams	21.5(28)
Community buildings	40	Brooks	30.3(37)
Bridge/culverts	25		
Dirt roads including bridges/culverts	56		

Sources: M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme", op. cit.; and Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", op. cit.

Note: Figures within parentheses are percentages excluding the value of land.

/Bangladesh

Bangladesh and in Korea. Labour intensity (calculated excluding value of land) varies between 25 per cent (bridges/culverts) and 10 per cent (drains, canals tanks) in Bangladesh and 28 per cent (streams) and 83 per cent (farm-feeder roads) in the Republic of Korea. Clearly, community development programmes include both labour intensive and capital/material intensive projects. The over-all labour intensity of Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh, Inpres Kabupaten of Indonesia and the Self-Help Work Programme of the Republic of Korea is presented in table 17. The figures suggest that labour intensity of community development programme is much higher in the Republic of Korea than in Bangladesh or Indonesia. Besides, the estimates are relatively stable in all countries over time except for a few years which implies that probably there has not been a significant change in project mix of programmes for which we have data. As for some of the other community public works programmes in the three countries (e.g. Food-for-Work Programme, Inpres Desa etc.) available evidence suggest that they are more labour intensive than the ones we have shown in table 17. This, however, does not apply to health and educational programmes (e.g. Inpres Kesehatan and Inpres Sekolah Dasar) where the labour intensity in the construction of basic facilities probably does not exceed 40 per cent.

Complex factors are involved in choice of technology or labour intensity in respect of erosion control. Treatment of eroded areas may involve one or any combination of the following activities, terracing, check dam building, construction of irrigation facilities, tree planting, stream bank improvement, rearrangement of outlets and extension work. Soil type, topography, rainfall and vegetation pattern determine the degree of soil erosion and these in turn determine the appropriate method of treatment. Terracing depends both on physical characteristics of the area and ownership pattern of land. As indicated before, problems arise when residents of hillside areas and owners of hillside land resist erosion control/reforestation projects. In Indonesia so far the method adopted under Inpres Penghijauan has been the old kredit terracing method (as opposed to bench terracing which involves cutting into the hill side and producing a level surface for tillage) in which seedlings are placed on small parallel ridges. In the Republic of Korea, considerable amount of bench terracing along with tree planting, rearrangement of outlets and stream bank improvement have been undertaken as part of erosion control measures. All erosion control techniques are labour intensive; in terracing, however, bench terracing is much more labour intensive than kredit terracing.

#### (5) Target area and target groups

Community development programmes are largely rural area oriented although programmes may differ in their area bias. Selection of target areas

/Table 17.

Table 17. Labour intensity of community development programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea

Bangladesh <sup>a/</sup>		Indonesia <sup>b/</sup>		Republic of Korea <sup>c/</sup>	
Year	Labour intensity (percentage)	Year	Labour intensity (percentage)	Year	Labour intensity (percentage)
1962/63	55	1971/72	28	1964	94
1963/64	46	1972/73	28	1965	91
1964/65	60	1973/74	30	1966	89
1975/76	58	1974/75	28	1967	85
1976/77	61	1975/76	26	1968	88
		1976/77	28	1969	82
		1977/78	29	1970	82
				1971	79
				1972	70

Sources: M. Alamgir, *ibid.*; Government of Indonesia, BAPPENAS; and S.J. Burki, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

Notes: <sup>a/</sup> Rural Works Programme.  
<sup>b/</sup> Inpres Kabupaten.  
<sup>c/</sup> Self-help Work Programme.

/generally,

generally represents a reconciliation of interests of national and local political elites. However, sometimes strong determination of national leadership to protect the interests of certain regions may override the opposing concerns of other areas and groups. In the countries under discussion, different community development programmes have focussed on the rural-urban dichotomy and not so much on the differences between different regions of the country. In Indonesia, this aspect certainly merits greater attention than it has received so far.

As for target groups, the rural poor is explicitly mentioned in programmes which are primarily employment-generating. Programmes which include projects primarily geared to tackling other environmental problems do not identify any target groups. Women are included as a specific target group in one programme (People's Health Center of Bangladesh). The selection of target groups is as much a matter of political dialectics as the selection of target area. In certain cases for obvious reasons, the national leadership may not wish to identify its political allies as a target group though a large part of the benefit of the programme may accrue to them. This becomes clear if one carefully analyses the beneficiaries of most of the projects included in community public works programmes which usually identify only the rural poor/landless labourer as the target group.

In Bangladesh, the Rural Works Programme tends to promote the interest of landowners more than that of landless labourers. Production-augmenting projects benefit the landowners while the direct employment benefit goes both to landowners and landless labourers. There is no built-in mechanism to guarantee employment only to the landless labourers or the rural poor in general. Employment opportunities at the going wage rate are offered to whoever is willing to take them, the only rationing device being the total funds available and/or the size of the work. Data from an earlier survey suggest that over a quarter of Rural Works Programme workers owned two acres or more of land. As a matter of fact, in most of the community public works programmes across countries, the benefit gets diffused despite specification of target groups, the reason for this in all cases being that no safeguard is attached to limit benefits to the target groups. An exception to this is those programmes where employment is offered against kind wage and/or at a level less than the market wage (table 2); this ensures that only the relatively more needy come to accept such work. The Food-for-Work programme of Bangladesh and the Padat Karya of Indonesia are two examples. Given the nature of the projects undertaken, the community development programmes appear to have been designed more to effect changes in target areas than in target groups. Target area and target groups for different programmes are shown in table 18.

Table 18. Target area and target groups of community development programmes

Country/programme	Target area	Target group
<u>Bangladesh</u>		
1. Rural Works Programme	Rural area	Rural poor
2. Food-for-Work Programme	Rural area/depressed regions	Landless labourer
3. Voluntary Labour Mobilization Programme	None	None
4. Swanirvar Bangladesh	Rural area	None
5. People's Health Centre	Selected rural areas	All groups/women
6. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee	Selected rural areas	Rural poor
7. Jhumiah Development Scheme	Hill tracts	Tribal people
<u>Indonesia</u>		
1. <u>Padat Karya</u>	Depressed regions	Rural poor
2. <u>Inpres Desa</u>	Rural area	None
3. <u>Inpres Kabupaten</u>	None	Poor unskilled family heads
4. <u>Inpres Sekolah Dasar</u>	None	None
5. <u>Inpres Kesehatan</u>	None	None
6. <u>Inpres Penghijauan</u>	Hill area	None
<u>Republic of Korea</u>		
1. National Construction Service	Rural area	Needy farmers
2. Self-help Work Programme	Rural area	Official lists of rural needy
3. <u>Saemaul Undong</u>	Rural area	None
4. Erosion Control Programme	Hill area	None
5. 10 Year Forest Development Plan	None	None
6. Shifting Cultivation Resettlement Programme	Hill area	Farmers
7. KHDI Health Projects	Selected rural areas	None

Source: See table 11.

/c.



C. PLANNING, FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION OF  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

1. Planning and administrative organization

Bangladesh: Rural Works Programme and Food-for-Work Programme

We shall discuss only the major programmes for which elaborate planning and administrative organization has been developed. The basic structure of Rural Works Programme organization, priority selection and implementation have not changed much between its inception in the early 1960s and now. Planning of Rural Works Programme starts with the ward (the lowest electoral unit) committee consisting of three union council (elected representative body at the sub-district level) members from the same ward and an equal number of representatives of farmers and landless labourers. One of the union council members is elected chairman of the ward committee. The committee prepares projects for local development, but the final priority list is drawn up after consultation with the general public in an open meeting. The ward level priority lists of projects are sent to the union council for incorporation into the Union Plan. The final decision is taken by the union council in a meeting with other local leadership elements. The union council projects are sent to the thana council for approval. Thana councils themselves have separate plans consisting primarily of projects which cannot be undertaken by any one union individually. Projects under thana plan are approved by the district council. The district council projects are in turn approved by the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives.

Rural Works Programme projects up to the thana level are mostly implemented through ward and union level project committees consisting of elected representatives and selected representatives (e.g., school headmaster, co-operative manager, social worker etc.) of different groups in the community. The chairman and secretary of the respective committees are to report from time to time on the progress of projects and related accounts to the Thana Circle Officer in charge of development and the Thana Council. Projects above a certain value are to be executed by enlisted contractors selected through open tenders.

Implementation of projects under Rural Works Programme is co-ordinated at the thana, subdivision and district levels by the respective co-ordination and development committees. These committees consist of concerned officials at different levels. Minutes of meetings at each level are sent to the chief administrator at the next echelon. Recently, inspection teams have been set up at various levels to supervise and evaluate the progress of projects under the Rural Works Programme. Table 19 summarizes the administrative

Table 19. Administrative set up of Rural Works Programme in Bangladesh

Level	Agency	Role
<u>National</u>	Division of local government, Rural Development and Co-operatives	Has over-all financial and administrative control over Rural Works Programme
<u>Division</u>	Office of the Commissioner	Pass on directives of the national authority to lower levels. Collect information on the progress of work. Participate in Inspection Team.
<u>District</u>	Office of the Deputy Commissioner	Pass on directives and disburse funds. Co-ordinate and supervise project implementation at the district level.
	District Council/Municipality	Implementation of large-scale projects of district/municipal importance requiring technical supervision.
<u>Thana</u>	Circle Officer (Development)	Pass on directives. Disburse funds to union councils. Co-ordinate and supervise project implementation at the thana and union levels. Audit the accounts of the union councils.
	Thana Council	Implementation of projects at the thana level.
<u>Union</u>	Union Council	Implementation of projects at the union and ward levels. Disbursement of funds to union and Project Committees.

Source: M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme", op. cit.

/ set-up

set-up used for the Rural Works Programme. At the apex (national level) is the Division of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives, which allocates Rural Works Programme funds to the districts and thanas.

The administrative set-up for organization and implementation of the Food-for-Work Programme is somewhat different from that of the Rural Works Programme four ministries-sponsored projects; Ministry of Power, Water Resources and Flood Control (water management projects), Ministry of Forests, Fisheries and Livestock (excavation and re-excavation of tanks), Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives (flood control, drainage, irrigation, embankment and feeder roads) and the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation (flood control, drainage, embankment and feeder roads). Project preparation is undertaken at the thana level by government officials (representing different ministries) jointly with the public representatives at the thana, union and village levels.

Through subdivision and districts, the project proposals are sent to the respective ministries who in turn forward them to the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation. At this ministry, the projects are reviewed and selected for final approval by the World Food Programme and CARE which acts as the co-operating sponsor of the USAID PL 480 Title II programme.

Projects submitted to the World Food Programme are subjected to technical scrutiny at its head office in Rome and sample field survey by a visiting mission from the agency. On the other hand, CARE personnel carries out preview at the field level for measurement and technical scrutiny. Schemes are finalized on the basis of their reports. These schemes are monitored by CARE while the World Food Programme schemes are monitored by the Water Development Board. As for implementation of projects, the responsibility is vested in a Project Implementation Committee at the subdivision level, a Food-for-Work Subcommittee at the thana level and a local project committee at each project level. Recently a Steering Committee has been formed in each district to monitor and supervise the implementation of projects under the Food-for-Work Programme. Considerable emphasis is placed by the Government on involving women in the Food-for-Work Programme project preparation, implementation and in the actual physical work. The thana project subcommittee has the responsibility of exploring the possibility of earmarking a few projects to be worked exclusively by women. On the whole, the donor agencies play a dominant role in the administration of Food-for-Work Programme. In this respect, this programme is quite different from Rural Works Programme.

/Theoretically,

Theoretically, structure of organization and planning in both the Rural Works Programme and the Food-for-Work Programme leaves a scope for local level desires to be reflected in the process of decision making. However, village social and political structure exerts considerable influence and the will of the dominant class prevails. At the local (union) level, only the members of the Project Committees, more specifically the chairman and secretary are involved in vital decisions regarding project preparation, selection and implementation. Through their close link with the thana level officials they are also able to influence the decisions of the project approving authority. In spite of the fact that government circulars from time to time drew attention of all the concerned authorities to the need for involving community members in the decision-making process and provisions were made for popular participation at the ward level in matters of project formulation, very little was effected in this respect.

Projects under the Rural Works Programme and the Food-for-Work Programme are planned using data of varying quality, heavy reliance is placed on local traditional wisdom regarding environmental factors having influence upon the project. The government circulars continue to insist on adequate physical pre-survey and measurement for designing the project and collection of reliable cost data from relevant sources. However, in the generation of survey data, serious gaps remained so that both the physical design and the cost estimates often turned out to be wrong. The project planners contended that sometimes there was not enough time for carrying out careful surveys and hence they had to depend on their best guesswork.

Rural Works Programme has been integrated into the national plan beginning with the third five-year plan of Pakistan. This was also followed up in the first five-year plan of Bangladesh. This integration, however, is loose. The nature of the activities or projects to be undertaken is never carefully specified. Since the 1960s, the local councils have from time to time been encouraged to prepare projects that they would like to see implemented over a relatively long period of time, actual implementation being taken up when fund allocations have been made. The integration of the Rural Works Programme and the Food-for-Work Programme with the national plan is made specially difficult by the fact that these programmes are financed from specific foreign sources. The planning exercise never involved a rational choice between the works programme and other types of activities in the plan. Projects included in these programmes reflected strict local considerations, although many water control projects are integrated with the plan for national water management (supervised by the Water Development Board) and also with related plans for agricultural and rural development.

/Indonesia:

## Indonesia

### (a) Inpres Desa

Planning and administration of Inpres Desa programme is relatively simple and straightforward. The village administration headed by lurah is assisted by the village social committee (lembaga sosial desa - LSD) in the formulation and design of Desa projects. The LSD is composed of formal and informal community leaders, it is a vehicle for community participation and an umbrella to cover all activities in the village. In designing projects, if necessary, the LSD can seek technical assistance from relevant government departments at the kecamatan (subdistrict) or kabupaten (district) level. The wishes of the people at large are accommodated in the desa meeting which is held at least once a year. Projects are also generated from surveys carried out by lurah from time to time. Furthermore, people can independently suggest new ideas to the lurah reflecting special problems faced by any part of the kelurahan. This way the lurah attempts to balance the demand of various groups and localities under his jurisdiction.

