PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

A Strategy for Popular Involvement

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Figure

Preface

This work is a synthesis and further elaboration of two previous reports on public participation in regional planning commissioned by the Urban Office of USAID's Development Support Bureau. Its purpose is to provide a practical, conceptual basis upon which conventional, regional planning authorities in the Third World can elicit and incorporate public participation in their planning process. The work differs from much of the literature on participatory planning in that it is action-oriented and suggests specific approaches and strategies to adapt. It is also distinct in its attempt to link participation and planning at a regional level, whereas most works on this subject focus on community-level planning. Although it is mainly addressed to planners, administrators and other professionals in the field, the work should also be of value to students, social scientists and others interested in either the practice or study of social and economic development planning in the Third World.

The report is based on a review of literature and case materials in the fields of planning (economic, physical, social and environmental) and public participation, as well as upon consultation with planners. It also draws upon the authors' experience in regional economic planning and social and community development.

The task inherent to this study was an ambitious one. Neither planning nor the elicitation of public participation are well understood as processes: both fields are relatively young, quite complex, and currently at a point at which experience remains far ahead of intellectual analysis. Since the report covers much unexplored territory, it is by necessity highly conceptual and exploratory in nature. Given these limitations, however, we believe that an important conceptual groundwork has been laid for planning authorities to initiate a process of public participation without disrupting the normal planning cycle.

We would like to express our sincere thanks to those individuals who were consulted during the course of this study. They are: Dennis Rondinelli of the Maxwell School, Syracuse University; Miguel Tirado of California State University, Sonoma; Fernando Kuznetzoff of the University of California, Berkeley; Roger Clark of the U.S. Forest Service Research Division, Seattle, Washington; Douglas Hart of Reading University, U.K.; William Hampton, Sheffield University, U.K.; and J.C. Maughton of the University of Nottingham, U.K. Very special thanks are due to David Harrington of the Catholic University of America for the insights he contributed and to Candice Reffe for her valuable help in the editing process.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chapter I

While the use of conventional data has afforded regional planners the capability to generate technically feasible plans, problems can arise in implementation due to the planner's lack of understanding of the "dynamics" at play at local levels. A valid understanding of local and regional dynamics can only come about through communication between the planner and the public. Beyond this, there has been increasing recognition of the need to involve local populations, especially the poor, in determining the nature of projects and programs from which they are to benefit.

In order to accommodate public input, successful participatory planning has usually involved a decentralization of the planning process in which local plans are aggregated to form a regional strategy. While the logic in favor of such decentralization is strong, most existing regional planning entities are in fact centralized, and it is unrealistic to presume that they can be dramatically reoriented and restructured in the short term. It is far more practical to move toward decentralization gradually; that is, to pursue the initial opening-up of conventional planning to allow for meaningful public participation. This initial movement in a transition from conventional to more participatory planning is the primary focus of this work.

There are two major considerations which govern the initial attempt to elicit public participation at the regional level. First, meaningful participation will best result from ongoing dialogue between the planning entity and local populations, rather than from the elicitation of one-way, one-time public inputs. Second, to assure the effectiveness and utility of public participation to planners, public inputs must be made to conform, in form and content, to the different data needs of the various stages of the planning process.

Chapter II

While the conceptual breakdown of the planning cycle into specific phases or steps is generally valid, a deeper analysis of the planning process demonstrates that, in fact, the various steps are often initiated simultaneously, yet concluded sequentially. This allows for a continual readjustment of each step as more data (particularly from the public) is fed into the process. Public participation need not be part of every phase of planning. Rather, sound, initial participation in planning can occur through the integration of public input at two points in the planning cycle: the formulation of goals and the assessment of project options.

Chapters III and IV

There are various approaches to eliciting participation, and the utility of a particular approach in any given planning context must be assessed according to a few key criteria. These include: 1) the dependability of the information which would result from the use of a given approach; 2) the practicality of the approach in regard to cost and efficiency; 3) the approach's intergrability with the regional planning pro-

cess; and 4) the amount of local support to the plan which a particular approach may generate.

A summary and initial assessment of the categories of participatory approaches available to planning entities is as follows:

A. "One on one" Approaches; i.e., all approaches employed to elicit local input on an "individualized" basis from the general local population. This general approach has two principal strengths. First, it provides a sound basis for eliciting a broad sampling of individually expressed needs. Second, it gives the planner a high degree of control over the precise form and content of the information elicited, thus facilitating the integration of the information into the planning process. On the negative side, the approach does not provide a reliable means for gaining a "depth of understanding" of felt needs. Furthermore, it engenders a "passive" posture on the part of respondents and therefore does not constitute a vehicle by which intensive local support for the implementation of the plan can be mustered.

B. Communication with Community Leaders; i.e., interaction with local leaders that are representative of their community, have some degree of authority, are sensitive to the development concerns of the community, and understand the broader planning context. This approach ranks high in terms of practicality and integrability since community leaders are usually visible, approachable, and often more knowledgeable about development issues than the average citizen. They can also be valuable allies in the attempt to implement a plan. On the other hand, they may in fact not be highly representative of the local population -- neither in terms of their status nor their perspectives -- and can thus prove to be undependable sources of needs information, as well as draw-

backs to sustained program implementation. In addition, the costs of attempting to reliably determine leader "representativeness" can often outweigh the benefits to be derived from the use of this approach.

C. Interaction through Community Meetings; i.e., the convening of community meetings or public hearings to discuss important planning issues and receive helpful feedback regarding local needs. If carried out with consummate skill, this approach can render reliable, collectively expressed needs information, while providing the basis for the creation and growth of an authentic movement toward development at the community level. It is also practical, since it does not require the existence of institutional bases at that level; in fact, it might stimulate the creation of such institutions. Community meetings can be difficult to organize and control, however, and skill is required to elicit broad, democratic, and technically manageable responses. Accordingly, this approach necessitates the involvement of experienced community organizers.

D. Interaction with Representative Community and Multi-Village Organizations; i.e., communication with established, representative local-level organizations which have a life of their own beyond functioning in response to the planner's request for input into the planning process. Although considerable time and effort are often required to identify and assess the representativeness of these organizations and their leaders, the expense can prove worthwhile. Representative, local-level institutions can provide an efficient and viable basis for both the reliable elicitation of expressed needs -- either on a one-time or ongoing basis -- and the generation of local support for the implementation of a plan. In order to assure the cooperation of these institutions,

accommodation may be required in the planning process for delays caused by intra-organizational decision making and for adjustments in response to organizational feedback.

E. Interaction with Representative, Functional Organizations; i.e., communication with local level-organizations whose existence, structure and operations are based upon a specific production-related function. The considerations here relate quite closely to those regarding representative community organizations. Again, considerable time and effort must be spent in determining representativeness, and some flexibility in the planning process must be demonstrated to insure ongoing cooperation. Functional organizations can be most useful in: 1) the elicitation of highly accurate information, and expertise, related to their respective service specializations and 2) the lending of experienced support to the implementation of a plan. As functional organizations may not represent to any significant degree the population as a whole, they do not provide reliable sources for the general elicitation of expressed needs.

F. Interaction with Representative, Regional-level Organizations; i.e., communication with regional-level organizations composed of numerous local groups which may be both community or functionally oriented. A major consideration with regard to this approach is whether the considerable expenditure of time, effort, and other resources required to determine the degree of representativeness of regional organizations and their leaders is worth the potentially large payoff that they may produce. Dividends can include highly accurate and useful information, effective planning assistance, and region-wide support for the implementation of the plan. To the extent that these organizations are representative, their broad perspectives and experience in planning render them extremely

valuable assets to the planner. This approach can call for the planner to surrender some control in order to better coordinate regional and local-level planning processes.

A matrix which consolidates the key points of assessment can be found on page 68. The matrix presents and analyzes the different participatory approaches under each of the assessment criteria.

Chapter V

In most cases, no single participatory approach will satisfy the total needs of both the planner and the public. Participatory strategies must therefore be designed to utilize combinations of public-input mechanisms that are appropriate to specific regional and sub-regional characteristics. In all cases, such participatory strategies must also correspond to the requirements of the planning cycle. They must allow for the elicitation of 1) general public concerns during the goal-setting stages of planning, and 2) specific responses to project options as these are produced by the regional planning entity.

This being the case, the use of a two-phased, generic strategy may be the most effective means of eliciting initial public involvement in planning. The first phase of the strategy would involve field staff eliciting general development needs and opinions at local levels. This input would be fed into the planning process for consideration in the setting of regional development goals. At the same time, local planning and organizational capabilities would be assessed in order to design the second, ongoing phase of participation.

In this second phase, field staff would return to local levels to elicit responses to specific project options through a variety of participatory mechanisms identified as appropriate during the first phase. Out of this effort there should evolve local participatory systems which would continue to elicit public involvement in all phases of the regional development process.

The types of participatory systems which would evolve from the use of this strategy would vary with the level of local planning and organizational experience existent within the region. In regions with little local planning experience and few representative organizations, the participatory system will be characterized by a reliance on basic elicitation methods, such as small group interviews and interaction with community leaders. Correspondingly, the regional planning entity's role in the elicitation of local needs will be rather pervasive and direct. In the opposite case of regions which exhibit a high degree of participatory and organizational development, reliance can be placed upon the elicitation of needs through local structures already in place. In such cases, the regional planning entity would play a coordinating and advisory role in local planning and project development activities to ensure a complementarity between regional plans and local self-development efforts.

To implement a sound participatory program, it is critical that a planning entity take three basic steps. First, it must employ field staff who are familiar with both general development processes and local populations. Second, it must coordinate the dissemination of public inputs within the planning entity through a central unit which has access to all planning subunits. Finally, it must use an appropriate data-processing system to order

and quantify multiple, unstructured public inputs for analysis by planners; one such system is described in Appendix B. Planning entities, however, should ease into the formulation of a participation program, making decisions related to long-term structure, staffing and operations as its gains further knowledge of the region and its participatory characteristics.

CHAPTER I. PARTICIPATORY PLANNING: BACKGROUND AND CONSIDERATIONS

Background

> Establishing an effective relationship between order and change is at once planning's reason for existence and one of its most difficult problems (Hart, 1978:135).

In the attempt to ensure compatibility between the "ordering" function of planning and the needs and concerns of the society at large, growing emphasis has been placed on the need to link planning -- at all levels -- with public participation. This call for public involvement has assumed a critical measure of importance within the context of Third World development. It has been almost a decade, after all, since the mainstream of development thinking took its major turn toward support of a general strategy within which "...the participation of all people is both the means and the end of development itself...." (Owens and Shaw, 1972:xviii). The brief discussion which follows outlines the major reason why planners, particularly at the regional level, have much to gain from incorporating the public dimension and why they are increasingly being called upon to do so.