The list of projects so drawn up is presented to the Village Council for approval, selection of priorities and submission to the camat (head of the kecamatan). The camat checks the selected project for consistency, technical feasibility and possible conflicts with other villages. After scrutiny at the camat level, the projects are forwarded to the bupati's office for final screening and approval. In taking the final decision the bupati discusses the matter with lurah. This is because the lurah is usually the bupati's man in the village; therefore, the bupati tries to ensure that the final approval adequately reflects the priorities of the lurah. This is not to imply that the lurah does not have a strong say in the drawing up of the original project priority list. As a matter of fact, the concept of popular participation in the decision making process is as elusive in Indonesia as it is in Bangladesh. But under the existing power structure of Indonesia, the bupati-lurah link is vital for having the benefit of development effort trickle down to the Desa level.

The Desa projects are implemented by the village administration and the staff of LSD under direct supervision of lurah, Chief of LSD and the chief of kampung. No contractor is involved in the construction work of the project. Materials are procured locally by the lurah while the LSD is responsible for organizing gotong ryong (voluntary labour). The work is usually

/carried

carried out during the slack period. Normally in every Desa each working adult is asked to contribute 6 days a year of gotong ryong. If someone cannot work then he has to pay for the equivalent work. Sometimes, gotong ryong becomes a burden on the people, almost like forced labour and the people who afford it least are made to contribute most. Nevertheless, it is a very important institution with a long tradition and if properly harnessed it can continue to help augment the resource base of the Desa. Although not perceived as such, the gotong ryong in its present form is a "head tax in kind", similar to the one proposed in the first five-year plan of Bangladesh but never implemented. Finally, the Desa itself is responsible for the maintenance of projects.

The lurah reports to the camat every week on the progress of the work on the projects included in Inpres Desa. To improve co-ordination of the work on the projects under Inpres Desa and also other affairs of the villages under the kecamatan, Local Development Working Units (UDKP) have been established at the kecamatan level. Annual reports of the work done under Inpres Desa is sent to the bupati's office where they are co-ordinated by the official in charge of the programme. At the national level, the Inpres Desa programme is supervised by Pembangunan Desa, a directorate of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Dalam Negeri). The directorate, with the help of an interdepartmental evaluation team records the progress made Desas measured by achievement scores. This provides a basis for annual village competition, rewards are given to champion villages. The achievement scores are determined on the basis of land, population, education, economic activities, natural resources, tradition and land utilization. These scores are surrogate for determining the achievement against the targets of Swadaya (self-help/poor), Swakarya (self-operating/transitional) and Swasambada (improved) villages.<sup>76/</sup>

(b) Padat Karya

Padat Karya is essentially a Food-for-Work programme although since 1970, food wage has been transformed entirely into cash wage. The projects under this programme are planned and administered in a manner so as to maximize employment for a given expenditure. However, it is stipulated that the design of labour intensive activities be economically efficient. The idea is not only to employ people but also to improve the use of their time. Thus, under Padat Karya Programme productivity of projects is an important consideration in the choice of projects.

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<sup>76/</sup> Villages with scores between 7-11 grouped as swadaya, those with scores between 12-16 as swakarya and finally those with scores 17+ as swasambada.

At the national level, Padat Karya is co-ordinated by the Department of Manpower. The actual planning and implementation of projects is carried out at the kabupaten level. The officials of Public Works Department, (Cipta Karya) at the kabupaten level provide data and initial project proposals, they are responsible for planning and design. Popular participation in project planning and design is absent. The final selection of project sites is made through interdepartmental consultations co-ordinated by the Department of Manpower at the Kabupaten level. Project sites are selected primarily on the basis of population density and the level of poverty. However, fund release and project implementation takes place only after approval is obtained from the Office of Director-General of Manpower in Jakarta.

At the project implementation stage neither a local committee nor any contractor is involved. A kabupaten interdepartmental committee supervises the work. One staff member is placed at the project site and the Camat is required to submit regular reports on the progress of the work to Bupati's office. The reports are forwarded to the Governor's office which in turn sends it to the Department of Manpower in Jakarta. The responsibility of maintaining Padat Karya projects is vested in the Desa where such projects are located, maintenance is expected to be done by gotong ryong.

Actual work is carried out during the dry season beginning April/May over a maximum period of four months which is extended to six months under special circumstances. The labour content is usually 80 per cent unskilled and 20 per cent skilled, they are paid 80 per cent of the prevailing wage rate, but they are required to work less than a normal working day. In general local labour from the Desa is recruited for work on projects located in the Desa. Outside labour is brought in if local labour is inadequate. Although the programme is designed to help the rural poor and the landless labourers, it has been found over the years that about half of the Padat Karya workers come from the landowning class. In areas where unemployment rate is high, even middle farmers are found to work on such projects. While a less than market wage in Padat Karya can be construed as a work rationing device among the needy groups like Food-for-Work Programme of Bangladesh, its effectiveness varies from region to region depending on the availability of alternative employment in non-agricultural activities in the rural areas.

(c) Inpres Kabupaten

Inpres way of carrying out development work is not new, but since 1970, there has been a change in the policy of programme implementation in the sense that regional/local governments have been involved. Whereas previously everything was highly centralised, now there is very little superimposition from the top. General guidelines are given through a Presidential Instruction and a Joint Decree from the Central Co-ordination Committee composed of the Ministers of the Interior and Finance and the Chairman of BAPPENAS. More specific directives concerning the selection of projects, preparation, checking, implementation, transfer of money, supervision and monitoring, wage level etc. are contained in an Instruction of the Minister of Interior. The directives and regulations are improved every year on the basis of current experience. These guidelines are in no way designed to reduce the flexibility of the regional authority, the only serious stipulation on projects being that they be labour intensive.

The responsibility for planning and implementation of inpres kabupaten programme is vested at the Kabupaten level with the bupati as the principal official in charge. Although kabupaten is the ultimate planning authority for drafting project proposals and selecting priorities, proposals also come from the camat, the kabupaten legislative body and the individual ministries. The camat usually carries out survey of Desas under it before formulating his project proposals. The bulk of the projects are designed by the kabupaten planning authority itself on the basis of its own information. In recent years, the formulation and selection of projects has been facilitated by the setting up of kabupaten planning agency, BAPPEMKA. Projects are subjected to detailed cost analysis by the kabupaten officials and finally consolidated into one proposal with a monthly expenditure schedule attached to it. The monthly expenditure schedule should be such that no more than 60 per cent of the total allocation is spent in the first six months. The kabupaten proposals are reviewed at the provincial level for consistency before a letter of approval is issued separately for each project by the governor. The kabupaten programme summaries form the basis for drawing up the provincial summaries which are in turn submitted to the central team by March each year for drawing up the national summaries. From the national summary, the centre finds out how much money will have to be spent next year and the Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) is informed accordingly.



All Inpres Kabupaten projects are contracted out through competitive bidding. The contractors are expected to use local materials and local labour as much as possible. In remote areas, the kabupatens themselves execute the projects. Projects are supervised by assistants from the kabupaten. In addition, central and provincial government teams inspect projects from time to time, the final inspection being done by the provincial government. The project supervisor prepares monthly, quarterly and annual reports. On a monthly basis, the provincial and central governments receive photographic and written reports on the progress of each project, outlining also the problems encountered in the implementation so that the provincial authority could extend the necessary help. In addition, local bank branches submit a monthly statement on expenditure under the Inpres Kabupaten programme to the central bank. It is important to note that there is no attempt to involve the people in general at any state of planning and implementation except that they are informed of the identity of the contractor and the supervisor and also of other financial details of the project.

No attempt is made to provide full employment throughout the year through projects under Inpres Kabupaten. Usually a project is expected to last for about three months. Every year, there are about 3,000 projects, work starts from April and finished before rainfall. Funds are released according to the need of the project. Local governments are encouraged to submit proposals to the extent they can plan and implement. Therefore, it is seen that projects undertaken are not too sophisticated. Extension of work beyond one year is allowed only under exceptional circumstances, e.g. flood, natural disaster etc. The Kabupatens now have enough capability to prepare projects. In the first phase, however, the emphasis has remained on rehabilitation of old roads. It is hoped that the 50,000 kms of roads throughout Indonesia that were in bad condition will be rehabilitated through Inpres Kabupaten.

Kabupatens are encouraged to prepare road networks maps, irrigation network maps and bridge network maps to facilitate priority selection. Some funds are given to Kabupatens for surveys and investigations. By now the supervising bodies have been systematically developed at all levels. No attention was paid in the beginning to maintenance, Now it is being attended to. The responsibility lies with the Kabupaten. A certain percentage of total allocation is allowed for maintenance now but the idea is not to make it regular. Sometimes previously rehabilitated roads are taken up for further improvement, but only under special circumstances.

/ Inpres Kabupaten

Inpres Kabupaten projects pay cash wages to the labourers who are supposed to be locally recruited. The wage rate offered on such projects varies from province to province, but it is linked with the normal wage rate. Employment is offered to all, there is no conscious attempt to employ landless labourers only or for that matter even to give priority to them. It is feared that widespread use of contractors has resulted in a lower volume of employment than would otherwise have been possible and that the contractors tend to use labourers from the organized sector in urban areas rather than the local labourers on the grounds that the latter often fail to fulfil their contracts. This directly violates the understanding that Inpres Kabupaten projects will be locally based in all respects and that an attempt will be made to avoid transfer cost involved in moving labour from one place to another.

(d) Inpres Penghijauan

The programme in its present form is nothing more than the continuation of the old Forestry Department programme under a new name. The Department, it is alleged, never managed the programme well, and that it could not produce a plan. As indicated earlier, the Department followed the Dame technique of erosion control and reforestation that had been traditionally known to them. Thus the more ambitious Inpres Penghijauan Programme ran into the problem right from its inception in 1974/75 that without any further preparation, the Forestry Department was forced into the position of manager and technical guide of the programme. The major problem with respect to the planning and implementation of Inpres Penghijauan has been the absence of the people's involvement. This is rather unfortunate because we found that many responsible individuals in the relevant administrative and planning hierarchy do realize that a programme of this nature which directly affects the current well-being of the people in the area, cannot move without their active participation, which in turn, cannot be expected unless the reasons for potential resistance are removed.

At the kabupaten level, there is three way division of labour with respect to the planning and administration of the Inpres Penghijauan Programme. The Directorate of Forestry is responsible for planning and implementation, Directorate of Agriculture for technical assistance, nursery and field cadres (extension) and the Ministry of the Interior for over-all supervision. Farmers are provided with seedlings and subsidy for terracing and planting. The work is supposed to be done by farmers themselves or hired labour. The Department of Forestry carries out a survey of the project area to determine the condition of the method of treatment of the erosion problem.

Once a project is started, it is supervised by the Local Project Officer of the Department of Forestry. At the Desa level, farmers are assisted by the field cadres. Farmers are encouraged to form groups and elect a chief. The chief of the group is given one week training at the kabupaten level and the farmers are given two days of training at the field level on the maintenance of plants, specification of plants and the advantages of the greening movement. Reports on the physical progress are submitted at regular intervals (weekly, bi-monthly, monthly, quarterly and annually) by the field cadres to the Local Project Officer who forwards it to the Department of Forestry at the Kabupaten level. Financial reports are submitted to the assistant of the treasurer of the kabupaten.

One snag in the planning of the Inpres Penghijauan Programme was the decision to go ahead with reforestation followed by infrastructure development. There has been some shift in this policy in that the need for developing an infrastructure first is now being acknowledged. The Department of Public Works (Cipta Karya) is preparing plans for the development of the infrastructure in the areas affected by soil erosion. Furthermore, a major planning problem has been the integration of short-term needs of the people with the long-term goals of environmental protection.

Although more effective actions are awaited, there is an awareness among top policy makers in Indonesia of certain critical elements associated with successful implementation of programmes of environmental improvements at the community level, among which Inpres Penghijauan is an important example. Need for a national commitment towards the protection and the enhancement of the environment has been expressed in terms of the setting up of a new Ministry of Environment. As for the problem at hand, it is understood that the country needs comprehensive watershed development strategy that will involve reforestation, the improvement of the catchment area, moving people out of the catchment area, preserving and keeping the water clean. This immediately calls for a synchronised programme among the various Ministries since under the present arrangement, the Directorate of Agriculture is responsible for reforestation, the Directorate of Public Works for irrigation facilities, the Directorate of Transmigration for moving people and the Directorate of Education for making new student plant trees. It is agreed upon by all concerned that the key to the success of the programmes is the motivation and the active participation of the people. With this end in view, Mosques are being used to teach the people why it is important to preserve rivers and forests and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs is preparing stories around these issues.

/Republic of Korea

Republic of Korea: Saemaul Undong

The planning and administrative organization of Saemaul Undong emerges from the principles underlying the Programme as enunciated in an official document.<sup>77/</sup>

"Firstly, the movement shall be undertaken by the integrated participation by the villagers. Everyone can participate on his own account.

Secondly, every project shall be selected and implemented with the consensus of the community members.

Thirdly, all the projects shall be directly or indirectly linked to the increase in the participants' income.

Fourthly, the government shall assist exemplary villages with a successful achievement record on a preferential basis, stimulating other lagging villages.

Fifthly, every village shall be developed step by step in accordance with its specific conditions and potentials.

Sixthly, the Saemaul Undong shall be exercised forever through the steady endeavours of the people on the basis of a long-term plan."