From its inception, regional planning has primarily been based upon the collection and analysis of aggregate technical and economic data. Although still an essential element of planning, the use of such data per se has not afforded planners an accurate picture of those social institutional and political dynamics at play within a given region that,

in large measure, can determine the success or failure of a development planning effort. While development plans based solely on traditional types of data may be technically sound, they may not conform to current political realities, local institutional capabilities or the self-perceived needs of the beneficiary population as a whole. These factors can drastically constrain implementation. As Faludi (1971:261) observes, "... the most important limitations [to regional planning] are often those which come from the social and political context and not from technical incapacity." This widely shared conclusion is one of the basic tenets underlying the evolution of modern planning theory.

Today, planning is viewed as a process that must, in Hart's terms "accommodate [dynamic] change, which threatens to overload the whole planning system" (1971:136-7). It is for this reason that "blueprint planning" is no longer viable; its rigidity does not allow for internal dynamic adjustments (Alden, 1974:309-22). Blueprint planning has been replaced by varying approaches to what is best termed the "rational-process" mode of planning.

Within this mode, planning is conceived of as a fluid process, directing itself by responding to continuous feedback from the planning environment and attempting to be evolutionary rather than deterministic (Hart, 1977:139). It is also comprehensive in that physical, economic, and social goals are defined, and simultaneously, the institutional, technical, and financial means to achieve these goals are identified. The planning methodology stresses the continuous "... identification and analysis of alternative courses of action, ... the evaluation of all related consequences, and ... the selection of preferred courses of action" (Alden, 1974:170).

Since modern regional planning is an ongoing, accommodative process, rather than a one-time production, and is comprehensive both in its scope and aims, its success is in large measure dependent upon the reception and analysis of feedback that is both broad and continuous. Without such feedback, internal adjustments cannot take place and the ongoing identification and assessment of goals and alternative strategies and projects cannot be validly accomplished. It is in this light that the practicality of communication between planners and the public becomes evident. The information and opinions of local populations constitute a vital part of the "regional dynamics" upon which comprehensive rational-process planning must be based. To date, however, little effort has been made to incorporate the self-expressed needs of the public as an integral element of the feedback process.

Such participation is of critical importance in developing countries. As regional planning has evolved into an essential development instrument in the Third World, its goals have become somewhat different from those of First World planning. In the latter, particularly in the U.S.A., there is a general tendency toward "reactive" planning, which assumes that private investment is the impetus for growth. The tendency is to "control the disbenefits associated with random growth" (Hart, 1977:135), to influence the location of private investment, and to capitalize on opportunities which arise from the private, entrepreneurial drive for profits. Third World planning, on the other hand, is more "proactive", seeking to define the optimum course of limited, mainly public investment that will yield specific, sought-after benefits through a process of socio-economic improvement. In most cases this improvement process must be initiated rather than simply controlled.

The Third World's dilemma -- attempting to stimulate broad economic growth with limited financial and technical resources -- has increasingly brought to the forefront the need to adopt catalytic development strategies. These strategies generally focus on decreasing dependency on external inputs and facilitating self-sustaining and self-reliant forms of development projects. To do this effectively, however, planning entities must generate strategies and projects which encompass and build upon the development skills and resources of local populations, and such planning must be based upon a knowledge of the current development aspirations, capacities and activities of local populations. This can only be accomplished through communication between the planner and the public.

At the same time, planners have come under increasing pressure to more fully recognize their responsibilities to the society at large. In Faludi's (1971:265) terms, the planner cannot consider himself "the servant of whomever may care to employ his services." Rather, his function should be that of an instrument through which planning becomes increasingly responsive to collective demand. The final goal of such a planning posture is perhaps best expressed in terms of Etzioni's (1968) "Active Society," or Friedmann's (1959) "Planning Society," that is, "one which becomes master over itself" (Faludi, 1971:265) through a proliferation of planning involvement. Put another way, "planning is a process through which society induces change in itself" (Alden, 1974:168); to the greatest extent possible such change should both reflect and be sanctioned by the will of the people.

Moreover, planning's continued identification with the advent of dualistic societies in the Third World has created serious demand for a break with conventional, centralized planning which has too often functioned primarily to the benefit of elites. Participation in planning --

particularly on the part of the poor -- ensures that at least some attention will be paid to the issue of equitability in the distribution of both development resources and eventual benefits. This consideration has not escaped the attention of donor governments and agencies. Most noteworthy is the "New Directions" mandate of the U.S. Congress which makes it incumbent upon U.S. foreign assistance entities to "facilitate the participation of the poor in the development process." World Bank President Robert NcNamara took a similar approach in 1973, when he declared to the Bank's Board of Governors in Nairobi that "experience shows that there is a greater chance of success if institutions provide for popular participation, local leadership, and a decentralization of authority."

As there will likely be an increase in donor pressure on planning and implementing agencies to demonstrate the involvement of the poor in their own development, new steps must be taken by planning authorities to institute participatory processes. The basic issues to be addressed in this transition are summarized in the following section.

Major Considerations

In the majority of cases, the highly aggregate and multifunctional nature of regional planning has led to a centralized planning system, composed of experts teamed together to manage the huge data gathering and analysis process. More participatory planning, however, has usually involved a decentralization of the planning process in which local plans are aggregated to form a regional strategy.

In a general sense, decentralized planning operates through a central planning authority, which assumes the roles of initiator, coordinator, and technical advisor to appropriate local authorities, organizations and

communities. The central authority channels technical and economic information, initiates and coordinates planning activities, provides planning assistance and conveys policy constraints to local communities. In turn, local communities initiate their own policy processes, while maintaining a dialogue with the central authority in regard to the available levels of financial and technical resources. The central authority's major responsibility is to coordinate these multiple planning endeavors by aggregating incoming data and preliminary plans from local levels to form a regional strategy. This strategy provides a basis for selecting alternative plans and projects to be implemented by the local communities.

Various adaptations of decentralized planning are currently in practice. In Britain the "structure planning" process proceeds upward from local districts to the Ministry of Environment, with public participation in the local planning being an essential element (Sewell et al., 1977). In China and Tanzania, an "up and down" planning process is utilized in which local concerns, emanating from as low as the commune or "ujamaa" village level, are aggregated upward to the regional and then national level. Overall strategies and alternatives are developed and then fed downward in the form of local goals and objectives. These are related to the available levels of financial and technical inputs, which are then distributed accordingly (Chang, 1975).

Decentralized planning is the most effective system through which to accommodate public participation in planning, as participation in any planning exercise is elicited far more easily at the local level. The use of decentralization to facilitate participatory planning is also cost-effective. By taking full advantage of local knowledge,

organizations, and expertise, it does not usually require large-scale, special staffing additions, and can alleviate many of the problems of communication and logistics inherent to regional-level participation.

While the logic in favor of decentralizing regional planning to accommodate public input is strong, most existing regional planning entities are in fact centralized, and it is unrealistic to presume that they can be dramatically reoriented and restructured in the short term. The option of immediate decentralization would thus best be exercised in situations in which the regional planning apparatus has not yet been put in place. In such circumstances, it is highly recommended that decentralized planning be adopted from the outset.

In the more common case, where a centralized regional planning system is already in place, it is far more practical to identify initial opportunities for the elicitation and incorporation of public inputs and thereby move toward decentralization in a more gradual manner. This is best conceptualized as a step-by-step process in which each successive phase represents a more participatory form of planning than the previous one. It is this initial movement in a transition from conventional to more participatory planning that is the primary focus of this work.

While near unanimity exists that some form of public input is necessary, there is a perception that "opening-up" the planning system to the lay public could jeopardize the rational structure and decision-making process upon which it is based. Some of the specific problems cited in this regard are: 1) the handling of large-scale public involvement by agencies not organized to do so; 2) the integration and analysis of public opinion information within a process based on hard, technical data

collection and its analysis; 3) the cost factor involved with staff additions and/or retraining needed to facilitate public involvement; and 4) the political problems that can arise by raising expectations on the part of the public which the government simply may not be able to meet, owing, for example, to fiscal constraints.

While the exigencies of sound planning do indeed dictate some measure of control over the process of participation, the extent to which limitations can be imposed without jeopardizing the validity and original purpose of public participation remains in question. Arnstein (1969) points out that planning schemes have utilized public participation in varying degrees. She presents an eight-point scale of involvement, ranging from the least effective method ("manipulation", in which the public is used to form tacit agreement with preconceived plans) to the most effective (some form of "citizen control", in which the public assumes shared responsibility for planning and implementing projects), and including marginally effective methods (e.g., "consultation", in which public opinion is elicited but has little impact on planning decisions.) Thus, while the aggregate level and technical complexity of conventional regional planning may rule out a totally people-directed planning process, a manipulative type of public involvement may be equally non-productive and may, in some cases, be counterproductive.

Specific planning approaches designed to balance the trade-off between technical demands and public involvement can only be developed on a case-by-case basis. There are two broad concerns, however, which arise from previous experience and which address this basic trade-off, that must be considered in the attempt to form any general approach to participatory planning.

First, public participation should not be viewed as an adjunct to planning, but rather as an inherent and continuous element of the planning process.

Attempts to incorporate public participation in planning processes have usually taken the form of one-time, one-way inputs, which are often surveys (Sewell; 1976). There are serious limitations to this approach with regard to both the public's and the planners' needs.

To provide meaningful contributions, the public should be in a position to: 1) perceive that their participation will have some impact on planning decisions, and, 2) acquire an understanding of the realities of the planning process itself, particularly its limitations and constraints (Sewell, et al., 1976; Fagence, 1978). With greater understanding of the planning process, the public's capacity to participate effectively increases, while misunderstandings can be minimized. Without such understanding, inappropriate expectations may arise, and the lack of immediate results can lead to distrust and confrontations. As they lack both follow-up and meaningful public involvement, one-way, one-time participatory efforts do not promote public support for planning or improve the public's capacity to play a continuing role in the planning process.

Limited participatory approaches also fall short of the planners' need for a broad and dynamic understanding of local populations. While such mechanisms may be technically sound and more easily controlled by planning entities, they do not present an accurate picture of both the needs and values of the beneficiary population. To effectively plan and implement strategies and project options which address local realities, planners must acquire an understanding of the current social and economic forces at play. Some form of dialogue, rather than a controlled canvassing of needs, is a far superior mechanism in this regard.

> Second, to assure that public input will have an impact upon decision-making, it must produce results in a form that can be utilized by planners as an integral part of ongoing data analysis.

While direct public participation in local development endeavors has proven to be highly valuable (Development Alternatives, 1975), its utilization at the regional level is more problematic. As the goals and objectives of local project planning are immediate to beneficiaries, planners at this level can directly respond to public inputs. The strength of regional planning, however, lies in its ability to coordinate development at a supra-community and multi-functional level, aggregating a variety of data inputs and defining rational trade-offs and alternatives on that basis. This is one of the major technical reasons why public participation has not been widely attempted within conventional regional planning: a local farmer can express his own particular needs in rich detail if given the opportunity, but he cannot be expected to address these needs in relation to total agricultural output objectives set by regional planners. It is in this context that the expression of beneficiary needs may often appear to planners as "wish lists" which may or may not be pertinent to planning functions.

The solution to this problem requires that the outputs of participation conform, as much as possible, to the data-analysis and decision-making processes of the central planning effort. This poses two "givens" in the formation of any effective participatory system. First, participation must be "geared into" the planning process to ensure that the public's articulation of their development needs generally corresponds in content and timing to the planners' activities. Planners analyze different types of data at different stages of planning, and the attempt must be made to enter relevant public input at appropriate times.

The other "given" is that this public input must be rendered in a form that is intelligible and manageable within the regional planning framework. Planners cannot analyze and respond to diverse and unstructured inputs. Therefore, some means must be utilized to organize and systematize the informational results from various participatory efforts for inclusion in the planning process.

Taken together, the two major considerations outlined in the previous pages constitute the central concern in eliciting effective public participation; that is, to identify appropriate mechanisms of participation, and to effectively link these mechanisms to the planning process. Toward this end, Chapter II analyzes the regional planning process to identify the most appropriate points of entry for public input. Chapters III and IV introduce and assess various approaches to the elicitation of local input for planning. Chapter V merges these participatory approaches with the conventional planning process to form a model generic strategy that can be utilized in the initial transition toward participatory planning.

CHAPTER II. THE PLANNING PROCESS: POINTS OF ENTRY FOR PUBLIC INPUT

This chapter presents a generic model of the modern regional planning process. Planning is first conceptualized as it is ideally intended, and is then discussed in terms of what actually occurs in practice. This analysis of actual planning practice provides a basis for the identification of the most appropriate points of entry for public participation.

The Planning Process: Idealized Concept

Figure 1 presents the regional economic development planning process as an idealized concept. It is considered to be idealized because the steps in the process are represented in a strictly sequential order. In the following sub-section it will be shown that in practical terms the sequence is not adhered to quite so strictly.

The model shown contains eight specific steps within the planning process cycle. A review of these steps will reveal a basic sequential logic to the process. Models based upon the same essential logic but containing a greater or lesser number of specific steps might be equally valid, as might be variations on the names of each of the steps. Critical to a rational planning process, however, is the basic pattern of a continuous, iterative framework. The planning cycle shown is two to three years in duration; the process is continuous, so that as one cycle reaches its end, the succeeding cycle has been initiated.

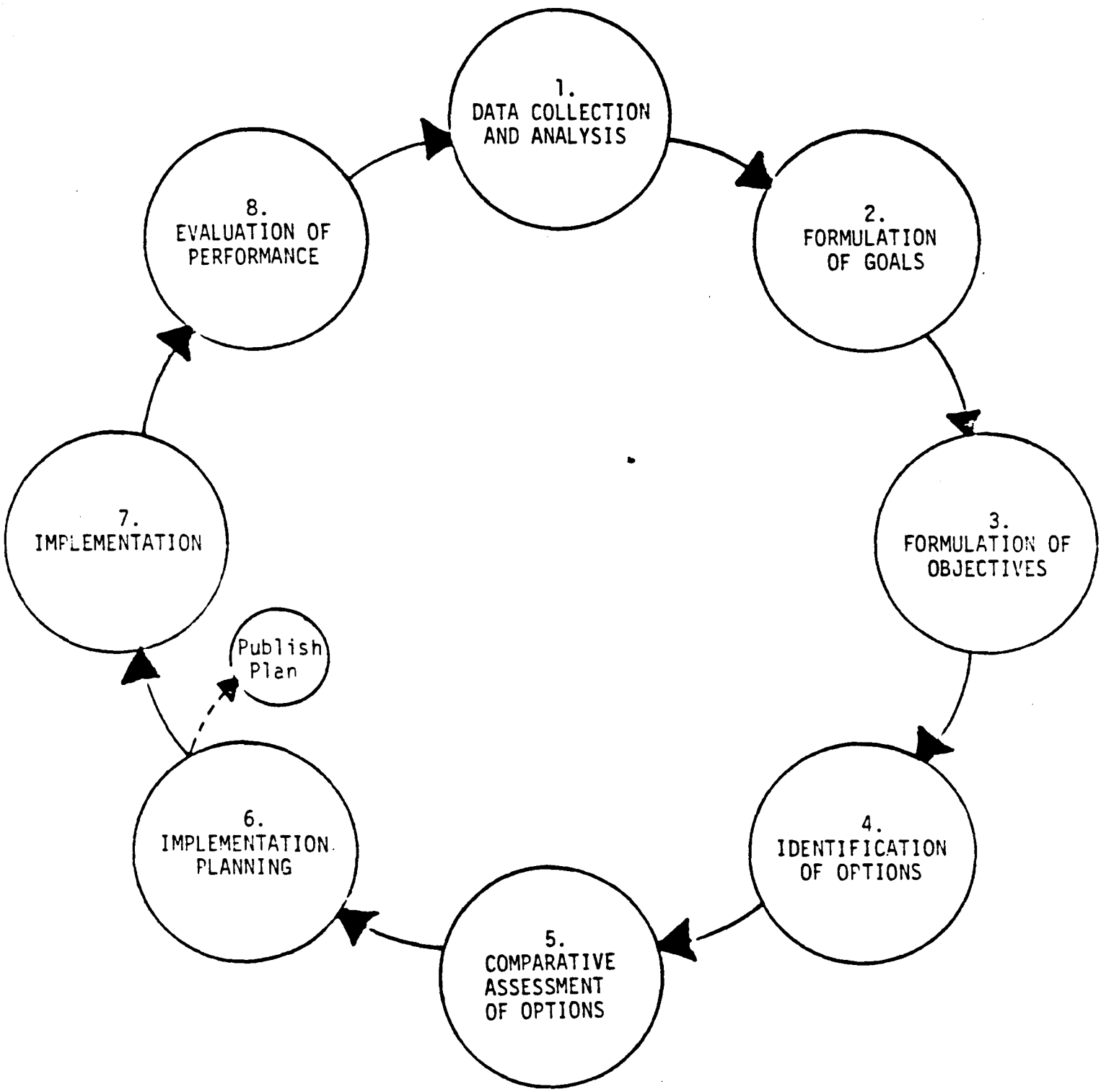
1.
DATA COLLECTION
AND ANALYSIS
2.
FORMULATION
OF GOALS
3.
FORMULATION OF
OBJECTIVES
4.
IDENTIFICATION
OF OPTIONS
5.
COMPARATIVE
ASSESSMENT
OF OPTIONS
6.
IMPLEMENTATION
PLANNING
Publish
Plan
7.
IMPLEMENTATION
8.
EVALUATION OF
PERFORMANCE

Figure 1

Step one, Data Collection and Analysis, is critical to the success of succeeding stages in the planning process. It comprises four elements: 1) an evaluation of the previous planning cycle in order to link each planning cycle with its predecessor; 2) an evaluation of the performance of development projects and programs previously undertaken in the region and utilized in other similar regions elsewhere in the country and the world; 3) an assessment of development resources external to the region in question but available or potentially available to it; and 4) the collection and analysis of detailed information on the regional economy. This could include surveys as well as aggregate quantitative analyses on a regional basis (i.e. economic, social, institutional, infrastructural, spatial, and other area-oriented analysis).

Formulation of Goals, the second step, refers to an articulation of the specific purposes of the development of the region for which the planning is being undertaken. These goals are expressions of intent, derived from the wishes of the central government, lower-level administrative units, and, presumably, the residents and institutions of the region. These wishes are considered in light of quantitative data and analyses, technical expertise, and experiential knowledge in an attempt to formulate achievable goals for regional economic development.

Goals formulation is a dynamic component of a dynamic process. As feedback concerning the results of previous development planning cycles enters the process, goals are likely to be altered. As planning cycle succeeds on to planning cycle, goal flexibility is appropriate to a process-oriented planning approach.

The foregoing suggests that goals are a derived component of the planning process, and ideally they are. However, regional economic development goals are often dictated in advance by the central authorities. This is especially likely in the initial planning effort that precedes the first full planning cycle, where goals formulated during the previous planning cycle are not available as a starting point.

Formulation of Objectives should be executed as part of the planning process to be meaningful and useful for planning purposes. Objectives are clearly defined benchmarks of progress and constitute performance criteria essential to the subsequent evaluation of planning and implementation efforts, project performance, and even goal selection. They describe specific things or quantities to be achieved by identified times within the planning cycle and directly contribute to the fulfillment of goals. A goal can also be expressed in terms of objectives that are less specific, though these too should be time-framed. Each goal is normally expressed in terms of one or more objectives; conversely, a single objective may serve more than one goal.

Identification of Options for strategies and projects utilizes input of various natures: quantitative data and analyses, specialized expertise, special studies, and information from regional residents and institutions. In a healthy planning process, this step is conducted with great openness and receptivity to ideas from all sources. As the process of option identification continues, a very small number of viable strategic options will usually emerge. These, in turn, will be expressed in a manageable array of potentially viable projects to be undertaken or initiated throughout the region. In light of limited resources usually available, however,

the number of project options that can be comparatively assessed will be limited.

Comparative Assessment of Options must systematically take account of the likely impact and requirements of each project option. This comparative assessment requires both a considerable amount of technical analysis and a familiarity with the needs, desires, and capabilities of those who will be most directly and personally affected by a proposed project. This assessment should lead to the development of a tentative framework of preferred and apparently feasible economic development undertakings.

Implementation Planning can proceed once a framework of potential project activity has been formulated. In theory, it should specify the distribution of resources and planning activities for each project within a clear time-frame. However, in practice it does not always work so neatly, and the process of final project selection may continue into this step.