Saemaul Undong projects are mostly undertaken at the village level. Project planning is initiated at the village level by the village development committee which consists of about 15 members. The committee prepares the annual plan and assigns priority to the projects included in the plan. The plan is approved at the village meeting. At the village meeting, two members from each family can vote. The villagers elect a leader called the Saemaul leader. The leader has a pivotal role to play in the whole movement. Professor Ban says, "it is important that this village leader can be seen as a man of dedication by the villagers. Leadership ability and dedication should be identified on the basis of past achievements or from evidence that a potential leader is willing to devote himself to the villager's collective developmental efforts."<sup>78/</sup>

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<sup>77/</sup> Republic of Korea, Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaul Undong Korea, 1978.

<sup>78/</sup> Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", op. cit., p. 25. It may be noted that along with the male leader, a female leader is also elected by the villagers.

The traditional leaders are not necessarily leaders of the Saemaul Undong. In addition to being a dedicated person, the Saemaul leader is usually a dynamic farmer who has been successful in the adoption of new technology. In certain cases, he may even have been instrumental in making some innovation himself.

The Saemaul leaders are given training at the central and provincial/country level, two weeks each. The subject matters covered include talks on the spirit of Saemaul Undong (ideology, leadership, the scientific way of living, the directions of economic development, the directions of Saemaul, attitude of the people, the national policy of unification of the land and national history) and farm technology (farm management, cash crop production, animal husbandry, silkworm, swine breeding, afforestation, erosion control work, agricultural civil engineering, construction and farm machinery).<sup>79/</sup> At the provincial/country level training some practical lessons are given on the criteria of selecting projects, particularly determination of size and technology. This is important because villagers would usually like to have large projects which may not always be desirable. It is emphasized to the Saemaul leaders that physical and financial feasibility are important considerations in the selection of project priorities.

The main focus of Saemaul leaders' training programme is on improvement of the spiritual aspects of the leaders. Initially this training programme also include the government officials from all levels. The trainees are to learn self-sacrifice and develop a feeling that private benefits are not that important. The main driving force for the leader is expected to be his love for his village. It is difficult to evaluate, how effective this attempt at spiritual reorientation of the Saemaul leaders has been. Observers believe there have been instances where the Saemaul leaders have used their position for private benefit; but perhaps in the majority of the cases, the leader has worked very hard to improve the living condition of the village without any extra benefit to himself. In general, one gets the impression that the Saemaul leader of Korea has played a more effective role in community development than the lurah of Indonesia and the union council chairman in Bangladesh.

Plans and programmes proposed by the villages are adjusted at the township (myun eup) level in consultation with the community Saemaul council. Then these are sent up to the mayor or the county-chief (Gun Su) who co-ordinates the programme from lower level organizations with the approval of the city or county council of Saemaul Undong. In case of any problem or conflict, the matter is referred to the governor of the province. The governor of the province, in consultation with the provincial council, co-ordinates project

/plans  
<sup>79/</sup> Republic of Korea, Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaul Undong 1978, op. cit., p. 68.

plans submitted by the cities and counties. If there are any outstanding problems that could not be resolved at this level, they could be sent to the National Council. At the apex, the National Council confirms plans and gives directions for their implementation. Furthermore, the National Council co-ordinates other related projects. The structure of Saemaul Undong organization is shown in table 20. As indicated in this table, relevant government agencies provide the necessary administrative and technical assistance for project preparation and implementation. To give a few examples, the Ministry of Home Affairs supervises the projects covering road construction, modernization of roofs etc., the Ministry of Commerce and Industry assists in rural electrification, the Ministry of construction in housing, and water resource development through the Farmland Improvement Association - FLIA, the Ministry of Health and Welfare in water-works and health care, Ministry of Communication in village communication, Office of Rural Development in gas methane generation facilities and agricultural extension (high yielding variety technology), Office of Forestry in erosion control, reforestation and afforestation, and the National Agricultural Co-operative Federation (NACF) through primary co-operatives at the nyun level supports activities of Saemaul Farming Group, Women's Groups, Saemaul Saving Groups and the 4-H Clubs (youth clubs).

Depending on the initial condition and development stage, villages are classified into underdeveloped, developing and developed villages.

"Underdeveloped villages are rudimentary ones in need of inhabitants' positive endeavours for the co-operative development of their community. Developing villages represent those which are developing actively by co-operative efforts of the people under the sincere leadership of Saemaul leaders. Developed villages are self-sufficient ones in which the villagers develop their community by their own efforts, enjoying high income in convenient and beautiful environment.

In underdeveloped villages are stressed the environmental improvement and the provision of necessary infrastructure; the people of developing villages mainly expand infrastructure and conduct income boosting projects; they are eager to increase income and improve welfare in developed villages."

At the beginning, governmental assistance was biased in favour of developed villages. This has changed since 1975, when special training programmes were arranged for leader of lagging villages who were also given a grant of 1.5 million won to undertake pilot projects. If a village still lagged behind, further assistance was stopped.

Women are involved in the planning and implementation of Saemaul projects from the beginning. Every village has formed women associations and they participate in Saemaul projects. They have initiated the penny saving project under which each member saves some rice at cooking time and the collected amount is sold in the market at the end of each month. The fund so generated is used for their own projects.

A comparative chart of major community development programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia, and the Republic of Korea is presented in table 21. /Table 20.

Table 20. Organization of Saemaul Undong

Organization	Role	Composition
1. National Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Over-all policy formulation</li> <li>(b) Co-ordination among ministries</li> <li>(c) Determination of investment scale</li> <li>(d) Authority for the approval of provincial plan</li> </ul>	<p>Chairman: Minister of Home</p> <p>Members: Vice Ministers from the Economic Planning Board, Ministries of Home Affairs, Finance, National Defence, Education, Agriculture and Fisheries, Commerce and Industry, Health and Social Affairs, Transportation, Communication, Culture and Public Information, Science and Technology, Government Affairs and Office of the 1st and 2nd Ministers without Portfolio, Directors from Offices of Rural Development, Forestry, Supply, Labour Affairs, National Agricultural Co-operatives, and the Vice Governor of Seoul Special city.</p>
2. Provincial Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Co-ordination of city and county project plans</li> <li>(b) Resolution of conflicts and problems</li> <li>(c) Technical and administrative assistance to lower organizational levels</li> </ul>	<p>Chairman: Governor</p> <p>Members: Vice Governor, Superintendent of Educational Affairs, Director of Provincial Office of Rural Development, Director of Local Office of Construction, Director of Local Office of Communication, local broadcasting systems, university professors, agricultural high school teachers, heads of local branches of the National Agricultural Co-operatives, Agricultural Development Corporation, Forestry Association, Association of Reservists and of Korean Electric Co.</p>
3. City and County Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Regulation and co-ordination of programmes from lower level organization</li> <li>(b) Resolution of conflicts and problems</li> <li>(c) Technical and administrative assistance and guidance to lower level organizations</li> </ul>	<p>Chairman: Mayor or County Chief</p> <p>Members: Educational Superintendent, Police Commissioner, Head of Local Office of Rural Development, Head of local Agricultural Co-operatives, Saemaul leaders, etc.</p>

Table 20 (continued)

Organization	Role	Composition
4. Town and Township Council	<p>(a) Scrutiny of project proposals submitted by village development</p> <p>(b) Link between city and county council and village development committee</p> <p>(c) Integrated promotion of <u>Saemaul Undong</u></p>	<p>Chairman: Chief of Town or Township</p> <p>Members: Head of Police Department, principal of community school, director of post office, head of local agricultural co-operatives, representatives of associations of Saemaul leaders, and interested persons</p>
5. Village Development Committee	(a) Village development planning and implementation of co-operative works	<p>Chairman: Saemaul Leader</p> <p>Members: Fifteen representatives elected by the village assembly</p>

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaul Undong 1978, op. cit., p. 20; Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong," op. cit., pp. 27-28; Author's field survey.

/Table 21.



Table 21. Comparative administrative chart of major  
community development programmes in Bangladesh,  
Indonesia and the Republic of Korea

Level	Administrative organization			Administrative head		
	Bangladesh	Indonesia	Rep. of Korea	Bangladesh	Indonesia	Rep. of Korea
1. National	Central Government	Central Government	Central Government	(a) Minister in charge of Rural Development (b) Minister in charge of Relief and Rehabilitation	(a) Minister in charge of Interior (b) Director General Manpower	Minister in charge of Home Affairs
2. Provincial		Province	<u>Do</u>		Governor	Governor
3. Divisional	Division			Commissioner		
4. District/ County	District	<u>Kabupaten</u>	<u>Gun</u>	Deputy Commissioner	<u>Bupati</u>	<u>Gun Su</u>
5. Sub-district/ sub-county I	Sub-division			Sub-divisional Officer (SDO)		
6. Sub-district/ sub-county II	<u>Thana</u>	<u>Kecamatan</u>	<u>Myun</u>	Circle Officer (Development)	<u>Camat</u>	<u>Myun Chang</u>
7. Sub-district/ sub-county II	Union	<u>Kelurahan</u>	<u>Ri</u>	Chairman Union Council	<u>Lurah</u>	<u>Ri Chang</u>
8. Village	Village	<u>Desa</u>	<u>Maul</u>	Chairman Ward Committee		<u>Saemaul</u> Leader

/Other

Other programmes in Bangladesh and the Republic of Korea

We shall briefly discuss the organizations of people's health centre and Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee of Bangladesh and Korea Health Development Institute pilot projects. Health care delivery and family planning services are the major activities of the people's health centre in Bangladesh. Health care efforts are carried out by paramedics supported by doctors. Weekly mobile clinics are held in villages to treat patients. Paramedics make home visits and take care of common diseases like diarrhea, dysentery, fever and cold, scabies etc. Serious cases are referred to physicians. In addition, the paramedics provide information on hygiene and sanitation and suggest remedies for nutritional deficiencies. Inoculations and vaccinations are given in clinics and during home visits. The centre provides surgical and hospitalization facilities.

The family planning services of the people's health centre include motivation and education of eligible couples, distribution of contraceptives, follow-up of acceptors and clinical services. The paramedics carry out the motivational work while contraceptives are distributed by a village-based agent (usually a woman). The centre itself takes care of clinical family planning services (e.g. tubectomy, vasectomy, menstrual regulation etc.)

To cover its activities, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee has developed an elaborate field organization consisting of Area Managers (eleven) and Field Motivators (4 to 5 in each area). Two zonal programme co-ordinators supervise the field camps. Like the people's health centre, paramedics with support of medical doctors carry out health care and family planning activities. Functional education programme is based on materials developed by a materials development unit established at the headquarters of the programme in Dacca with assistance from the World Education, Inc., New York. At the field level, the responsibility of teaching is entrusted to male and female instructors recruited for this purpose. The educational programme is supervised by the Field Motivators. Both the supervisors and the instructors receive training in Dacca. The agricultural programme of Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee consists of agricultural support blocks, camp demonstration plots, introduction of new vegetable crops, support to the landless groups and assistance in flood protection and irrigation.

Block farmers are assisted in making agricultural plans for each season and in obtaining the necessary inputs and credit. Landless labourers are organized to lease fallow land from local landlords or the State. Field level workers helped the group in formulating and implementing farm plans.

The Korean Health Development Institute pilot projects emerged out of a concern with the inadequacy of existing health care delivery system in the country, particularly for low-income earners and for rural areas.<sup>80/</sup> The first experimental attempt to develop rural health care system with the assistance of WHO/UNICEF in Yungin Gun faded out although it generated valuable information and contributed to the development of methods for integrating the work of three health workers and reducing their load of area coverage. The current health delivery system consists of 11 hospitals located in different provincial headquarters, 43 hospitals in cities, 202 health centres at Gun level and 1,336 health subcentres at the myun level. Shortage of personnel at the myun level is a problem.

Currently three nurses supported by one doctor have the responsibility to cover all villages in a myun. As a measure to distribute health care equitably throughout the country, the resident interneers are being temporarily assigned to rural areas. But the arrangement has not worked very well due to (a) the reluctance of rural population to accept new persons, (b) lack of commitment on the part of the young doctors to the locality, and (c) lack of experience.

The Korean Health Development Institute has been engaged since 1977 in developing low-cost health delivery systems in three Guns. The organization of the primary care system being evolved under the new experiment is shown in table 22. It is basically a service and referral system for primary care, more difficult cases being referred to the next level. Because of the involvement of the Korean Health Development Institute, it has been possible to integrate the health care system with Saemaul Undong. The village health co-operatives are playing an important role in this context. The village health agent is usually the female Saemaul leader or the wife of a leading person. These projects are expected to continue until 1981.

## 2. Financial aspects of community development programmes

Tables 23 to 25 present details of the amounts allocated to some major community development programmes, in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the

/Table 22.

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<sup>80/</sup> See Korean Health Development Institute, Maul Geon-gang Saup (Community Health Project), Seoul, 1977.

Table 22. Organization of the Republic of Korea's health development institute pilot projects in Hongchon Gun and Gunee Gun

Level/Health worker	Facility	Place	Population coverage
3 Community physician (CP)	Community Health Center (CHC)	<u>Myon</u> or <u>multi-myon</u>	10,000 30,000
2 Community health practitioner (CHP)	Primary Health Unit (PHU)	<u>Sub-myon</u> or <u>myon</u>	2,000 10,000
1 Community health aide (CHA) or village health agent (VHA)	Primary Health Post (PHP) or Village Health Post (VHP)	Village or multi-village	1,000

Source: Maul Geon-gang Saup, op. cit.

/Table 23.

Table 23. Expenditure on rural works programme in Bangladesh, 1962/63 to 1975/76

(Taka million, current prices)

	Rural works programme	Development expenditure	Gross domestic product	Rural works programme expenditure as percentage of development expenditure	Rural works programme expenditure of percentage of gross domestic product
1962/63	100	1,237	18,067	7.8	0.5
1963/64	200	1,640	18,222	12.1	1.0
1964/65	142	1,721	20,030	8.2	0.7
1965/66	120	1,429	21,877	8.3	0.5
1966/67	150	1,926	25,498	7.7	0.5
1967/68	216	2,342	27,178	9.2	0.7
1968/69	128	2,630	28,737	4.8	0.4
1969/70	115	3,064	31,333	3.7	0.3
1970/71	164	n.a.	n.a.	-	-
1971/72	103	n.a.	n.a.	-	-
1972/73	160	4,627	42,075	3.5	0.4
1973/74	126	4,638	65,284	2.7	0.1
1974/75	112	5,250	114,843	2.1	0.1
1975/76	270	9,500	93,503	2.8	0.2

Source: Adopted from M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme", op. cit.