Implementation, by the same token, should be largely a matter of management and administration. Its success will, of course, in great measure be a function of the care and attention invested in the preceding steps of the process.

Finally, Evaluation of Performance is undertaken in order to assess the performance of the staff, individual projects, and the economic development effort as a whole, including the planning process. This evaluation information becomes a critical component of the data collection and analysis effort that launches the succeeding planning cycle.

In this model, the appropriate time to publish a "plan" (that is, the plan document) would be between steps 6 (Implementation Planning) and 7 (Implementation), as indicated in Figure 1. The plan document may be viewed

as a snapshot of the results of the planning process at a point in time. It will identify goals, objectives, and so on, but will display them as static items valid for the current planning period. The dynamic process through which the elements of a published plan are formulated, and reformulated in succeeding cycles, may be somewhat obscured by the necessarily static nature of a "snapshot" plan.

The Planning Process: Practice

The published plan will reflect the regional economic development planning process in the sequential idealized manner described in the preceding section. The analysis within the document should clearly support the choice of goals: objectives should relate to the goals; strategies and projects to be undertaken should clearly provide means for achieving objectives; and the implementation program should clearly suggest achievement of objectives for the plan period.

As a practical matter, however, work will proceed to a varying degree on many fronts at once, including implementation and evaluation. The regional economic development planning process, in practice might be illustrated as in Figure 2 below. The linear representation in the Figure is a matter of convenience in illustration. It is more properly visualized as cylindrical, in Figure 3 below, thus reflecting the continuous and iterative nature of the planning process.

As a practical matter, data collection and analysis go on throughout the planning cycle. It is a continuous activity, the nature and intensity of which may vary at different points in the cycle. It is a major effort that can neither be initiated nor completed prior to undertaking other steps in the planning process. In fact, important data

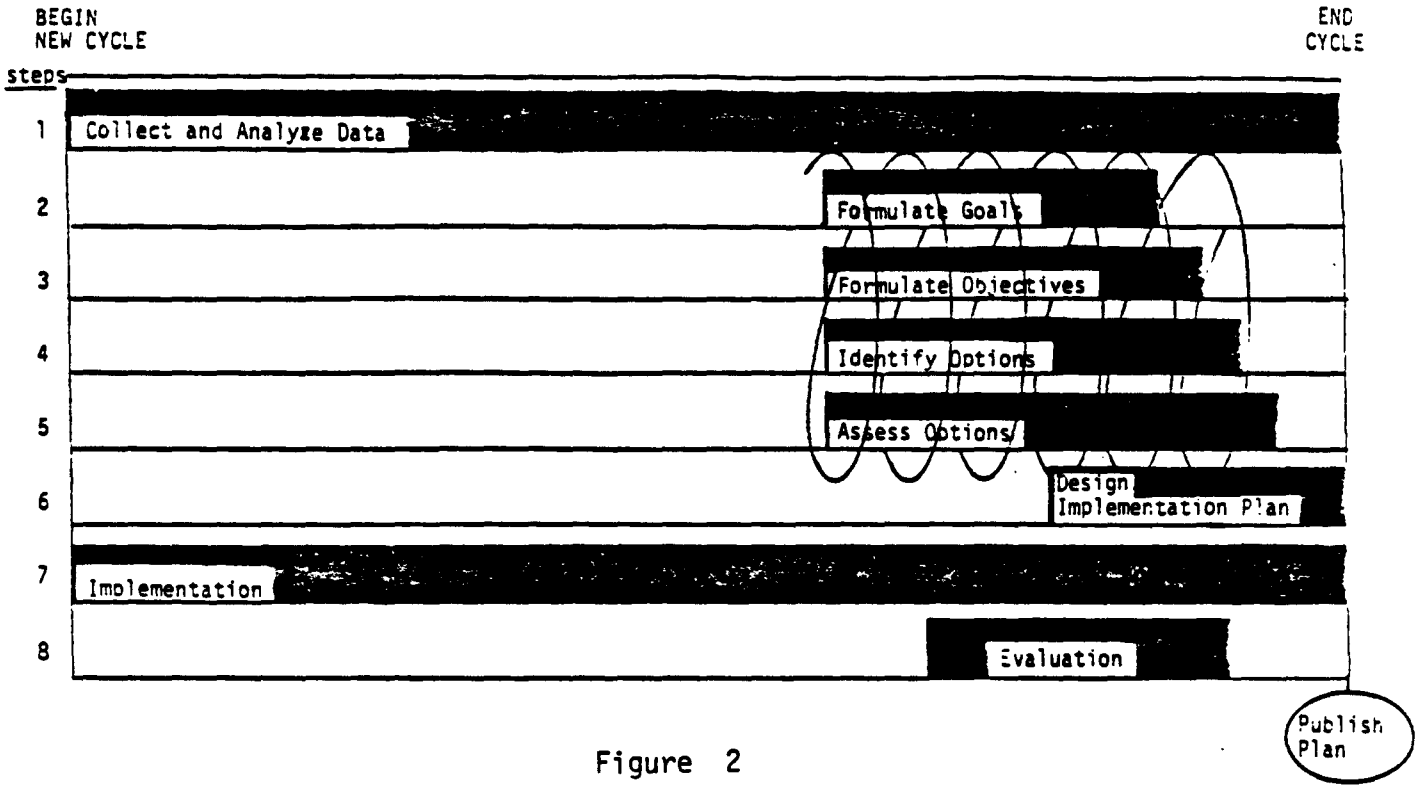

Figure 2

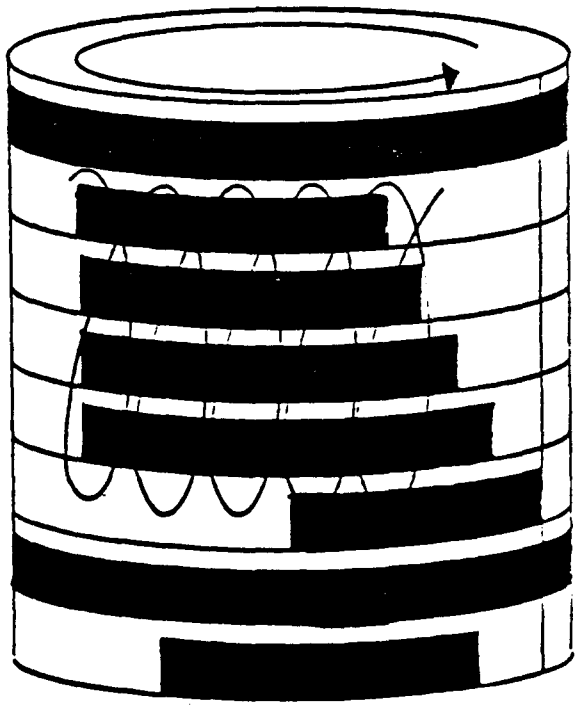

Figure 3

elements will be produced in conjunction with other steps in the planning process.

Other major steps of the actual planning process (as distinct from implementation) all take place toward the end of the planning cycle, as they are undertaken in preparation for the next cycle. Actually, where the cycle is considered to begin and end is not a matter of critical importance. The manner in which it is depicted here is a convenience based upon the arbitrary view that a cycle begins with execution of the implementation plan as it appears in the plan document. Clearly, before the first such planning cycle can be initiated the steps that would normally take place twoard the end of a preceeding cycle would have to be undertaken.

In practice, the formulation of goals and objectives, identification of options, and comparative assessment of options go on more or less simultaneously. These activities feed back to each other, accommodating the fact that on occasion thought processes may tend to leap ahead to inspired strategies or projects and then retrace to see if they make sense. Comparative assessment of specific project options may bring to light new ideas for potential projects and cause a reconsideration of broader strategic options. Thus, goals and objectives will be reevaluated primarily as a result of the process of identification and comparative assessment of alternative strategies and projects. Thus, these four steps proceed in a fashion that entails continuous adjustment and refinement. This is represented in Figures 2 and 3 by a spiral encompassing these four steps. Eventually, however, goals, objectives, strategies, and projects are finalized in sequence, as indicated in the figures. The final results of the process appear in the plan document in a logical sequential

pattern reflecting the planning process more as an idealized concept than what occurs as a matter of practice.

Experienced planning practitioners may object to the idea of initiating and undertaking the four steps encompassed by the spiral simultaneously. However, the reader is reminded that a continuous iterative process is represented here, not a one-shot program to produce a "plan." Each planning cycle considers the goals, objectives, strategic options, and project options developed in the preceding cycle as a whole system and uses these as a starting point. Of course, in the initial planning effort (that preceding the first full planning cycle), planners may consider goals, objectives, and options sequentially. However, even in this initial effort, meaningful public participation will not be possible unless all four steps remain open for further consideration until finalization can no longer be delayed.

Implementation planning begins as the preceding four steps near completion, though it should be initiated early enough so that it can also feed into them. The final implementation plan represents the end of the planning cycle as a practical process. Implementation actually continues without interruption, since projects do not conveniently begin and end with the planning cycle. However, implementation activity conducted during the course of any planning cycle will bear the unmistakable imprint of the planning process undertaken toward the end of the preceding cycle.

Evaluation of performance takes place near the end of the cycle. As a component of data collection and analysis, it provides essential material to the four steps encompassed by the spiral in the Figure, and therefore must be completed before the last of those steps is finalized. The various

components of the evaluation are designed and executed such that information will be produced in a time-frame relative to the needs of the other steps in the planning process.

Typically, the "plan" would be published as one cycle ends and the next begins, in accordance with the planning process as practiced, rather than as an idealized concept.

Points of Entry for Initial Participation

The selection of "points of entry" is guided by the rational, iterative nature of the planning process. The adjustment and refinement that takes place among the steps diminishes the importance of the sequential nature of the process. This suggests that public input can be effective and useful even if not a direct component of the decisionmaking associated with each individual step.

The nature of the first step away from conventional, centralized planning and the lack of necessity for public involvement at every planning step suggest that there are two points appropriate for the initial entry of public participation in the regional planning process: formulation of goals (step one) and comparative assessment of options (step five).

In the initial stages of goal formulation, when the planner collects data to enhance his perception of the region's development problems and to conceptualize potential solutions, public input can provide valuable information not included in the physical and economic data normally utilized by the planner. At this stage, the planner should have a definite understanding of the general concerns of the public so that the formulation of goals, and each subsequent step, benefit from a valid interpretation of the region's development needs.

It is important that data from participatory efforts be collected early enough in the planning cycle to provide planners with an accurate orientation to the region's needs which can be utilized in setting appropriate directions for planning activities.