Note: n.a. - not available.

/Table 24.

Table 24. Size of Inpres programmes in Indonesia

(billion rupiah)

	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78
<u>Inpres Desa</u>	5.6	5.3	7.1	5.7	11.4	14.4	19.8	23.8
<u>Inpres Kabupaten</u>	5.7	8.8	16.3	19.2	42.7	55.8	62.1	69.1
<u>Inpres Propinsi</u>	20.7	20.8	20.7	20.7	47.6	47.4	59.7	75.4
<u>Inpres Sekolah Dasar</u>	-	-	-	16.4	19.7	48.2	57.7	85.0
<u>Inpres Kesehatan</u>	-	-	-	-	4.5	14.4	17.9	26.3
<u>Inpres Penghijauan</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.0	24.5
<u>Inpres Pasar</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	1.2
Total <u>Inpres</u>	32.0	34.9	44.1	62.0	125.9	180.2	233.3	304.7
Total central Government development expenditure	125.0	150.9	228.4	359.6	770.5	953.8	1296.6	1419.2
Gross domestic product	3,340	3,672	4,564	6,753	10,768	12,643	15,494	19,047
Community <u>Inpres</u> as percentage of total <u>Inpres</u>	35.3	40.0	53.1	66.6	62.2	73.7	74.4	74.9
Community <u>Inpres</u> as percentage of development expenditure	9.0	9.3	10.2	11.5	10.2	13.9	13.4	16.1
Community <u>Inpres</u> as percentage of GDP	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2
Total <u>Inpres</u> as percentage of development expenditure	25.6	23.1	19.3	17.2	16.3	18.9	18.0	21.5
Total <u>Inpres</u> as percentage of GDP	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.6

Source: Ministry of Finance, Budget Data, BAPPENAS.

/Table 25.

Table 25. Gross investment by Saemaul Undong

(billion won/current prices)

Year (1)	<u>Saemaul Undong</u> (2)	Gross domestic fixed capital formation (3)	Gross domestic product (4)	Col. (2) as % of col. (3) (5)	Col. (2) as % of col. (4) (6)
1971	12.20	729.72	3,149.29	1.7	0.4
1972	31.30	780.23	3,844.68	4.1	0.8
1973	98.40	1,169.43	4,864.63	8.4	2.0
1974	132.80	1,754.95	6,681.44	7.6	2.0
1975	295.90	2,331.85	8,921.48	12.7	3.3
1976	322.65				
1977	466.53				

Sources: Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", op. cit.; Bank of Korea, National Income of Korea, 1975; and Dong Hi Kim and Yang Boö Choe, "Strategy of rural Saemaul Undong", op. cit.

/Republic

Republic of Korea. Figures are also presented on the total development expenditure and gross domestic product in order to obtain a comparative picture based on relevant ratios (e.g. expenditure on community development programmes as percentages of total development expenditure and gross domestic product). Inter-country and intertemporal comparisons are somewhat handicapped by differences in the nature and quality of the underlying data. Nevertheless, the figures reflect broad orders of the magnitude of direct change over time and differences across countries/programmes.

In absolute terms, the total expenditures on Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh show considerable year to year fluctuations while Inpres programmes of Indonesia and Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea reveal a steady increase over time. In Indonesia, among different Inpres programmes, expenditure on Inpres Kabupaten has increased faster than all other programmes between 1970/71 and 1977/78. The community oriented Inpres programmes (Desa, Kabupaten, Sekolah Dasar and Penghijauan) increased their share in total Inpres allocation from 35.3 per cent in 1970/71 to 74.9 per cent in 1977/78.

Expenditure under community development programmes as a percentage of the gross domestic product (at current prices) has in recent years been much higher in the Republic of Korea than either in Bangladesh or Indonesia. As regards the proportion of central government development expenditure allocated to community development programmes, the performance of Indonesia is much better than that of Bangladesh (the corresponding figures for the Republic of Korea as shown in table 25 are not strictly comparable). In Indonesia, thanks to the oil revenue, the share of community Inpres programmes in the total central government development expenditure has increased from 9.0 per cent in 1970/71 to 16.1 per cent in 1977/78 with very minor fluctuations in between. A high level of outlay on these programmes was maintained even through the years of Pertamina crisis. The picture is different for Bangladesh. During the early through the middle 1960s, the proportion of development expenditure allocated to Rural Works Programme fluctuated around 8 per cent but it declined by 50 per cent during the last two years of 1960s. The declining trend was maintained in the 1970s, by 1974/75 the proportion of total development expenditure allocated to Rural Works Programme dropped to a low of 2.1 per cent. Changes in the political regime largely explain this shift of emphasis. On the whole, it would appear that national commitment to promotion of community development programmes is much greater in the Republic of Korea than in the other two countries studied here.



Resource allocation for Food-for-Work Programme in Bangladesh has taken the form of wheat allocation. Since no cash flow is involved, the allocation of the wheat resource is done outside the normal budget making exercise. The programme started in 1974/75 and according to relevant government documents and statements, a total of 469,547 tons of wheat has been allocated over the period 1974/75 to 1976/77.

It is interesting to examine the source of programme funding in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea as shown in table 26. While Bangladesh programmes are largely dependent on outside (foreign) finance,<sup>81/</sup> the opposite is true of Indonesia and the Republic of Korea. Voluntary labour and local contributions play a very significant role in both Indonesia and the Republic of Korea. This may be seen in tables 27 and 28. On the contrary, until recently, in Bangladesh little effort was made to mobilize local resources (including labour) for community development programmes. The recent drive to promote Voluntary Labour Mobilization Programme has had only limited success. The two projects under this programme referred to earlier, were completed by a combination of direct voluntary labour, indirect labour contribution (realized through various levies and charges from different groups of people in the area) and wheat fund of the Food-for-Work Programme.<sup>82/</sup>

The Savar Project and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee are almost entirely financed from external grants. But both are trying to recoup the running cost of services rendered by charging a fee directly and/or from the receipts of health insurance schemes. Two problems continue

/Table 26.

<sup>81/</sup> In post-liberation Bangladesh, the Rural Works Programme is given the appearance of being internally financed in the sense that along with allocation to other sectors an amount is earmarked for Rural Works Programme in the Annual Development Budget of the Central Government. But given the fact that almost the entire development budget is foreign-financed (in excess of 75 per cent) expenditure on Rural Works Programme cannot be said to be truly internally sustained although it is not as specifically tied to external finance as it used to be in the 1960s.

<sup>82/</sup> Sources of finance of the two projects are given below:

Percentage of total work contributed by:	Project	
	Ulashi- Jadunathpur	Brahma- putra
Direct voluntary labour	10.4	40.7
Indirect labour contribution	78.1	
Food-for-Work Programme wheat	12.5	59.3.

Table 26. Source of finance of community development programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea

Country/programme	Source of finance
<u>Bangladesh</u>	
1. Rural Works Programme	Before 1970 - PL-480 Counterpart Fund After 1970 - Domestic resources
2. Food-for-Work Programme	(i) PL-480 Title II (ii) World Food Programme
<u>Indonesia</u>	
1. <u>Inpres Kabupaten</u>	Presidential Grant-in-Aid
2. <u>Inpres Sekolah Dasar</u>	Do
3. <u>Inpres Kesehatan</u>	Do
4. <u>Inpres Penghijauan and Reboisasi</u>	Do
5. <u>Inpres Desa</u>	(i) Presidential Grant-in-Aid (ii) Gotong Ryong (iii) Other local contributions (iv) Local government aid
6. <u>Padat Karya</u>	Before 1965 - PL-480 After 1965 - Domestic resources
<u>Republic of Korea</u>	
1. <u>Saemaul Undong</u>	(i) Government support (ii) Contributions by residents Cash Labour Materials Land (iii) Loans and donations

Sources: M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme", op.cit.; Burki, et al., Public Works Programme, op.cit.; Sung Hwan Ban, "Saemaul Undong", op.cit.; Republic of Indonesia, BAPPENAS.

Table 27. Source of finance of Inpres Desa  
(in percentages)

Year	Aid from central government	Aid from local government	Gotong Ryong	Total
1973/74	51.0	1.0	48.0	100.0
1974/75	43.8	1.1	55.1	100.0
1975/76	45.7	0.9	53.4	100.0
1976/77	41.8	0.7	57.5	100.0
1977/78	47.0	0.8	52.2	100.0

Source: Republic of Indonesia, BAPETRIAS.

Table 28. Investment resources by sources:  
Saemaul Undong 1971-1977  
(in percentages)

Year	Government support	Contributions by inhabitants <sup>a/</sup>	Total
1971	53.6	66.4	100.0
1972	7.6	92.4	100.0
1973	21.8	78.2	100.0
1974	23.2	76.8	100.0
1975	55.9	44.1	100.0
1976	51.2	48.8	100.0
1977	52.7	47.3	100.0

Sources: Sung Hwan Ban "Saemaul Undong", op.cit.; Dong Hi Kim and Yang Boo Choe, "Strategy of rural Saemaul Undong", op.cit.

Note: a/ Includes loans and donations.

/to

to plague the insurance schemes. First, it is a difficult idea to sell to the people, many do not understand why they should pay when they do not utilize the project services. Secondly, for many, in spite of large implicit subsidy, the out-of-pocket expense (premium and related expenses) is too high.

User taxes have sometimes been used to draw support for community development programmes. In Bangladesh, during the early years of the Rural Works Programme, availability of additional funds at the local level had the adverse effect that collection of local taxes declined. It was later stipulated that further grants were contingent upon appropriate level of collection of local taxes. It was also expected that Rural Works Programme, by way of increasing productivity in rural areas, will increase the revenue earnings of the union councils so that they could allocate a part to the maintenance of the projects completed. With this end in view, a development tax was introduced to augment the resources of union councils. The union councils were required to allocate a minimum of 25 per cent of their budget to the maintenance of projects executed by union and thana councils within the union.

Similarly, in Indonesia attempts have been made to tie up the Kabupaten performance in collecting land revenue (IPEDA) with Inpres Kabupaten funds. Beginning in 1972/73, IPEDA incentive allocations were used to reward Kabupatens that had realized the total amount of assessed revenue. Traditionally the collection of IPEDA presented serious problems and in most years, a large gap existed between assessment and realization. Available data suggest that the situation has markedly improved since 1972 although it is not clear if it can be entirely attributed to IPEDA incentive allocations.<sup>83/</sup>

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<sup>83/</sup> IPEDA assessments and revenue over the period 1968-1973 in rural areas is shown below:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Assessment</u> (Rp billion)	<u>Realization</u>
1968	3.9	3.0
1969	8.0	5.4
1970	8.8	6.1
1971	9.4	8.8
1972	10.5	10.5
1973	12.9	13.7

Source: Anne Booth, "IPEDA - Indonesia's land tax", Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, vol. X, No. 1, March 1974, p. 61.

#### D. OUTPUT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The output of community development programmes will be analysed to evaluate the degree of success attained by different programmes in fulfilling the stated targets. By output of a programme, we mean its physical accomplishments, its impact on production, employment, income, housing, sanitation, health etc. in the target area for the target groups, input and output linkages and effectiveness of planning and administration. Evidently availability of data poses a serious problem. While physical and financial progress of various projects under community development programme are generally monitored regularly, there is no built-in mechanism to collect systematic data on their impact on the environmental improvement.

##### 1. Physical accomplishments

Physical achievements in terms of different infrastructure building activities will be considered here. Table 29 presents relevant figures for Rural Works Programme in Bangladesh. Data from official sources may be misleading. Rehman Sobhan<sup>84/</sup> makes some interesting revelations of the internal inconsistency of performance figures for the Rural Works Programme released by the Government in the early 1960s. Thomas<sup>85/</sup> has made some revisions of 1962-1967 figures (row 7 of table 28) but neither his revised figures nor the original official figures are consistent with official figures released later (rows 8 and 9). Be that as it may, even with a drastic downward revision, the acreage benefitting from embankments, drainage and canals appears very impressive indeed.<sup>86/</sup> The only problem has been that in the late 1960s and early 1970s, these facilities had been very poorly maintained.

Although complete data are not available, it can be stated that only in certain areas (e.g. repair of dirt-surfaced roads and the re-excavation of canals) the targets of the First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh (row 10 of table 28) are likely to be fulfilled. From official figures, it would

/Table 29.

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<sup>84/</sup> Rehman Sobhan, Basic Democracies, Works Programme and Rural Development in East Pakistan, (Dacca: Bureau of Economic Research, Dacca University, 1968), Chapter 5.

<sup>85/</sup> John W. Thomas, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>86/</sup> According to Thomas' revised estimate, the total acreage benefitted over the 1962-1967 period was about 13 per cent of the total cultivated (net) area of the country.

Table 29. Physical achievements of rural works programme in Bangladesh

	Hard-surfaced roads (miles)		Dirt-surfaced roads (miles)		Embankments (miles)		Drainage-irrigation canals (miles)		Bridges and culverts	Acres benefited	Community buildings (number)
	New	Repaired	New	Repaired	New	Repaired	New	Re-excavated			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. 1962/63	0	0	3,600	8,700	0	360	1,300	450	n.a.	-	0
2. 1963/64	27	37	3,308	20,882	364	848	168	1,147	n.a.	110,346	2,630
3. 1964/65	325	755	5,454	22,956	1,132	2,522	1,081	4,275	n.a.	3,266,069	1,952
4. 1965/66	161	730	3,149	18,261	909	1,880	318	826	n.a.	1,236,490	1,006
5. 1966/67	134	313	2,391	9,907	478	1,065	315	1,246	n.a.	2,517,898	801
6. Totals	647	1,835	17,830	80,706	2,883	6,675	3,182	7,944	n.a.	7,191,403	6,389
7. Revised estimates 1962-1967	-	-	12,381	71,036	-	-	-	-		2,955,000	3,195
8. 1967/68	323	355	3,095	13,580	860	920	849	2,022	n.a.	-	646
9. 1965-1970	1,337	2,250	1,747	30,051	497	898	n.a.	n.a.	22,607 Number	n.a.	3,750
10. First plan target (1973-1978)	101	44	2,247	2,123	184	59	2,150	8,335	21,150 (rft.)	n.a.	n.a.
Achievements											
11. 1973/74	10	2	260	549	10	-	-	1,515	3,000	n.a.	n.a.
12. 1974/75	8	5	139	260	14	-	35	1,600	3,250	n.a.	n.a.
13. 1975/76	17	12	135	300	13	11	170	2,020	3,560	n.a.	n.a.
14. 1976/77	32	10	980	495	55	20	85	800	4,550	n.a.	n.a.
15. Total	67	29	1,514	1,604	92	31	290	5,935	14,360	n.a.	n.a.
16. Percentage of target achieved	66.34	65.91	66.57	75.55	50	52.54	13.48	71.21	67.89	n.a.	n.a.

Sources: Rows 1 through 8, - J.W. Thomas, op. cit., p. 230.

Row 9 - Government of East Pakistan, Planning Department, Economic Survey of East Pakistan 1969/70, p. 81.

Rows 10 through 16 - Division of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives.

Note: n.a. - not available.

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appear that the progress made so far is remarkable in view of the difficult financial, political and administrative circumstances that Bangladesh has been going through in recent years. Some of the shortfalls of the Rural Works Programme have been compensated by the Food-for-Work Programme. According to Government figures, over the period 1975-1977, 14,126 miles of canals, embankments and roads, and 326 tanks had either been excavated or re-excavated under the Food-for-Work Programme. By any criterion, this would represent a satisfactory achievement. A field survey of the Works programme projects by the Comilla Academy for Rural Development in recent years, and our own limited survey tend to confirm the recorded physical achievements; but frankly, it is difficult to generalize for the country as a whole. Considering the fact that in the post-liberation Bangladesh, several agencies are monitoring the progress of the physical work done under the two programmes, the quality of the field level data is perhaps better than that of the 1960s. This again is a speculation.

The physical achievements of the community development programmes in Indonesia at the Kabupaten level are shown in table 30. The total number of projects implemented increased from 1,777 in 1971/72 to 3,784 in 1977/78. Significant progress has been made in rehabilitation of Kabupaten roads. Of the estimated 50,000 km of Kabupaten roads, 43,870 km or 88 per cent was rehabilitated over the period 1972-1978. Actually in both Indonesia and Bangladesh road construction alone accounts for more than 50 per cent of the community development expenditure.<sup>87/</sup>

Table 31 presents data on the major activities under Inpres Sekolah Dasar and Inpres Kesehatan in Indonesia during 1973/74-1977/78. Over this period a total of 47,000 three room units of elementary schools were built. In addition, the programme provided books and equipment and training to teachers. Within a span of five years, this was a very impressive performance. The most important target of Inpres Kesehatan is to provide each Kecamatan<sup>88/</sup> with a health centre by new construction/rehabilitation. So far, this work

/Table 30.

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<sup>87/</sup> In Bangladesh, over the period 1962-1968, 75 per cent of the Rural Works Programme expenditure was devoted to road construction (not including bridges and culverts), the corresponding figure was 55 per cent in the Kabupaten programme during 1971-1978.

<sup>88/</sup> Indonesia has a total of 3,277 kecamatans.

Table 30. Physical achievements of different community development programmes at the kabupaten level in Indonesia 1971/72-1977/78

NO.	Type of Project	1970/71		1971/72		1972/73		1973/74		1974/75		1975/76		1976/77		1977/78		Total	
		FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek	FISIK	Proyek
1.	Roads (km)	2746,2	629	3584,6	775	4883,0	1046	5220,0	1057	6847,6	1684	6088,7	1987	7186,1	1958	7313,5	1787	43870,1	10293
2.	Bridges (m)	6181	387	15755	792	22626	791	19731	913	18714	913	18714	853	22938	693	18845	520	146199	5710
3.	Irrigation																		
a.	Dam (m3)	-	365	311356	204	430085	217	1210741	301	207581	331	326903	312	390643	208	216513	196	3093822	2134
b.	Channel (km)	-	-	486,52	114	487,52	149	433,04	153	688,0	253	908,94	226	1020,24	220	701,87	182	4735,67	1297
c.	Others (number)	-	-	275	114	364	108	612	129	2093	129	2093	106	4996	68	1243	47	10737	6444
	Area	98668	-	67761	-	44776	-	128915	-	128243	-	156918	-	82759	-	112004	-	820044	-
	Irrigated (ha)	-	-	152833	160	93920	108	57208	71	128861	107	150471	165	394951	130	180201	91	1158391	832
4.	Markets (m2)	-	-	398,44	38	135,65	57	102,70	70	121,46	102	132,38	180	292,33	181	479,40	138	1762,36	832
5.	Culverts (km)	-	-	2781	7	3933	12	45271	60	32202	50	23906	60	8918	31	4830	5	211841	225
6.	Penghijauan (ha)	-	-	8963	14	1111	23	65550	20	20659	43	134601	35	9446	19	9176	15	249506	169
7.	Flood Protn (number)	-	-	38	38	29	28	25	25	54	52	65	56	53	48	39	38	303	285
8.	Bus Station (number)	-	-	8	8	12	12	34	22	24	23	23	22	24	18	16	14	141	119
9.	River Ports (no/m)	-	-	741	47	4659	178	1363	132	3996	114	4301	169	3902	124	3896	52	22858	816
10.	Others (no/m)	-	-	479	79	20	42	636	54	987	138	1241	88	4756	86	2779	89	10898	972
11.	Others (no/m)	-	-	479	79	20	42	636	54	987	138	1241	88	4756	86	2779	89	10898	972
Total projects		1777		2390		2771		2798		2798		3939		4259		3784		3784	
																		24892	

Source: Data provided by Mr. Atar Sibero of Departemen Dalam Negeri.

/Table 31.



Table 31. Major activities under Inpres Sekolah Dasar and Inpres Kesehatan in Indonesia, 1973/74-1977/78

Activities	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78
<b>Inpres Sekolah Dasar</b>					
1. Construction of 3 class room schools (no.)	6,000	6,000	10,000	10,000	15,000 <sup>a/</sup>
2. Rehabilitation of schools (no.)	17	-	10,000	16,000	15,000 <sup>a/</sup>
<b>Inpres Kesehatan</b>					
1. Construction of new health centres (unit)	-	500	500	350	24
2. Rehabilitation of health centres	-	-	1,500	823	750
3. Mobile hospital units	-	-	-	-	363
4. Drinking water:					
a. Reservoir with pipes (unit)	-	96	146	150	150
b. Protection of reservoir (unit)	-	81	160	150	200
c. Hand pumps (unit)	-	10,127	14,199	14,175	18,120
d. Deep tubewells (unit)	-	-	-	-	1,061
e. Well	-	33	50	25	30

Source: Data provided by Mr. T.A. Salim of BAPPENAS.

Note: a/ Up to December 1977.

/has

has progressed very satisfactorily in most of the inner islands. The outer islands are still lagging behind. However, the main concern now is the availability of health personnel to man the health centres. Although considerable progress has been made in the provision of drinking water facilities, yet the situation remains critical in many areas. According to BAPPEDA, Bandung, only about 9 per cent of the present rural population of West Java get 60 litres of safe drinking water per capita annually. It is not surprising that cholera is still a serious problem in many areas of West Java.

The achievements of Inpres Reboisasi and Perghijauan are shown in table 32. It is clear that the area covered has steadily increased over the years. The figures appear to be on the high side. Officials at BAPPENAS and also at the field level admit of two serious problems: (a) the loss rate of plants in the first year is as high as 40 per cent, and (b) sometimes the farmers cut down the trees before they are mature. In Subang Kabupaten, we were told that a good part of the initial loss in planting is recovered through replanting which is done within two months. However, it is clear that a careful field assessment is necessary. One major difficulty is optimal selection of plants. In the absence of complete knowledge of ecological characteristics, selection is done by trial and error in some areas.

Table 33 presents data on the physical achievements under the Padat Karya programme of Indonesia during Repelita I and Repelita II. Construction and rehabilitation of irrigation channels and roads are the main activities under this programme. replanting is also undertaken. In comparison with Inpres Kabupaten, the Padat Karya programme pays considerable attention to irrigation. However, between the two plans, the volume of irrigation works has gone down by about 62 per cent while that of roads increased by about 23 per cent. In addition, since 1977, the department of manpower, which administers Padat Karya, also co-operates in the rehabilitation of roads, irrigation channels etc. following natural disasters. Under this extended programme the Department has so far rehabilitated 3,611 km of irrigation channels and 2,767 km of roads and replanted 2,682 hectares.

/Table 32.

Table 32. Progress under Inpres reboisasi and Penghijauan in Indonesia 1973/74-1977/78

(hectares)

Year	Empty land	Deforested area	Rehabilitation	Total reboisasi	<u>Penghijauan</u>
1973/74	20,791	11,571	21,040	53,402	104,500
1974/75	33,381	5,100	10,295	48,776	52,451
1975/76	39,224	5,800	44,745	89,769	80,588
1976/77	112,435	3,292	45,062	160,789	267,732
1977/78	187,337	1,053	-	188,390	619,153

Source: Data provided by Mr. Herman Haerman of BAPPENAS.

Table 33. Physical achievements of Padat karya

Activity	Period	
	Replita I	Replita II
Irrigation (km)	5,732	2,204
Roads (km)	2,900	3,560
Replantings (ha)	13,452	5,497

Source: Data provided by Mr. Arie Benggow of the Department of Manpower.

/The

The accomplishments of Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea in physical terms is very remarkable as may be seen from table 34. The figures are self-explanatory and eloquent. Table 35 in a way tries to capture progress of villages through stages of development over the period 1970-1978. In 1970, all villages of the country were classified as underdeveloped. After eight years none remained underdeveloped; 67 per cent moved up to developed stage and 33 per cent to developing stage.

## 2. Impact of community development programme

### (a) Employment

Employment creation has been a major objective of community development programmes in all countries. Table 36 presents estimated man-days of employment generated by Rural Works Programme and the Food-for-Work Programme. These figures refer only to the direct employment created during the project construction phase. (To get a complete picture one should include employment generated in other sectors due to Works Programme projects as well as the direct and indirect long-term employment generation during the operation of these projects.) Present estimates suggest that the Rural Works Programme accounted for an annual average 34.04 million man-days in the period 1962-1963 to 1970-1971, the average figure declined to 14.03 million man-days in the period 1971-1972 to 1976-1977. Assuming an average working period of 60 days in these projects, the above figures imply an additional employment for 567 and 233 thousand workers in the two periods respectively. These figures amount to about 3 per cent and 1 per cent of the total labour force. Admittedly they are not large percentages but in a labour-abundant country like Bangladesh, they cannot be dismissed as insignificant.

The direct employment potential of the Food-for-Work Programme is quite impressive. Using an average 36 man-days of employment per worker<sup>89/</sup> in the projects under these programmes, the total number of employed workers in

/Table 34.

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<sup>89/</sup> This estimate is based on data from a survey of Food-for-Work Programme projects reported in, "Economic and nutritional effects of the Bangladesh food and relief work programme", Institute of Nutrition and Food Science, University of Dacca, August 1977 (mimeo.).

Table 34. Accomplishments of major projects by  
Saemaul Undong, 1970-1977

Description of project	Unit	Physical achievement
1. Rural roads		
Village roads	km	42,220
Farm feeder roads	km	43,060
Bridge construction	number	63,927
Small bridge on farm feeder roads	number	1,668
2. Irrigation facilities		
Small reservoirs	number	9,518
Traditional small irrigation channel	number	20,085
Raceway	km	4,002
Embankment of rivers	km	6,476
3. Communal facilities		
Village halls	buildings	32,531
Public warehouses	buildings	17,325
Public workshops	buildings	3,565
Public compost pits	number	69,233
Common use barns	buildings	2,698
4. Rural electrification and communication networks		
Rural electrification	1,000 households	2,696
Communication network	villages	15,929
5. Rural industry		
Saemaul factories	establishments	509
6. Reforestation		
Reforestation	ha	349,977
Post management	1,000 ha	813
Nursery stock cultivation	Million trees	1,068
Fuel hole repairment	1,000	2,658
7. Housing and environmental improvement		
Improvement of roofs	1,000 buildings	2,372
Rural standard housing	buildings	19,934
Improvement of ditches		19,822
8. Rural water supply and sanitary improvement		
Water supply works	number	18,921
Public wells	number	114,110
Public bath houses	buildings	6,812
Public laundry places	number	60,877

/Table 34 (continued)

Table 34 (continued)

Description of project	Unit	Physical achievement
9. Improvement of marketing		
Co-operative marketing centres for farm and fishery products	number	3,268
Agricultural co-operative trucks	number	923
Grain mill	number	630
10. National beautification		
Beautification of national roads	km	4,361
Beautification of express highway	km	1,217
Beautification of rail roads	km	1,191
Beautification of towns	town	212
11. Rural saving programme		
Deposits in village safe	billion won	116.8
Agricultural co-operative savings	billion won	495.9
Fishery co-operative savings	billion won	47.9
Saemaul Educational Programmes		
1. Education for village leaders	Persons	197,259
In central training center	Persons	16,569
In local training center	Persons	180,690
2. Education for social leaders	Persons	35,057
In central training center	Persons	12,313
In local training center	Persons	22,744
3. Education for civil servants	Persons	218,977
4. Education for villagers	Persons	19,038

Source: Adopted from Sung Hwan Ban, "Economic evaluation of Saemaul Undong", Seoul National University, 1978 (mimeo.).