The second appropriate point to introduce public participation is step five, the comparative assessment of project options. By this stage, enough of the basic technical planning work has been performed by the staff of the planning authority for specific project options to be submitted to the public. The range of choices presented for public response in any community or within any sector will be relatively narrow and well-defined. Clearly defined choices are essential to obtaining useful direct public input, especially in the initial phases of popular participation in the planning process. Since the nature of the public input will be focused upon specific project options, it can be easily integrated into the planning process by a planning staff lacking extensive experience with public participation.

Public responses concerning project assessment can be incorporated into the planning process in a manner that influences the ultimate formulation of goals, objectives and strategies. Because the comparative assessment of project options is among the steps encompassed by the spiral in Figure 2, it is initiated well before the preceding three steps are finalized, and should have considerable impact upon them through the adjustment mechanism. Furthermore, since goals, objectives, and strategies are regionally oriented, locally and functionally-oriented public input are automatically aggregated, and regional implications registered.

If the planning authority seeks maximum benefit from public participation, it must follow two guidelines. First, popular expression must be

sought not only for preferences among project options, but for alternatives not put forth by the planners as well as the reasons for these preferences. Second, this information should be used to rework objectives, strategies, and project options in conjunction with additonal technical analysis, and the results should be presented for public response. This sequence can be repeated once or several times, thereby incorporating popular input dynamically and maximally into the planning process. Because this process enhances public awareness of the economic development planning process and expands popular participation in it, heightened public support for the entire regional economic development effort is a likely consequence.

Furthermore, public inputs regarding project alternatives, not put forth by the planners in conjunction with reasons for project preferences, will provide data invaluable to planners for the adjustment and refinement of the four interdependent planning process steps. Because this information arises from the knowledge and experience of people whose day-to-day business is conducted in the community or sector in question, it is probably unavailable from any other source.

For example, suppose the planners put forth the following options to a rural community: 1) to convert one-third of the rice area to vegetable production for export and to erect a canning factory, or 2) to convert one-tenth of the rice area to vegetables for local markets only and use the balance of the available capital to increase rice production on the remaining land and establish a pedi-cart repair and fabrication facility. The first option reflects an export cash-crop strategy, the second a local-market enhancement strategy. It is easy to see that the chosen option, and the reasons supporting it, could have profound impact on the regional strategies, objectives and goals, especially if public input on matters

like these were sought from communities across the region. After technical analysis, the planners might return with new variations of the options -- and so the process would continue until final decisions were made.

Ideally, project options should not be presented to the public in isolation from their planning contexts. That is, alternative systems of goals, objectives, strategies, and project options should be offered. In this way, the public can be exposed and educated to the long-range as well as immediate implications of project preferences. Furthermore, the information obtained will be more useful to planners as they move toward completion of the four interrelated planning steps.

CHAPTER III. APPROACHES TO PARTICIPATION

Various approaches can be utilized for eliciting public participation in regional planning, but because of the inherent diversity of such approaches, a problem arises in attempting to form an objective basis for their categorization. For example, one could readily construct differing continua or hierarchies of approaches according to the degree of informational detail the approaches may provide or the extent to which they foster local control over the planning process. The problem is that these resulting hierarchies do not necessarily provide a sufficiently neutral basis for an objective categorization and discussion of particular approaches.

Given the need for objectivity, two major considerations have been selected as a basis for categorization: the initial point of contact with the local population, and the ensuing mode of interaction. The categories of approaches resulting from an analysis based upon these factors may best be viewed as overall model choices available in approaching local populations to elicit public input. These model approaches are thus based on the consideration of "where does one start" and "what type of relationship will ensue."

The resulting model approaches to be discussed in this section are the following:

A. "One on one" approaches

B. Communication with community leaders

C. Community meetings

D. Interaction with representative local and multi-village organizations

E. Interaction with local and multi-village functional organizations

F. Interaction with representative, regional-level organizations

Although these approaches may be viewed as constituting somewhat of a continuum in terms of organizational hierarchies, they are different in kind as well as degree and thus do not represent an ascending scale of value. Again, they should be viewed as interactional approaches, which result from different points of initiating communications with the local population.

A. "One on One" Approach

The category of "one on one" includes all approaches employed to elicit local input on an "individualized" basis from the general local population; that is, information is gained through individual as opposed to group, organizational, or representative expression. "One on one" thus refers to a variety of approaches which denote planner interaction at the individual level.

Most of the approaches subsumed under this category could roughly be called surveys (of one form or another), although some collective "one on one" approaches, such as preference voting, would stretch this definition. Surveys are usually characterized by the use of a standardized instrument, such as a set questionnaire, which systematizes the questions asked, and often the information rendered. Basic survey

techniques can differ significantly, however, and the choice must be made according to the planners' informational needs, the availability of resources, and specific local conditions. Some of the differing characteristics of surveys are outlined in the following discussion.

Surveys can be either indirect (through, for example, written responses or preference voting) or direct (through interviews of various types). Given the level of literacy in the Third World, direct surveys are generally used, although some variation of the indirect method may also be useful -- such as voting in community meetings during which the issues and options are presented and explained. Most conventional surveys undertaken in the Third World make use of short, personal interviews. Indigenous people, often students, are usually hired and trained to carry out the survey, since they experience fewer problems of language and unfamiliarity with local customs (Lynch, 1976).

Approaches can be designed to elicit information from the entire regional population, selected subsets of the population (women, shopkeepers, farmers, etc.), or specific institutions or organizations (cooperatives, local government agencies, banks, etc.). The selection of the part of the population to be queried depends upon the purpose and nature of the input being sought. To the extent that the information being sought is particular to a specific development sector, surveying the needs of a particular, relevant sub-group may be adequate. In all cases, however, consideration of the representativeness of the individuals questioned vis-a-vis the target group as a whole is vital. Since entire populations cannot usually be reached -- especially in the case of whole regional populations -- random sampling techniques may be utilized to diminish the possibility of bias (Kerlinger, 1973).

The interview format itself can range from open-ended -- leaving the choice of response up to respondents -- to closed or restricted-choice formats, in which responses are delimited and usually standardized. In an open format people may simply be asked what their needs are and what priority they would attach to them. In a closed or restricted-choice format, a list of needs might be set out, with the respondent being asked to either choose among them or to attach relative values. The use of attitudinal scales is an additional example of restricted choice formats. The issues which arise here are ones which concern the substance and manageability of data. More open-ended formats allow for broader, more substantial, and potentially more creative responses; but they render data in a less concise and manageable form than the more closed formats. Attempts to address these trade-offs have not proven highly successful, and thus depth of information remains a problem (Lynch, 1976; Hoinville, 1971; Kerlinger, 1973).

A few examples should serve to illustrate the different types of "one on one" approaches outlined above.

In an attempt to broaden the "real world" situational context of attitudinal surveys, Hoinville (1970) has developed a survey scheme which presents visual representations of planning trade-offs in British transportation projects, involving noise levels, convenience, expense, etc. After examining this display, respondents are asked to choose a "mix of variables" from among a range of competing alternatives. The patterns which emerge indicate the respondents' genuine preferences. The visual aspects of this approach raise interesting prospects for its use in Third World contexts. For example, it could be

adapted to a community meeting approach as a basis for preference voting.

An interesting variation of the preference voting technique was recently utilized in the city of Cambridge, Massachusetts. There, community preference in development projects was determined by giving participants paper money equal in value to the total development funds available and then asking them to distribute this money among the various projects competing for municipal resources. Project preference was then determined by the relative amounts of money "voted" to each project (O'Regan, personal experience, 1976).

In a more conventional study, Sheffield (1974) surveyed -- through personal interviews conducted by students -- thirty to fifty percent of all adults in seven rural Ethiopian villages. The purpose of the study was to determine their priority needs and what means of action they would choose to deal with these problems. The results of the study showed considerable variance of response from one village to the next and a consensus against self-initiated development.

In a diagnostic study of the barrios of Managua, Nicaragua, Tefel (1976) used an "area sampling" technique dividing the city into four zones and conducting surveys in fifty percent of the total areas within the barrios under study. The interview instrument contained 148 standardized questions and was focused on the extent of existing poverty, the factors leading to that poverty, and the general attitudes and problems of the community's residents.

B. Communication with Community Leaders

This is a basic approach to community development and a short-hand method of determining the development preferences of local communities. It has been utilized by many planners and development project managers to elicit such information and gain support for the implementation of projects. To the extent that the leaders consulted are representative of the community, this approach approximates interaction with local, organized groups. But more likely, the most visible leaders -- and hence those most easily contacted -- will be those with ascribed status, such as large landowners, local chiefs, priests, and members of councils of elders.

The major questions which arise in the utilization of this approach are: 1) the representativeness of the leader(s) in relation to the community; 2) their degree of authority, both de jure and de facto; 3) their knowledge and sensitivity to the development concerns of the community; and 4) their understanding of the broader planning context. Answers to these questions will in large part determine the leaders who should be contacted in each community. Ideally, a leader will be seen by the community as a knowledgeable representative who can speak for them and their needs. Since a lack of an institutional base is assumed (for purposes of differentiating this approach from that of interacting with community organizations), the degree of acceptability of the leader as a spokesperson for the community must be determined. This can be done through participant observation of the leader's interaction within the community and through private discussions with local residents. The latter method could be combined with a "one on one" inquiry into people's development concerns. If the needs expressed by the people coincide with those put forward by a community leader, and if the people express support of that

leader's position as appointed spokesperson, the planner has identified the contact point he needs.

C. Interaction through Community Meetings

This general approach calls for the convening of community meetings or public hearings by the planners to discuss important planning issues and receive helpful feedback regarding local needs. The meetings constitute organized, voluntary gatherings of local citizens, the timing and agenda of which are usually set by the planner. They can be valuable in formally seeking and recording inputs -- both critical and supportive -- from special interest groups or actively interested individuals (Lassey, 1977).

The outcome of such sessions depends in large part upon the choice and clarity of expression of the objectives set forth, the method of organization and outreach, and the manner in which the meeting is conducted. In rural areas, advertising such meetings can be difficult except through communication with local leaders. Once a meeting is convened, it is critical that the planner or his agent neither dominate the proceedings nor be paternalistic in his manner, but rather establish a basis of equality with the citizens present and thereby create an open atmosphere. A certain amount of structure is necessary in order to elicit responses relevant to planning needs, but the commitment of local resources may not be forthcoming unless the people feel that their opinions will have some impact upon eventual program design and unless they understand the planning context well.

This approach allows for continuous communication between the planner and the people. This can be crucial, not only in allowing people the

opportunity to react to plans in their various stages, but also in improving their understanding of the planning concept and process. Without this type of interchange, it is often questionable whether the people will sufficiently understand what the planner means -- and needs to know -- about local needs. Perhaps in recognition of this fact, planners in Puerto Rico have involved the public in a series of hearings on major planning issues, although the 1964 Planning Act required only one public hearing before the adoption of any major plan (United Nations, 1964).

It is not only the frequency, but the timing of the meetings which is of critical importance. This approach can easily be rendered useless by being employed at stages in the planning process at which popular input cannot be effectively utilized. In a development program in the Kapenguria District of Kenya, the only contribution allowed the rural populace to the planning process was at formal meetings held after plans were already made. The planning officers justified their plans and considered no modifications. In one instance of a road-building project, meetings to elicit people's expressed needs were scheduled to be held after completion of the road (Mbithi and Barnes, 1974).

As can be seen, the community-meeting approach to get local input in the planning process can involve varying degrees of popular participation. Referring again to Arnstein's (1969) scale of citizen participation, involvement can range from non-participatory processes -- including forms of manipulation or rubber stamping -- to those which allow for actual citizen power. In a situation in which the professionals totally control the planning process, however, this latter type of involvement is obviously of limited usefulness. Within this planning context, therefore,

community meetings may best be suited as a forum for repeated consultation between planner and public. In the broader sense, they can be a forum for mutual education of the two parties about their respective cultural and work environments.

The so-called "charrette" process, though designed to yield a consensus on a plan (and a strategy for implementation) in conjunction with the communities involved, can also be utilized to achieve the less ambitious objective of eliciting an expression of local needs. It involves a series of intensive planning sessions (usually over a period of four to six weeks) in which an ad hoc group of citizens, agency officials, technical experts, and elected representatives come together and initiate a planning process under the guidance of a planner-facilitator. The group airs its differences and explores trade-offs and alternative approaches. A by-product of this consensus-reaching approach is that it allows for, and facilitates, the expression of varying viewpoints, the assessment of community needs, the gathering of technical information, and the generation of proposals. It also facilitates the reaching of informal agreement on goals and methods. The "charrette" process has worked well in Western democracies, but its usefulness in developing countries has not been proven (Schuttler, 1974; Rosener, 1974).

More conventional examples of ad hoc meetings are those convened in Poland by local counties at the village or precinct level on a fairly frequent basis. The needs of the area are discussed in these forums, and formal requests may be submitted which ask that certain projects be undertaken, expanded, or limited. The convening county-council representatives attend, assuring that the public views will reach the proper

authorities. If the meetings are well attended and allow for sufficient reflection on the issues, the requests have a good chance of being incorporated in the first draft of a local or municipal plan (United Nations, 1964).

D. Interaction with Representative Community and Multi-Village Organizations

This approach differs from that of convening community meetings on an ad hoc basis in that communication is entered into with established, representative organizations rather than with voluntary gatherings of local citizens. Such organizations have a life of their own beyond functioning in response to the planner's request for input into the planning process. In these instances, villagers have taken some initiative on their own in the organization of their groups and/or in dealing with other issues which affect their lives.

While local organizations may be functional in nature, in the sense of being formed in specific sectors for specific economic interests, the community organizations referred to here are formed to address issues related to the overall welfare of the people of that particular community. These organizations may be publicly established -- and therefore often politically connected -- or they may be essentially private in nature. They may function in an isolated and independent fashion or they may be linked to other community-level groups and form part of a two- or three-tier organization. Whether single or multi-village in structure, their pattern of formation may also reflect local cultural and linguistic factors.

Representative, village-level organizations or committees are participatory bodies whose functions include the provision of a forum for communicating new ideas and identifying the needs and aspirations of rural people.

They are not organizations imposed from above, which may serve more as a vehicle for the local elite or as a forum for government officials (Lele, 1974). Examples of such organizations are local church groups, women's clubs, school-related groups, and neighborhood councils. As is the case in one regional program in Botswana, villagers may be active in two or more such groups.

Some case examples are illustrative here. In the same Botswana program, for instance, each of the six villages in the area has a Village Development Committee (VDC), which typically consists of a traditional leader and popularly elected members. These committees are expected to identify community needs and to decide upon appropriate steps to achieve them. A Central VDC, a multi-village body composed of representatives of the six local VDCs, is an important organization which communicates with the Central District Council (Sheffield, 1974). Such Village Development Committees also exist in Tanzania, where they provide a link between the village and the District government. Members form groups which elect leaders, carry out self-help projects, and make decisions on social, political, and economic matters. With the emphasis on grassroot involvement in the planning of rural development strategy, these village and ward-level committees have been given a greater role in the allocation of budgetary resources and the planning of local programs. Ideas and plans from the village level are forwarded through a network of committees to the regional level where they play an important role in the planning process (Lele, 1974; Robinson and Abraham, 1974).

In Taiwan, township councils, as democratically elected bodies, serve to counter-balance the power of the local township offices, which are at the bottom of the government planning and administrative structure (Owens and Shaw, 1972). Elsewhere in Asia, the Indian three-

tiered Panchayati Raj system includes village groups and multi-village organizations known as Community Development Blocks, representing an average of 100 communities each. These are self-governing bodies, designed to prepare plans for their own economic and social development and to assure that the felt needs of the local communities gain primary attention in regional planning (Mathai, 1973; United Nations, 1964). Also in the Comilla project in Pakistan, cooperative villages form local councils, choose leaders, and meet to discuss their affairs (Khan, 1977).

In the Caribbean, a World Bank-supported urban project in Jamaica included a role for elected residents' committees in the planning process. The organizational structure differs from site to site, but essentially the committees are responsible for physical planning in some cases and serve as a liaison with the overall planning unit in others (Cameron, 1977).

Actual methods of eliciting the expressed concerns of the local population through such representative organizations range from direct or indirect surveys of organizational leadership to group discussions with the leadership or randomly selected members (Lynch, 1976). The choice of technique is dictated in large part by the degree of representativeness of the leadership of the organizations consulted. Organizational structure should be analyzed to determine how membership is attained and leaders selected. Over a period of time, the organization can be observed to detect its operational style and the quality of its leadership; it is critical to determine the extent to which the style is democratic and allows for free and open group discussion without direct or indirect pressures being brought to bear. Groups may appear to be

open and democratic on the surface, while the most respected, successful, or articulate members of the community are actually dominating organizational affairs and opinion.

In addition, other factors should be taken into account in selecting a method of interaction with community organizations. These include the literacy level of their leaders, their broad understanding of development, and their overall effectiveness in mobilizing the members' participation in the development process. To the extent to which leaders are literate, display such development knowledge and experience, and authentically represent their membership, indirect (leadership) surveys could be effective tools for learning about local needs. To the extent to which they do not, broader, direct surveys, preference voting, or group discussions with a larger sample of the membership should be utilized.

No matter what type of information technique is utilized, however, it is absolutely essential to establish good relations with local organizations, as they can be the most meaningful channel to local communities. On the other hand, while multi-village organizations can help break down inter-village rivalry, they are more limited in their ability to accurately set forth community-specific preferences which are crucial to planning.

E. Interaction with Representative, Functional Organizations

This approach also focuses on local, often community-based organizations, but only on those whose existence, structure, and operations are based upon a specific rural production-related function. They are different from the Representative Community Organizations discussed in "D" in that they may only be representative of a particular sub-group of the popu-

lation, i.e. those people who are both involved in the particular function in question and also belong to the organization itself. On this basis, these functional groups are differentiated from other community organizations whose members are drawn from the wider population.

In planning, such organizations can be important conduits of communication about functionally-specific needs. For example, farmers' associations, transportation cooperatives, and small-enterprise groups can be consulted regarding member concerns in such areas as agricultural inputs, transportation, and skill-training services, respectively. The relatively narrow interests of these functional groups, however, do not necessarily represent the general needs of the total population. Therefore, when planning requires more inclusive development inputs, this approach should be complemented by interaction with broad-based organizations or with methods of eliciting information directly from the populace at large.

Once decisions on the specific type, distribution, and financing of services have been made, it would be particularly useful to re-contact those organizations whose members will be the primary users of those services. This is done so that specific information can be solicited on how such services can best be planned and delivered. A close, working relationship may be called for, and this approach lays the foundation for a more structured exchange. A private, regional program in Bolivia illustrates this possibility. There, peasants have incorporated their local functional

centers into a number of zonal organizations. One such organization coordinates the agricultural activities of fifteen centers with a total of 300 members, others include centers concerned with such things as housing, milk production, and artisan activities. A local, private development institution has established a group of affiliate service organizations to parallel the peasant organizations. They work closely with those groups to elicit an expression of their needs in the form of requests, and then respond to those requests through the provision of services (Inter-American Foundation, 1978).

Elsewhere, similar structures allow for similar forms and degrees of interaction. In Kenya, tea growers' committees make recommendations from below which are fed into the project's administrative structure (Lele, 1974). In Poland, recommendations coming out of trade-union units and cooperative organizations are often taken into account in the selection of projects at the lowest planning levels (United Nations, 1964). In Cameroon, a Branch-level subcommittee made up of one representative from each of the local farmers' associations, serves as a liaision between the association and the local regional planning unit (Belloncle and Gentil, 1974).

In Taiwan, twenty-six irrigation associations assist in the planning of regional irrigation projects in cooperation with government agencies. These organizations, along with farmers' associations, play an important intermediate role in the country's agricultural development.

> Considering the great gap between the national government and individual farmers, the need is apparent for some field organizations to act as a medium to fill that gap and link the national agricultural plan and farmers together. These organizations must, on the one hand, always maintain a close contact with farmers and have a profound knowledge of the local agricultural conditions, available resources and farmers' needs so that they can transmit

> such information to the Government for consideration in its agricultural planning. (S.C. Hsich, in Owens and Shaw, 1972:29).

As far as the style of interaction between the planners and these organizations is concerned, the methodologies utilized are similar to those employed with community organizations. They are outlined in the previous section and, hence, do not necessitate further comment here.

F. Interaction with Representative, Regional-Level Organizations

This approach calls for interaction with representative, regional, organizations (usually three-tiered), composed of numerous local groups which may be both community and/or functionally oriented. The most important distinction between these organizations and their component groups, with which planners may also interact, is that they usually have their own planning capabilities and are therefore able to contribute substantially to the development of the plan itself. A major problem with this approach is, of course, that such multi-tiered organizations do not always exist in the particular planning region in question. Where they do exist, and to the extent that their representativeness of the regional population can be verified, they can be extremely important mechanisms to be utilized by the planner throughout the planning process.