/Table 35.

Table 35. Changes in the stage of development of villages  
under Saemaul Undong, 1970-1978

	1970	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Total	34,665	34,665	34,665	34,665	35,031	35,031	35,031
Under-developed	34,665 (100)	18,415 (53)	10,656 (30)	6,165 (18)	4,046 (11)	302 (1)	
Developing	0 (0)	13,943 (40)	19,763 (57)	21,500 (62)	20,936 (60)	19,049 (54)	11,709 (33)
Developed	0 (0)	2,307 (7)	4,246 (13)	7,000 (20)	10,049 (29)	15,680 (45)	23,322 (67)

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaul Undong 1978.

Note: Figures in parentheses are in percentages.

/Table 36.

Table 36. Employment generated by works programme  
in Bangladesh

(million man-days)

Year	Rural works programme		Food-for-work programme	
	Employment	Cost per man-day of employment (Taka)	Employment	Cost per man-day of employment (Taka)
1962/63	25.08	3.99		
1963/64	47.35	4.22		
1964/65	33.36	4.26		
1965/66	37.37	3.21		
1966/67	33.99	4.41		
1967/68	51.79	4.17		
1968/69	26.29	4.87		
1969/70	24.91	4.62		
1970/71	26.28	6.24		
1971/72	13.15	7.85		
1972/73	16.99	9.42		
1973/74	11.60	10.86		
1974/75	8.66	12.93	8.94	6.40
1975/76	16.42	16.44	43.03	12.20
1976/77	17.38		82.76	8.64

Source: Adopted from M. Alamgir, "Rural works program", op. cit.

/1959-1976



1975-1976 turns out to be 1.20 million and with an average family size of 6, the total population benefitted was 7.2 million, about 8 per cent of the population of Bangladesh. The average cost of per man-day employment creation in Rural Works Programme increased from about Taka 4 to Taka 16 between 1962- 1963 and 1975-1976 (table 36), but this is still way below what it would cost in any other sector. In the Food-for-Work Programme, the cost of employment was 25 to 50 per cent lower than that in the Rural Works Programme.

Employment under Inpres Kabupaten Programme of Indonesia increased substantially since its inception although there was some year-to-year fluctuations (table 37). The peak was apparently reached in 1975-1976 when 101.71 million man-days of employment was created. At an assumed average of 60 days of work per worker, the number of people employed was 1.7 million which was 5 per cent of the total labour force of the country. Like the Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh, the cost per man-day of employment in Inpres Kabupaten projects is lower than elsewhere in the economy, although there has been a significant upward trend over time. Total employment created over the period 1973/74-1977/78 under Inpres Reboisasi and Penghijauan was 128 million man-days or an annual average of 32 million man-days. Apparently, this is only a fraction of the total employment potential of the programme. As the programme expands and bench terracing is undertaken on a wider scale, the employment absorption will also increase significantly. The Padat Karya Programme has employed 510,000 people for 3 to 6 months during Repehita I and 316,178 people for 6 to 9 months during Repehita II. In addition, since 1977 under the disaster rehabilitation projects, the Padat Karya Programme has employed 356,877 people for 2 to 3 months.

Employment data related to Saemaul Undong of Korea are presented in terms of "participation of villagers", thus focusing the substantial voluntary labour participation in the Programme. From table 38 one can see that between 1971 and 1978, villagers participation in Saemaul Undong increased by about twentyfold which reflects clearly the popular appeal of the Programme.

/Table 37.

Table 37. Employment generated by different Inpres Programmes in Indonesia

Year	Employment	Cost per man-day of employment (Rp)
<u>Inpres Kabupaten</u>		
1970/71	21.06	271
1971/72	30.03	293
1972/73	43.66	373
1973/74	53.37	360
1974/75	90.51	472
1975/76	101.71	549
1976/77	82.44	753
1977/78	77.13	896
<u>Inpres Penghijauan and Reboisasi</u>		
Reboisasi		
1973/74-1977/78	68.3	
Penghijauan		
1973/74-1977/78	60.0	

Sources: Data provided by Dalam Negeri and BAPPENAS; and table 24.

/Table 38.

Table 38. Participation of villagers in Saemaul Undong 1971-1977  
(million man-days)

Year	Number of man-days
1971	7.20
1972	32.00
1973	69.28
1974	106.85
1975	116.88
1976	117.53
1977	137.19

Source: Sung Hwan Ban, "Economic evaluation of Saemaul Undong," op. cit.

/(b)

(b) Productivity, income and human settlement

In general, in both Bangladesh and Indonesia, projects under community development programmes were not drawn and implemented in a manner so that they could emerge as productivity-oriented anti-poverty measures. However, workers engaged in these projects have, by and large, fulfilled normal expectation of labour productivity. For example in earth work, the Works Programme project labourers in Bangladesh were often found to be exceeding the daily 70 cubic feet norm. This was particularly true when the work was being done on a contract basis rather than daily wage basis. This level of work was also realized from the workers on the Food-for-Work Programme projects although the implicit daily wage rate was lower than the market wage rate. In Indonesia, as indicated before, one of the reasons that the contractors tended to use their own workers rather than local labour was to ensure the normal level of efficiency of work. It should be pointed out that in programmes of this type, it is necessary to follow a pragmatic approach in analysing the productivity of labour. Although fairly high norms are set for the amount and quality of work of an individual worker, how much of it will actually be reflected in the long run productivity of the project will depend almost entirely on the manner in which these projects are designed and later maintained.

As an anti-poverty measure, the effectiveness of most of the income augmenting projects is limited because they cannot reach those who are otherwise employed but earn less than "poverty income", represented by the level adequate to purchase a bundle of food and related items which satisfies the minimum nutritional needs of a person. There is the additional danger that the benefits of the programme may be unevenly distributed thus bringing about an increased polarization in the countryside. This tendency has been largely modified in the Republic of Korea where Saemaul Undong has effected significant improvement in housing, water supply and sanitation facilities. Data presented in table 34 suggests that by 1977 about half of the villages in the country had piped water facilities and over 12 million houses had undergone improvement of roofs.

On the other hand, progress made in the improvement of housing and water supply facilities through community-based programmes in both Bangladesh and Indonesia has been very limited. Bangladesh does not have any significant programme in this area. As mentioned before, recent efforts in Indonesia had only limited success. According to World Bank sources, the percentage of

/rural

rural population with access to safe drinking water increased from 0.3 per cent in 1971 to 4 per cent in 1976. None of the community development programmes discussed so far address the problem of housing directly.

Mention should be made of Indonesia's housing rehabilitation projects in 1,000 model villages to be implemented during Repelita II. 800-900 of these projects have so far been implemented. Model villages are selected by a Kabupaten Committee. The project involves dissemination of information, provision of small subsidy to initiate action and organization of gotong ryong. People who obtain subsidy are expected to participate in housing gotong ryong. These projects are supervised by the Department of Public Works (Cipta Karya), Department of Social Welfare assists in planning of housing gotong ryong. The design of houses has been developed by the Building Directorate (DPMB) of Cipta Karya. This programme is integrated with Inpres Sekolah Dasar and Inpres Kesehata insofar as provision of educational service and water supply (piped water if possible, hand tubewell, rainwater collection) is concerned. The programme is administered by a Committee chaired by the Bupati. For obvious reasons, people are very enthusiastic about his programme since it directly improves the quality of life of all the participants. Future expansion of the programme faces three problems, (i) shortage of manpower (Cipta Karya is too small to handle the programme on a large scale), (ii) planning of training facilities for prospective manpower and (iii) development of an appropriate credit outlet.

There is no denying the fact that in the countries under discussion the quality of life in rural areas has been improved by the changes brought about by the construction of physical assets under different community development programmes. The generation of wage employment has increased income and consumption of the people who were involved though the extent of increase and the total number of beneficiaries may not always have been great. The contribution of community public works projects to over-all productivity and income in rural areas depended upon the commitment of the national government to rural development.

In Bangladesh, resource allocation under Five Year Plans to the rural areas was inadequate to promote growth. Diffusion of high yielding varieties was slow, credit co-operatives functioned poorly and Bangladesh agriculture continued to be plagued by low average landholding, lack of draft power, unequal distribution of assets, subdivision and fragmentation

of landholdings, frequent natural calamities like flood and cyclone and exploitative production relations.<sup>90/</sup> Given this background, it is perhaps unrealistic to expect that the works programme projects could account for a significant breakthrough in raising agricultural productivity in Bangladesh. We had earlier noted that between early 1960s and mid-1970s, the rice yield per acre increased only marginally in Bangladesh (table 4).

The situation was exactly the opposite in Republic of Korea. Since early 1960s, under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the government has been pursuing a vigorous policy of increasing food production, increasing rural incomes and promoting self-development. The major policy instruments have been development and diffusion of high yielding varieties,<sup>91/</sup> innovations in farming technology (mechanization), improvement of physical infrastructure and farmland development and conservation, increased livestock production, implementation of self-reliance programmes for primary agricultural co-operatives, price supports etc. The outcome of this concerted effort was that the Office of Rural Development (ORD), the agency responsible for development and diffusion of high yielding rice variety could contribute to the realization of the World's highest rice yield recorded (4 MT/ha) in 1977.

In Indonesia, the agriculture sector has in recent years gone through a number of important changes which include, increase in cultivated area outside Java, expansion of irrigation, introduction of new HYV rice suitable for double cropping and more intensive cultivation.<sup>92/</sup> In the diffusion of new technology, BIMAS programme (for supply of inputs and credit) and INMAS Programme (for provision of technical advice) were instrumental.<sup>93/</sup> Therefore, as compared with Bangladesh, community development programmes in the Republic of Korea and Indonesia were better oriented to contribute to the growth of agricultural productivity and farm income.

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<sup>90/</sup> See M. Alamgir, "Some aspects of Bangladesh agriculture", op. cit.

<sup>91/</sup> Jinheung, Tongil, Josaeg Tongil, Yushin, Milyang 23, Suweaon 264, Nopung, Naegyong, Milyang 30.

<sup>92/</sup> See, "Employment and income distribution in Indonesia", op. cit., pp. 26-40.

<sup>93/</sup> Achmad T. Birowo, "BIMAS: a package programme for intensification of food crop production in Indonesia", The Asia Society, New York, 1975.

Only limited data are available on benefits derived from infrastructural facilities created under different community development programmes. John Thomas has made an estimate of the benefits derived from (i) road user savings, (ii) increased production from land drained, and (iii) flood protection, in Bangladesh. Thomas estimates annual net benefit from Rural Works Programme to be Taka 387.5 million (in 1967/68 prices). For years 1962/63 to 1966/67 estimated benefits are lower. Discounting at 12 per cent, he arrives at a benefit-cost (cost given by allocations) ratio of 3.4.<sup>94/</sup> His estimated benefits in many cases are unrealistically high. This applies to his estimates for the amount of produce marketed through Works Programme roads, amount of land saved by drainage, net production due to drainage and flood protection. Besides, he over-estimates the extent to which different structures have been maintained over the years. Recent field survey reports reveal a very dismal picture which is borne out by the physical achievements under this programme in post-liberation Bangladesh (table 29). Thomas also incorrectly assumed that government investment in the programme ended in 1966/67. A rough recalculation with the basic parameters revised downwards but the methodology being the same as that followed by Thomas reveals a benefit-cost ratio of 1.45. Annual benefit in 1967/68 is less than half (Taka 150 million) of what is calculated by Thomas. If one includes government investment in later years, then benefit-cost ratio turns out to be a little less than 1 (0.97).

As indicated above, one should look at the Rural Works Programme also in relation to its impact on the spread of co-operatives, irrigation and new technology. All of these together did not have an appreciable effect in raising agricultural or rural income per capita as shown by the respective indexes in table 39. However, while average income may not have increased significantly, the propertied class reaped large benefit from various projects. This has been partly reflected in the increased rural income inequality (measured by Gini coefficients) between 1968/69 to 1973/74.<sup>95/</sup>

Gains for the propertied class apart, the wage labourer's income is enhanced to the extent they get additional employment in community development programme projects. It appears from various project reports that Rural Works Programme on an average accounted for an additional income of Taka 25 and Food-for-Work Programme Taka 45 in 1974 for the

/Table 39.

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<sup>94/</sup> John W. Thomas, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>95/</sup> M. Alamgir, Bangladesh, op. cit.

Table 39. Index of real income per capita of agricultural and rural income per capita 1960/61 to 1969/70

Year	Agricultural	Rural
1955/56-1959/60	100	100
1960/61	103	97
1961/62	105	100
1962/63	100	97
1963/64	105	103
1964/65	105	102
1965/66	105	102
1966/67	102	100
1967/68	109	107
1968/69	105	105
1969/70	105	105

Source: Calculated from data in M. Alamgir and L. Berlage, Bangladesh: National Income and Expenditure 1949/50-1969/70 (Dacca, Bangladesh, Institute of Development Studies, 1974), pp. 65-66.

/families



families who had one member working on such projects. Assuming that the Rural Works Programme worker belonged to the less than 2.5 acre landholding group with a per capita income of Taka 481 in 1974, the additional wage income represented 5 per cent of total income, the percentage turned out to be 13 per cent for Food-for-Work Programme workers who were mostly landless with an average annual income of Taka 345.<sup>96/</sup> In addition, the Food-for-Work Programme by making wage payment in wheat has contributed to the reduction of "nutrition gap" of the low-income families. In this sense, this programme has more of an anti-poverty focus than Rural Works Programme.

As for labourers, who do not benefit directly or indirectly from additional employment, could have their welfare increased if the general wage level increased due to the new demand generated in the labour market. This will show up in the annual average wage rate and also in the seasonal (during slack seasons) wage rate. Available data suggest that nominal wage increased consistently over the period 1962-1976 while real wage fluctuated.<sup>97/</sup> It is quite plausible that the Rural Works Programme and the Food-for-Work Programme were able to maintain some pressure on nominal wage rates while real wage rates had been influenced by other factors too.

We have examined the variation in annual wage rate and seasonal pattern of wage rate in one particular area, Comilla, which received maximum administrative and political attention in the course of implementation of the Rural Works Programme. From table 40, one can see that with some fluctuation, the money wage rate shows a consistent upward trend. The dry season (January to April) wage rate shows slightly greater fluctuation than the annual average which is not unexpected in view of fluctuations in allocation for Works Programme. The same is true of the ratio between the two. Except for a few years, the dry season wage rate represented more than 90 per cent of annual average. Furthermore, the over-all seasonal pattern has not changed much between the period before and after the introduction of the Rural Works Programme. What this essentially implies is that in rural Bangladesh market wage rate is not determined entirely by forces of supply and demand but custom, tradition, patron-client relationship, production relations etc. play a major role. In essence wages are determined

/Table 40.

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<sup>96/</sup> Per capita income figures are quoted from ibid.

<sup>97/</sup> M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme", op. cit.

Table 40. Nominal daily wage rate of agricultural labourers in Comilla district of Bangladesh, 1953-1976

Year	Annual average	Dry Season (Jah-April) average	Ratio of Col. (2) to Col. (1)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1953	0.99	0.95	1.04
1954	1.12	1.12	1.00
1955	1.13	1.21	0.93
1956	1.34	1.26	1.07
1957	1.56	1.54	1.01
1958	1.30	1.50	0.86
1959	1.73	1.63	1.06
1960	1.56	1.78	0.88
1961	2.09	2.32	0.90
1962	2.42	2.29	0.95
1963	2.59	2.55	0.98
1964	2.65	2.60	0.98
1965	2.33	2.38	1.02
1966	2.45	2.63	1.07
1967	2.71	3.13	1.15
1968	2.64	2.58	0.98
1969	3.07	3.13	1.02
1970	3.32	2.79	0.84
1971	3.19	3.38	1.06
1972	3.91	3.37	0.86
1973	5.83	5.26	0.90
1974	8.21	6.59	0.80
1975	9.96	10.43	1.05
1976	9.65	9.06	0.95

Source: Adopted from M. Alamgir, "Rural works programme," op. cit.

/by

by a process of social arbitration, supply-demand forces acting only as a reference point. An upward trend in the nominal wage rate being already there from the period before and there being no essential change in seasonal pattern, it becomes very difficult to make a definitive statement regarding the impact of Works Programme on wage level and structure.

There is no data to make an over-all assessment of the impact of community public works programme on output and income in rural Indonesia. However, the combined effect of these projects and other rural development efforts have been reflected in a growth rate of 4.0 per cent per annum of agricultural value added over the period 1968-1977. As for the movement of agricultural real wages, data presented in table 5 suggest an upward movement between 1967 and 1977. Data are available on the movement of real wages of unskilled construction workers in Kabupaten programme between 1971/72 and 1977/78. The picture is mixed in the sense that real wage increased in Aceh, West Sumatra, Java, Central and South Sulawesi but it declined in Riau, Jambi, South Sumatra, and a number of other provinces (table 41). It seems that the Inpres Kabupaten programme had the effect of reducing interprovincial differences in real wages. We did not ourselves carry out any systematic field survey but from our discussion with a cross section of people in the field we got the impression that Inpres Kabupaten, Inpres Desa and Padat Karya projects had significant impact on output and income in areas where they were implemented. The direct wage income from Inpres Kabupaten projects, however, did not entirely accrue to the local population because, as mentioned before, contractors sometimes employed their own labourers from outside the locality. Patten et al.<sup>98/</sup> refers to the survey carried out by Padjadjaran University team whose finding confirms our own observation regarding increase in output and income due to Inpres Kabupaten projects.

Professor Ban carried out cost-benefit analysis of roof improvement project under Saemaul Undong in the Republic of Korea and came up with a ratio of 3.11 using 8 per cent discount rate (equal to the interest rate on housing loans provided by the Housing Corporation) and assuming 25 years use life for state or ceramic tile roof. The internal rate of return was found to be 37 per cent.<sup>99/</sup> Given a large number of favourable policies adopted by the Government in the late 1960s to boost farm income and reduce rural-urban differential in income, it is somewhat difficult to isolate the contribution

/Table 41.

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98/ R. Patten, et al., op. cit.

99/ Sung Hwan Ban, op. cit.

Table 41. Real wages in rural areas for unskilled construction labour (Inpres Kabupaten programme), 1971-1978

	Real wage 1971/72 (rupiah)	Real wage 1977/78 (rupiah)	Percentage change 1971/72-1977/78
Aceh	160	189	18.1
North Sumatra	293	...	...
West Sumatra	182	220	20.9
Riau	320	273	-14.7
Jambi	350	253	-27.7
South Sumatra	262	149	-43.1
Lampung	183	149	-18.6
Bengkulu	250	169	-32.4
Jakarta	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
West Java	155	165	6.5
Central Java	95	111	16.8
Jogyakarta	86	89	3.5
East Java	117	145	23.9
Bali	123	115	-6.5
West Nusa Tenggara	130	124	-4.6
East Nusa Tenggara	94	120	27.7
West Kalimantan	325	...	...
Central Kalimantan	370	...	...
South Kalimantan	194	...	...
East Kalimantan	375	...	...
North Sulawesi	297	216	-27.3
Central Sulawesi	138	213	60.2
South Sulawesi	133	147	10.5
West and East Sulawesi	100	127	27.0
Maluku	...	...	...
West Irian	...	...	...

Source: "Employment and income distribution in Indonesia", op. cit., p. 46.

/of

of Saemaul Undong except pointing out that the rate of growth of farm income has accelerated since 1970 when the movement was initiated.<sup>100/</sup> However, if one looks at the movement of real wage rate of agricultural labourers (table 5), it is not clear whether the Saemaul Undong project had any additional effect or not except that the rising trend of the 1960s has been sustained through the 1970s. Actually current data reveal that rural wage rate is now higher than urban wage rate. As for distribution of farm income, the available data suggests an increasing inequality between 1967 and 1974, Gini ratio went up from .2928 to .3192.<sup>101/</sup>

Development of collective consciousness, attitudinal changes and leadership training

The Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh had little or no effect in developing collective consciousness for national development and bringing about attitudinal changes regarding values of life particularly infusing a spirit of sacrifice. The total neglect of the distributional consideration was clearly inconsistent with the objective of mobilizing masses through Rural Works Programme. This was brought out more clearly in the case of Voluntary Labour Mobilization Programme. The Ulashi-Jadunathpur project (initiated in late 1976) generated considerable enthusiasm at the earlier stage but it could not be sustained. A first-hand assessment showed the following to be responsible for lack of continued popular enthusiasm and very slow progress of work.

- (i) Absence of political and ideological motivation failed to sustain the participation of those who are not direct beneficiaries.
- (ii) Direct beneficiaries (landowners) were not putting in an equivalent amount of physical work.
- (iii) There was no guarantee that some of the gains of the direct beneficiaries would be transferred to others through some fiscal mechanism.
- (iv) Organization of the work programme and labour management were very poor.
- (v) Those who were contributing voluntary labour came from the extremely poor who could ill-afford sacrifice of current income.

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<sup>100/</sup> "Saemaul Undong", op. cit., pp. 104-120.

<sup>101/</sup> At constant 1970 prices, farm income increased at an annual average rate of 5.3 per cent over the period 1966-1970, the rate increased to 6.5 over 1970-1974 period.

- (vi) Adequate motivational work had not been done, in terms of educating the people about the benefits of the project.
- (vii) The initiative for the project came from the top. There was no involvement of the people in its planning; they were not involved in its supervision. Its management had been unduly bureaucratized.

However, being the first project of its type, the project was finally completed with the help of indirect labour contributions as shown above.

The Rural Works Programme was implemented through the local government whose leadership came from the traditionally dominant elite who, in the village context, derived their power primarily from kinship and/or factional groupings and from their hold over productive assets (land). Rural Works Programme fund, channelled through them, strengthened their position since they could now distribute material patronage more freely than before. In course of time, however, this programme was instrumental in exposing land/tradition based leadership to challenges from business and commercial interests (e.g. contractors and traders) and educated younger groups.

The Rural Works Programme nevertheless did provide a functional content to the concept of community development in Bangladesh. After previous unsuccessful attempts, a big push of this nature was necessary to revive popular confidence in such efforts. People in general became conscious of their environment and possibilities for progress although the initial enthusiasm was tempered by experiences of resource limitations and/or resource leakage in the Programme. The role of leadership was expanded in that the leaders were called upon to plan and implement projects. While critics have claimed that some of the resources pumped into the Rural Works Programme were not properly utilized, it is true that the local leadership was forced to show results in concrete terms. The emergence of the Thana Training and Development Centre as an institution for dissemination and exchange of information and experiences among local leaders was an extremely important development. Another benefit of lasting value stemmed from on-the-job training of local leadership in respect of project preparation and implementation.

No sociological study is available on the attitudinal changes brought about among workers and villagers by the Rural Works Programme in Bangladesh. Project field reports suggest a few changes but they may be speculative in nature. The Rural Works Programme made people conscious and interested in

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the functioning of the local governments. The whole spectrum of local developmental activities became a substantive issue in local and national political debate. People developed a better perception of the link between local and national development.

In Indonesia, the national leadership has shown strong commitment to community development initiating a number of Inpres programmes in the 1970s. Among different programmes, the Inpres Desa has made concerted effort to promote popular participation in planning and implementation of projects and to change the attitude of the community. Three institutions LSD (Lembaga Social Desa), PKK (Pandikan Katarumpitan - Applied Family Welfare programme) and Koperasi (co-operatives) are engaged in various ways to improve the quality of life in the villages and to encourage popular participation at various stages of Inpres Desa project preparation and implementation. As indicated before, the role of the village leader (Lurah) in community development is pivotal. Lurah is also the head of the LSD. Village Social Committee Training Centres have been organized to increase the effectiveness of village social committee and to train future community leaders.

The Desa meeting has, over the years provided an important focal point for discussing the problems of the community and arriving at a consensus regarding possible solution. The institution of gotong ryong not only ensures participation of the community members in development projects but it also keeps their interest alive in the over-all Desa development and in the role of the Lurah in it. Funds provided under Inpres Desa have created greater enthusiasm among the villagers in participating in development projects. In fact it has not been much of a problem to sustain 50 per cent local contribution in Inpres Desa in the form of materials and labour. Furthermore, inter-village competition has added a new dimension by making the community leaders and villagers alike to strive harder for better results and to share the honour of being a champion.

Most of the other community development programmes in Indonesia appear to be people-oriented but not people-based in the sense that there is no conscious attempt to develop collective consciousness, encourage attitudinal changes or to promote leadership training. In this context, Inpres Kabupaten Programme though designed after the Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh, is more bureaucratized than the latter. On the other hand,

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like the Food-for-Work Programme of Bangladesh, the Padat Karya of Indonesia is strictly a poverty-oriented programme without any attempt to mobilize (politically or otherwise) the poor. Inpres Penghijauan is somewhat of an exception in this respect. While the programme is plagued by problems, it is making an effort to educate people about the danger of soil erosion and the advantages of regreening. The missing link has so far been the creation of an environment in which the farmers will be inclined to participate in planning and implementation of erosion control and reforestation projects.

In its essence, Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea is different from community development programmes elsewhere in Asia in the sense that it was conceived as a modernization movement based on enlightenment of the people and their voluntary participation. The most important contribution of Saemaul Undong has been the bringing about of attitudinal changes among the villagers and their leaders. Villagers on their own are taking up more and more challenging projects and are successfully implementing them under the inspiring leadership of Saemaul leaders. A large number of village and social leaders have successfully completed Saemaul educational programmes at central and local training centres (table 34). Two aspects of attitudinal reorientation of the people deserve special mention, these are a spirit of self-reliance and a spirit of co-operation. There have also been changes in life-style as habits of gambling and drinking were greatly reduced. In this, the integration of women in Saemaul movement had important contribution to make.

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The Saemaul Undong enables the villagers to draw up joint balance sheets of resources currently available, to evaluate future potential and, on that basis, make projections of economic and social activities. It is interesting to note that the initiative to mobilize grassroots support for new community development projects came from the top leadership of the country. This forced the civil servants to be actively involved in the movement. Furthermore, the movement itself was accompanied by a strong drive to clean up administration at all levels of government. Therefore, the subsequent process of project preparation and implementation under Saemaul Undong was largely free of corruption and influence peddling.

One reason why Saemaul Undong has been so successful in attracting local contributions is that, unlike other programmes discussed here, project costs have been equitably shared by the villagers on the basis of property ownership, amount of benefit received and contribution of labour. Villagers (even rich farmers) have contributed land ungrudgingly for the construction of common facilities. However, in many cases a process of social arbitration was necessary to elicit the right kind of contribution. In the beginning, in an effort to save land of people who were unwilling to part with some specific plot, the roads constructed became too winding. Later the villagers realized the inconveniences of such road planning resulting in new land contributions, so that the roads could be straightened up.

The role of the interaction between the philosophy of Saemaul Undong and of the co-operative movement in Republic of Korea in changing attitudes of farmers should be stressed. Farmers are not always readily responsive to economic incentives; they resist change particularly if it is brought about too fast. From the beginning, the Saemaul movement has been endeavouring to break this barrier to change imposed by farmers' attachment to the traditional way of life and production practices. The co-operative movement while concentrating on economic aspects of rural life also wanted to bring about such attitudinal change among the farmers, but its own earlier efforts were not very successful. A big thrust came in this direction when the first phase of Saemaul Undong emphasized primarily the spiritual aspect. In this way, the two movements became complementary though initially, the two worked independently of each other. But now with the sharp increase in production and marketed surplus, the time has come for a more functional integration of the Saemaul movement and the co-operative movement. However, in the context of changing the attitude of farmers one should also take note of the very important role played by extension agents of the office of rural development in respect of the diffusion of new technology.