The decision to elicit an expression of local preferences through regional organizations is based upon the planners' willingness to surrender absolute control of the planning process and allow for some degree of shared planning with eventual project participants. Interaction with regional organizations provides an excellent, uncomplicated entry point into this area. In certain instances, representative organizations of significant size and scope may well be already engaged in carrying out

service programs in support of their broad constituency. They would therefore possess specific knowledge of "service gaps" and potentially effective means of integrating public services with those of their own. Taking advantage of such knowledge and expertise calls for a close, on-going, working relationship between planners and representatives of the organization -- perhaps even some degree of integration of two parallel structures -- with recommendations (based upon local expression from below) being given their due consideration throughout the process.

In Bolivia, as explained earlier, there does exist such a parallel structure involving a peasant association and a private development organization. Communication between the two takes place not only at the local and zonal organizational levels, but also between planners and the third-tier of the federation, which incorporates all the base and zonal groups. The federation is, in fact, a macro, territorial, multi-functional organization whose governing body is elected through the various so-called micro and macro groups. It is responsible for overall coordination among its affiliates, and decision-making is diffused throughout the structure. These component groups have been established on both a territorial and functional basis. They include:

1. MICRO, TERRITORIAL, BASE ORGANIZATIONS -- Centers formed and directed by a community or members within a community to resolve local problems;

2. MICRO, FUNCTIONAL, BASE ORGANIZATIONS -- Committees created within a center, or as a separate entity, to deal with specific activities such as agricultural production, livestock, artisan activities, marketing and housing;

3. MICRO, TERRITORIAL, MULTIFUNCTIONAL, BASE ORGANIZATIONS -- A combination of the above two where a center has various functional committees;

4. MACRO, TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATIONS -- Federations or networks of centers within a zone, with delegates from local groups, and with responsibility for representation and coordination among the various centers and functional committees; and

5. MACRO, FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATIONS -- Zonal representation for the various functional committees through elected delegates. (Inter-American Foundation, 1975)

Association meetings, held at all levels, are attended by institutional personnel in order to learn what the people need and want. In that way they are better able to meet these needs in conjunction with the federation.

Similarly, in India, the democratically decentralized Panchayati Raj system is also a three-tiered structure, but one with a broader scope and greater governmental support than has the Bolivian organization. Organized a quarter centry ago, it is composed of elective bodies at the village, block (one hundred villages), and district levels, with the upper two tiers being federated bodies. Under this system, planning and implementation authority rests at the block level, with rural communities providing input about community needs and recommendations on plans. Coordination takes place at the district level. The idea was to gradually turn over complete control to viable local institutions "so that the felt needs of the people will gain primary attention" (United Nations, 1964; Mathai, 1973).

The Taiwanese farmers' association, discussed earlier, is also organized at three levels. A decade ago, the provincial association incorporated over twenty county associations and over three hundred township cooperatives. Its structural pattern is pyramidal, with supervisory, advisory, and operational functions carried out at the respective levels. Coordination

of service provision takes place at the upper levels, allowing for direct ongoing communication and coordination of activities between association representatives and planners. This structural model is particuarly relevant and useful for the planning of specifically farm-related services.

The approaches outlined above form the basis of the strategy, described in Chapter V, to involve the public in the regional planning process. Within the strategy framework, the approaches serve to both facilitate public participation in the planning effort and to enhance the planners' awareness of local development needs. Usage of approaches must be selective and based upon a familiarity with and determination of existing local conditions. Furthermore, each approach has a somewhat different point of contact with local populations, and requires a different mode of interaction for successful public involvement. Individual approaches may be more effective at various points in the planning process -- some better suited for the initial phases, others more useful in the longer term when institutional relationships may be of greater importance.

CHAPTER IV. ASSESSMENT OF APPROACHES

A sufficiently thorough assessment of the potential effectiveness and utility of a given approach to eliciting public input calls for the consideration of numerous factors. While an approach should produce empirically reliable information, it should also conform in structure and process to current planning modes and not demand resources for implementation beyond what is either reasonable or available. Most importantly, the approach should be adaptable to particular conditions at the local level.

Given the staggering diversity of social, physical, economic, and political conditions at the regional level in the Third World, and the consequent mix of variables which determine the effectiveness of a given participatory approach, no attempt to render final evaluations of approaches will be made. Instead, criteria for assessment have been drawn up, outlined and discussed in this section with two purposes in mind: first, to form a basis for a preliminary analysis of approaches, and second, to provide a framework within which field practitioners can make their own assessment of approach options in relation to resources and limitations at the local level.

Criteria for Assessment

The criteria will be discussed under four major headings: Dependability of Information; Practicality; Integrability with Regional Planning Process; and Support Lent to Implementation of Plan.

Dependability of Information. Basically, the elicitation of information from the local population constitutes an attempt to gain direct knowledge of what the local population truly wants in terms of development. Within this context, the term "truly" becomes a consideration of fundamental importance. To the extent to which a planning process is based upon the population's input, its feasibility will in large measure rest upon the accuracy and completeness of the information. The importance of this consideration cannot be underestimated, for it could well be argued that ongoing problems of non-sustainment in development (and the millions of dollars thereby wasted) are related to an inaccurate or insufficient understanding, during the planning process, of the actual wishes of local populations.

Arriving at "truthful" information, however, is no simple task. One illustration should suffice: when physicists dare only speak of "probabilities" with respect to matter, one can easily see the difficulties inherent in achieving an accurate and complete understanding of human needs and wishes.

There are a few key concepts which should help to elucidate the assessments to be made of the approaches presented in this report based on this dependability criterion. These key concepts -- accuracy, breadth, and depth -- are related to the technical research criteria of reliability and validity, and may be explained as follows.

Accuracy denotes the correctness and exactness of the information elicited. If respondents do not understand the development issues at hand, or if the questions asked do not elicit specific, relevant answers, results can be rendered inaccurate. For the purpose of assessing overall approaches, therefore, the issue of respondent understanding is an important one. The success of various approaches to eliciting public input will differ largely in the degree to which they directly or indirectly enhance an understanding of relevant development issues among the local population (Kerlinger, 1973).

The consideration of breadth addresses the matter of overall reliability of information. For our purposes, two questions are relevant. To what extent do the results of a given approach truly represent the wishes of the entire service population? That is, if the entire population were somehow to respond to the questions asked, would the results remain the same? (Lynch, 1976; Kerlinger, 1973)

Since, in the practical sense, it is usually impossible to directly elicit input from each individual within the whole region, the consideration of representativeness of the queried sub-groups in relation to the whole target population is essential for the choice and assessment of various approaches. To the degree that the information provided by sub-groups might not represent that of the entire regional population, the dependability of the knowledge gained is brought into question.

The issue of depth can be more difficult to grasp, but is nevertheless essential. While great pains may be taken to ensure that the results of a given approach are truly representative of the views of the entire population in question, the actual approach taken may not produce a sufficient depth of understanding of the matter at hand -- in this case,

the public's input. That is, the results may not contribute insights into of the complexity, significance or essential implications of the information expressed -- especially in terms of how the individual himself or the community as a whole understands such views (Savardi, 1973; Kerlinger, 1973). In Malinowski's view, broad-scale information-gathering techniques may provide reliable "skeletons" of knowledge, but smaller-scale, more concentrated and intensive approaches are needed to "put the flesh on the bones" (Malinowski, 1972:60)

In summation, the concepts of accuracy, breadth, and depth, taken together, form a means of assessing the potential dependability of information elicited through a given approach. In this context, however, it should be noted that the pursuit of breadth and depth may often force trade-offs, with one being sacrificed for the other in a situation of limited time and resources. This dilemma is a real one and can only be resolved by a thorough consideration of the specific purposes for which the data is to be utilized.

Practicality. This criterion provides a basis for the general assessment of a given approach according to the relative feasibility and ease of carrying it out. By nature, various approaches differ significantly in terms of resource and time requirements. Again, actual choices and trade-offs must be made on the basis of available resources and other limiting factors found at the local level.

Practicality may be analyzed on the basis of two considerations: resource consumption and time requirements. Sub-factors of resource consumption can be categorized as: 1) human resource

requirements -- in terms of both the number of people necessary to carry out the approach and the relative skill levels called for; and 2) specialized resources -- that is, the degree and type of specialized resources called for, such as computers, sophisticated communication and transportation facilities, etc.

Time requirements refer to the relative length of time needed to carry out a given approach. Length of time, of course, impacts upon financial cost.

Integrability with Regional Planning Approach. This criterion addresses the extent to which an approach yields information in a form and manner which facilitate its integration into the regional planning process.

Integrability addresses the practicality and utility of a given informational approach in relation to the specific purpose and structure of the planning process. For the purpose of this study, integrability of approaches must be viewed within the framework of the first steps away from a centralized, expert-initiated planning process -- as distinct from a "bottom-up" participant-initiated process.

Factors to consider under this criterion include flexibility, informational form, and minimization of conflict.

- Flexibility: the extent to which the approach allows for the inclusion of information in the planning process on a timely basis, i.e., for the input of necessary data at the time in the planning cycle when it is required; and secondly, the extent to which the approach allows for variety in the specific content of information collected.

- Informational form: the extent to which the form of information resulting from the approach can be adapted to the prescribed data analysis format of the planning process; that is, can the information be collected systematically and in a manner readily usable by planners?

- Minimization of conflict: the extent to which the information-collection process promotes harmony between the planning body and the local population, thereby minimizing the potential for misunderstanding and possible conflict.

Support Lent to Implementation of the Plan. Information-gathering approaches constitute an important step toward linking the local population and its institutions to the planning process and ultimately the implementation of the resulting plan. Within this context, the assessment of approaches must include consideration of the extent to which a given approach enhances: 1) local awareness and understanding of the development process at hand and authentic commitment to the plan; 2) local skill development in the areas of both planning and implementation; 3) local-level organizational development; and 4) intra-community and inter-community communication and cooperation.

Assessment

A preliminary assessment of these six approaches by the criteria presented above now follows.

A. "One on One Approach"

Dependability: "One on one" approaches provide excellent vehicles for eliciting broadly representative information on public input. Having evolved out of the empirical-testing concerns of the social sciences, most survey-type techniques are inherently designed to ensure the systematic collection of information from large numbers of individual respondents.