/Effectiveness

### Effectiveness of planning and administration

In the Rural Works Programme of Bangladesh, there has been in the past many instances of ill-designed projects, wrong projects or wrong project area being taken up. Government circulars drew attention to these but they were not effective in making substantive changes. By the late 1960s, the situation seems to have deteriorated so much that it provoked the following remarks from one of the fathers of the Programme, Akhtar Hameed Khan:<sup>102/</sup>

Rural Works Programme allocations are still received, but the schemes are taken up on an ad hoc basis. It seems that the building of the infrastructure of drainage and roads is no longer considered a crucial programme. Systematic planning and full participation of the people is also not considered crucial. The Circle Officers have not been called for their biennial training conferences. Instructions and circulars have lost their vitality. Two years ago a circular was received by the Circle Officers requiring them to prepare a "comprehensive" plan for the Fourth Plan period. This comprehensive plan was to include everything, education, health etc. So the Circle Officers obliged with an imaginative exercise. But at the same time, as a corollary to the comprehensive planning, they abandoned the old methods. There are no five-year plans of drainage and roads for 1970-1975.

The situation continued to be the same in post-liberation Bangladesh. Works Programme in both the First Five Year Plan and the Two Year Approach Plan is not based on a well-worked out detailed plan at the project level. Both projects and project areas are being selected on an ad hoc basis. But despite this, field survey reports indicate that there are also many examples of successful planning and implementation of Rural Works Programme projects. One such area is Rural Development I project where the Government and the World Bank are jointly trying to create a success story of rural development in Bangladesh. Similarly, except for the initial year, the selection of projects (or areas) for Food-for-Work Programme has been quite satisfactory, due to the close supervision of donor agencies.

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<sup>102/</sup> "The Writings of Dr. Akhtar Hameed Khan," op. cit., p. 28.

In the guidelines provided by the government, considerable emphasis was placed on public accountability of utilization of Works Programme funds. Rigorous rules were laid down for inspection of records and accounts by appropriate audit authorities. This emphasis on accountability was well placed although in reality there were many instances of misappropriation or misuse of funds and irregularities in book-keeping. At the project level the emphasis on book-keeping is sometimes overdone. The authorities fail to appreciate some of the genuine difficulties of the Project Implementation Committee. For example, there is lack of understanding of technicalities of measurement and recording by Project Committees. In some instances sufficient time was not available to measure all the work daily because too many workers worked on particular days. The Project Committee Secretary alone was responsible for maintenance of records which can be very demanding in the case where the project is large and involves many workers. The Secretary is by no means a highly trained personnel and his remuneration is very modest. In his survey, Rehman Sobhan found that over 50 per cent of interviewees felt that Rural Works Programme funds are misappropriated by Chairman, Union Council or Chairman, Project Committee or Circle Officer.<sup>103/</sup>

Government guidelines indicated the nature of projects to be undertaken but actual project preparation and implementation was left to the respective Councils. Project preparation and implementation at all levels suffered due to lack of supervisory and technical staff. Union Project Committees often did not have access to technical skill supposed to be provided by higher (Thana and District) authority or specialized agencies (e.g. Water Development Board). Understaffing of authorities at various levels turned out to be a serious problem. This was further compounded by lack of inter-agency communication which is reflected not only in not receiving timely technical assistance but also in say, late arrival of fund, causing delay in start of project work, or work stoppages both leading to an unfinished project at the end of the season. Other instances of inter-agency communication gap are, difficulties with respect to land acquisition, availability of construction materials, irregularity in the delivery of wage goods (e.g. wheat) all of which fall within the jurisdiction of Ministries not directly related to the administration of the Rural Works Programme or the Food-for-Work Programme. There was also the problem of delay by the approving authority in approving projects.

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<sup>103/</sup> Rehman Sobhan, op. cit., p. 119.

The Government finally took the correct decision to allow the local Councils to go ahead with a project if the approving authority failed to respond to a proposal within a specified period of time. A related problem was that the project implementing bodies waited until the project was finally approved, before they started calling and selecting tenders, acquiring materials and organizing labour which meant considerable delay in the start of actual work. The Project Committees were later urged to complete preliminaries well ahead of time. These Committees themselves were often guilty of submitting projects late which naturally delayed all subsequent processes. While the appropriate controlling authority tried to expedite the process of project preparation, this was not always easy because of difficulties of communication and lack of technical personnel. Another difficulty in inter-agency communication was observed in the execution of District Council projects through Thana Council. Project preparation remained in the hand of District Council and the process of communication of work plan and funds to the Thana Council proved to be very slow. Later the arrangement was abandoned and the District Councils were asked to execute their own projects.

The health insurance schemes of Savar Project and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee have generated considerable interest in the country. No systematic evaluation has been made of either scheme except a quick analysis by John Briscoe of Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee.<sup>104/</sup> We quote below his conclusion:

This analysis shows that many of the rich and few of the poor participate in the scheme and that this differential participation would become even more pronounced if the present system were to function for several more years. The adult males who are insured appear to receive a disproportionately high proportion of benefits of the curative services. The money which is collected from the community in the form of insurance premiums and token consultation fees covers about 54 per cent of the cost of drugs distributed to the insured population, about 30 per cent of the total costs of the curative services delivered to the insured population and about 6 per cent of the total costs of the health programme. Even with this very large subsidy from non-local sources, the scheme has not proved to be attractive to the villagers, with only about 10 per cent of them paying the premium required for joining the scheme.

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<sup>104/</sup> John Briscoe, "The political economy of BRAC health insurance scheme," OXFAM, Dacca, April 1978 (mimeo.).

In Indonesia Kabupaten projects involve a large number of people in project preparation, scrutiny, supervision and implementation. Commenting on the earlier phase (1971-1974) of the programme, Patten et al. observe, "The administrative problem has been to divide the entire job into component parts, with each level of government and each official given appropriate responsibility. --- The greatest of the continuing problems of the programme is undoubtedly the problem of communication. --- The dictum that 'anything which can be misunderstood will be misunderstood' applies with extra force when instructions to a large number of people of widely varying skills and administrative capacity must necessarily be conveyed indirectly. The communication problem is exacerbated by the inability of the central government to announce the level of expenditures for the programme before the budget speech in January".

Most basic problems seem to have been sorted out by now. The Kabupatens prepare projects ahead of time so that tenders could be invited as soon as availability of fund is known. It is true that even today the planning and implementing capacity vary from Kabupaten to Kabupaten, but the current attempt to establish BAPPEMKA/BAPPEMKO will go a long way to resolve outstanding problems of planning. An important implicit objective of Inpres programmes was to increase planning capability at the lower administrative levels of the government. In other words, the idea was to promote planning from below under guidance and supervision from the above. It is fair to say that this has started happening although some problem with horizontal communication

and co-ordination in the work of various governmental agencies remain. By and large, the lower level planning has proved to be more flexible than central planning. There is no doubt that local priorities are being better attended to by this attempted decentralization of the planning process. Efficiency of programme implementation has been improved by enforcement of time limits of project preparation and completion, close supervision and imposition of financial discipline. The system of making payment to contractors through branches of BRI, and withholding of 10 per cent of total payment until the project is satisfactorily completed has proved to be very effective.

/ Bupati

Bupati plays a crucial role in project selection. He is usually quite knowledgeable and his judgement is based on a large number of considerations. Straightforward application of cost-benefit analysis to evaluate the performance of Bupati in the selection of projects would be unrealistic. The general impression is that he does a good job of balancing conflicting interests. A German group study of West and Southern Sumatra had positive finding of Bupati's supervision of roads.

The planning and administration of Saemaul Undong have worked quite well so far. Two types of problems have been encountered: first, sometimes the technical capability at the Myun level is inadequate to satisfy the need of the villages under it. Second, according to Dong Hi Kim and Yand Boo Choe;

".... due to the lack of comprehensive and long-term plan, some of village projects completed become waste because an introduction of new Saemaul projects require modification of the already completed projects. For instance, the roof projects was introduced at the beginning stage of the Undong. However, the later introduction of housing improvement and village spatial rearrangement project made obsolete the early project of roof repair. This trial-error consequence of the sequential approach increases the public as well as the villagers financial burden. The long-term comprehensive plan may reduce such costs in the long run."<sup>105/</sup>

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<sup>105/</sup> Republic of Korea, Ministry of Home Affairs, op. cit.

#### IV. DESIGN OF A PROGRAMME FOR ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT

From our discussion in section III, it is clear that countries of the ESCAP region have undertaken community development programmes under a wide variety of circumstances and that these were not conceptualized in a manner envisaged in section II. Programmes were taken up at various points of time with different objectives in mind and little effort was made to establish links between their administrative and planning structures so as to maximize resource use efficiency. Saemaul Undong of the Republic of Korea was different in the sense that different components of community development were integrated into one programme.

Analysis of current experiences of ESCAP countries suggest that there is no point in defining a single blueprint for environmental improvement in these countries. However, what one should emphasize is that there is need for constant search for the most suitable alternatives, the institutional and administrative prerequisites for implementing otherwise desirable alternatives and, the planning needed to ensure realization of long and short run objectives of programmes for environmental improvement at the community level.

While we may not be able to suggest a unique design of environmentally sound development at the community level, we can pull together elements from experiences in the region and formulate a broad framework which could serve as a point of reference for designing such programmes.

A community programme for environmentally sound development should be based on the conceptual framework presented in section II although in specifying the details, we think it is better to use a simplified approach which is perhaps more useful for practical planners. For environmentally sound development, the following objectives should be included in community programmes.

- (a) Employment creation
- (b) Income augmentation
- (c) Asset creation
- (d) Improvement of human settlement
- (e) Provision of primary health care and family planning services
- (f) Provision of functional and elementary educational facilities
- (g) Soil conservation irrigation and flood control
- (h) Reforestation and afforestation.

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To attain these objectives, the following activities may be considered for adoption. As we have seen, a combination of these are already being successfully implemented at the community level in various countries.

- (a) Construction of:
  - (i) Roads
  - (ii) Bridges and culverts
  - (iii) Embankments/bunds
  - (iv) Canal and drainage
  - (v) Irrigation channels
  - (vi) Flood control dykes
  - (vii) Community centres
  - (viii) Fish ponds
  - (ix) Markets
  - (x) Workshop and storage facilities
  - (xi) Health care education and family planning service centres
  - (xii) Check dams
  - (xiii) Houses, sanitary and water supply facilities
- (b) Terracing
- (c) Planting of tress
- (d) Agricultural extension
- (e) Training of villagers and leaders
- (f) Training of women
- (g) Other activities as appropriate in particular situations.

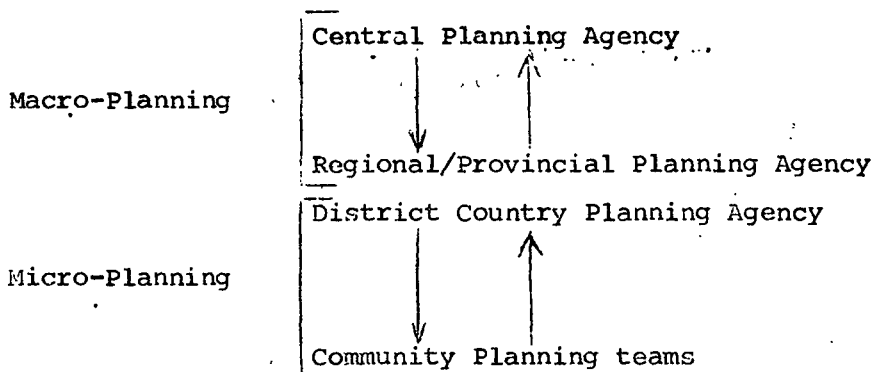
For efficient project formulation and implementation, effective planning and administrative organizations are essential. Experiences of different countries studied here have shown that success of community development projects depends largely on appropriate decentralization of planning and implementation authority and smooth vertical and horizontal co-ordination among planning and administrative agencies. Some salient features of the task before the planners and administrators of such programmes are the following:

- (a) A careful assessment of the resource endowment (including un- and under-employed manpower);
- b An investigation into environmental problems;
- c Identification of disadvantaged groups of society;
- d Identification of projects that will significantly contribute to basic needs satisfaction;



- (e) Identification of projects that will protect and enhance the environment;
- (f) Selection of projects with a built-in bias in favour of disadvantaged groups in the society;
- (g) Selection of projects to ensure provision of productive employment to the unemployed and underemployed;
- (h) Promotion of popular participation in project preparation and implementation;
- (i) Realization of economic returns necessary to sustain the required rate of investment for maintenance and improvement.

As for planning, the work should start at the bottom, although technical support and over-all guidance from above will be necessary. At the local (micro) level, a two-tier planning agency and at the regional/national (macro) level another two-tier agency appears to be a desirable framework as shown below.



Implementation of the programme should be débureaucratized as far as practicable. Both project implementation and maintenance should be left in charge of local government. Administrative support should be provided from other levels of the government only to the extent it is needed by the local government.

Available experience suggests that the finance for community development programme should come both from central/regional government and local sources. Government subsidy should be tied to local contribution in materials, labour and taxes. A strong case exists for mobilizing voluntary labour contribution for community public works programme. However, as suggested by Anisur Rahman<sup>106/</sup> earlier, a number of preconditions generally need to be fulfilled in order to stimulate and sustain mass enthusiasm for community public works programmes. These are briefly:

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<sup>106/</sup> "The utilization of labour in the strategy for development in the ECAFE region", Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East, vol. xxv, no. 1, June 1974, pp. 72-73.

- (a) A political dialogue between leaders and masses regarding the desirability of mass mobilization for nation-building activities;
  - (b) People themselves should have the first option to decide how they want to utilize voluntary collective labour;
  - (c) Distribution of benefit from the work done by collective labour should be decided by the participants;
  - (d) The participants should be involved in the formulation (planning) of projects;
  - (e) Administrative and political leaders should participate in physical labour along with the villagers;
  - (f) Institutions for mobilization of collective labour should be built taking into account local needs and characteristics.
-