The complementary utilization of various "sampling" techniques renders such approaches all the more efficient and reliable in terms of breadth.

These approaches yield individual views, as opposed to collective ones (i.e. community expressions), and the information which they provide is distinct in kind from that derived through collective approaches. Although certain "one on one" approaches are designed to elicit more in-depth qualitative information, "one on one" techniques have not proven to be highly reliable for the elicitation of input in the context of the "whole life" of the communities in question. In the final analysis, all survey-type approaches can be strengthened significantly if based upon prior, participant observation investigations (Malinowski, 1972).

"One on one" approaches do not stimulate either prior community discussion of the development issues at hand or regular contact with the planner(s). This does not enhance respondent understanding of development issues, and this factor can impinge on the accuracy of the survey results. "One on one" approaches could therefore be combined with pre-publicity, public meetings, or initial planner participation in order to give the respondent a greater sense of involvement and confidence that his views will have some impact. Unless they are managed by securing highly sensitive and articulate interviewers or through re-contacting (an expensive proposition), the concerns of rapport and trust on the part of the respondent will further impinge on the accuracy of the information gathered.

These concerns are multiplied by the ever-present dangers of respondents either saying what they think the planning authority wants to hear or holding back on concerns which they do not wish to openly communicate. At a conference of Asian researchers, one of the three foremost

technical issues raised was the protection of the rights of interviewees by ensuring confidentiality of individual survey results (Lynch, 1976). Approaches carried out through private preference-voting could well prove more appropriate in this regard.

Practicality. The total resources required for "one on one" approaches will vary with the degree of dependability desired -- as well as with the size of the regional population, distances to be transversed, the availability of transport and communications facilities, etc. In terms of ensuring dependability of information, "one on one" approaches can be costly. High-level technical personnel are needed to design and manage the survey, train interviewers, select and plan appropriate sampling techniques, and analyze resulting data. Most conventional "one on one" approaches also call for a number of interviewers to be hired, trained, transported, and accommodated. Specialized resources, such as a computer, may also be necessary -- especially if modern standards of dependability are to be met.

The time requirements of broad "one on one" approaches are usually significant. It takes time to plan, design, and construct a dependable survey, and pre-testing of both the sample population and the research instrument are usually called for. Although the time consumed in completing the interviews and analyzing their results will, again, vary with population size, distances traversed, etc., it can generally be assumed to be significant.

Integrability. "One one one" techniques readily lend themselves to precise control of the type and format of the information to be gathered, and this facilitates the integration of informational results into the planning process itself. This is somewhat contingent, however, upon prior integration of the planning and information-gathering processes

in the areas of data format and analysis -- since by its nature, after a standardized, investigative instrument has been constructed and utilized, it cannot be significantly modified without destroying the reliability and validity of results. Thus, once initiated, "one on one" approaches are not flexible, input-eliciting mechanisms. Again, however, when appropriately designed in conjunction with the regional planning process, they provide a very acceptable mechanism for eliciting expressed development preferences in a highly practical and useful format.

Support Lent. The passive, non-participatory posture engendered by the "one on one" approach does not form a sound basis for involving local communities in the implementation of the resulting plan. Since the point of contact remains at the individual, as opposed to the organizational level, these approaches do not form a sound, systematic basis for either gaining local institutional support for the plan, or for upgrading the knowledge and skill-base of potential implementing organizations. Contact at the individual or small-group level -- even sustained contact -- does not directly facilitate intra-community or inter-community communication or potential cooperation in implementing the plan.

Furthermore, since "one on one" techniques -- especially broad surveys -- do not usually facilitate ongoing communication between the planning authority and the local population, they do not necessarily engender accurate perceptions and understanding of the communities' wishes. Thus, misunderstandings and friction can result. Much of the responsibility for initiating and maintaining trust and rapport therefore rests with the interviewers, and the method of selecting the interviewers themselves becomes a critical consideration.

On the other hand, to the extent that knowledge of the particular development planning process may be communicated through survey inter-

views, the "one on one" approach can be a useful educational device at the local level. However, since neither development expertise nor skill development is enhanced for individuals as a result of such processes, the knowledge transferred is usually informational, rather than heuristic in nature.

B. Communication with Community Leaders

Dependability. Communciation with community leaders suffers most in its lack of representativeness, since the approach does not call for communication with a large number of people over a broad area. This problem is compounded by the fact that even if the leaders are found to be representative of the people in their respective villages, their views of the community's wishes may not necessarily reflect those of the people. In fact, it is more likely that such leaders will enjoy a higher status and/or income than the typical villager and therefore manifest a viewpoint reflective of such a status. Community leader approaches have been tried in rural development programs in such African countries as Kenya, Ethiopia, and Cameroon and the general result has been a concentration on the lines of relatively well-to-do members of the community (Lele, 1974).

On the other hand, if it can be determined that a leader is discussing the issues on an individual or group basis with villagers within the community, the planner can assume an enhanced level of information dependability. The degree of representativeness of leaders' opinions can be determined through the use of community surveys. Accion Internacional has recently applied this approach in Costa Rica and Ecuador and found that need-expression surveys of individuals and leaders produced similar results (Ashe, 1978). To the extent that such results can be established in a particular instance, the leaders' views, as reliable interpre-

tations of those of the community, become particularly valuable for two reasons. First, they permit a relatively easy, indirect tapping of local expression on an ongoing basis; and second (given ongoing contact and the likelihood that community leaders will have some understanding of the broader planning environment), these views will convey a depth of understanding of both the local community and the working context of the planner.

Practicality. In terms of resources and time requirements, this is a very practical approach for a planner who repeatedly needs "quick and dirty" information. The usual visibility and distribution of traditional community leaders allows for the broad and indirect elicitation of local input in a relatively rapid and inexpensive manner. Planners, or their agents, can visit individual villages, identify such leaders, initiate dialogue, and subsequently meet with groups of them at more central locations. In this way, leaders are drawn into the planning process itself.

If the primary concern, however, is with the dependability of information obtained from these leaders, their representativeness and that of their opinions must be determined through processes which can be costly and time-consuming. Aside from surveying, it could require employing people with sensitivity to the social and cultural aspect of local village life to live for a period of time in the individual villages to observe the interaction between potential representatives and the rest of the community.

Integrability. This approach may be attractive to planners due to the ease with which local expression can be elicited and integrated into the plan. The approach is flexible in that information can be conveniently obtained throughout the planning process. Being usually more knowledgeable than most local residents about broader issues external to the

village and better able to communicate with the local bureaucracy, these leaders can usually provide information of a more development-specific nature to planners. Furthermore, their views -- to the extent which they are representative of those of the community -- express a collective point of view which can save the planner the problem of weighing and integrating the opinions of numerous individuals. Meetings with these leaders across village lines both allow for the broad and efficient integration of development concerns expressed by the representatives of the total regional population and facilitate inter-community communication and cooperation -- a consideration which relates to the following criterion. On the other hand, conflict between leaders and planners can arise over control of certain aspects of the plan.

Support Lent. As this approach provides a basis for soliciting the involvement of community leaders in the planning process, it has often been used in the attempt to gain the support and participation of the broader public in the implementation of the plan. The belief is that such leaders can serve as a link between the bureaucracy and the people, can ease conflicts which arise, and can perhaps generate local-level project responsibility and commitment. The leaders selected, however, may not be as representative or authoritative as the planners assume, and they may not, therefore, necessarily be able to elicit strong local support. In a rural development program in Malawi, for example, the village chiefs vested with project leadership had their authority and therefore their effectiveness diminished by the impact of a land settlement program (Lele, 1974). Similarly, in a rural program in Botswana, most of the headmen lacked a clear status or authority within the

modern bureaucratic system, and had even lost much of their traditional authority (Sheffield, 1974).

C. Interaction through Community Meetings

Dependability. Key concerns here are the representativeness of meeting attendees for the general population, and the depth of attitudinal information which can be received in such sessions. As stated earlier, ad hoc meetings can be useful tools for eliciting opinion from special interest groups and actively interested individuals, because these are the people who usually attend public forums. Given a sufficient amount of time and effort, a good organizer -- in conjunction with community leaders -- can usually expand attendance to include the ordinary villager and farmer. Even if there is a good cross-section of people at these meetings, however, they may not be able to express themselves articulately, freely, or at all. The field person must break down the barriers of communication between himself and the people (which may require a series of regular meetings), keep both formal and informal leaders from dominating the proceedings, and carefully assess any possible conflict between the people and the political or traditional leadership (in terms of trust, sharing of goals, etc.) which would present a political risk to participation and free expression.

If well executed, this approach can achieve a high degree of breadth and depth in eliciting an expression of preferences. Good execution, however, necessitates rather intensive consultation with a number of representative communities through a series of meetings in each village. Meetings could be held on a multi-village level, but this could result in a trade-off of representativeness for scope

of area coverage, since attendance by ordinary citizens falls off sharply once a meeting is held outside the immediate environment. In seeking sufficient depth of attitudinal information, regular meetings might be required to break down certain communication barriers. Without such ongoing communication, 1) the information gained may be biased in favor of those who are immediately interested and vocal; 2) the interpretation of responses must be made without continuing cross-cultural contact; and 3) no corrective mechanisms will exist in the event of a misinterpretation of local desires on the part of the planner.

A major advantage of the community meeting approach to the elicitation of local input is that through group discussion people can come to see their individual problems as community concerns (Belloncle and Gentil, 1974). It also allows field staff to observe interaction among people and thus more accurately judge the community's priorities. The more this approach helps the planner integrate the expressed desires of the individuals into a more collective expression of priorities -- at least at the level of individual villages -- the more relevant the eventual plan will be. If, however, the people do not understand the planner's constraints or do not feel any responsibility in the planning or implementation process, the dependability of the views expressed is rendered questionable. However, dependability of information is enhanced in this approach by a more direct elicitation of local input than would be possible through intermediary organizational structures.

Practicality. There are many considerations here. The time required to organize meetings on a regular basis and in a large number of villages can be considerable. As these groups are usually not formally

organized, even at the village level, the initiative for soliciting input from them must come from the planner himself. This is a time-consuming process and may lead the planner to sacrifice direct representativeness -- and, hence, depth of understanding -- for feasibility.

Secondly, this approach calls for specialists not required by any of the other approaches -- community organizers. The ability to go into a village and organize and conduct meetings requires a special skill. It may also demand that a person live in a village for a period of time in order to understand the local people and gain their confidence. In the traditional community development programs popular in the 1950s, the principle was to initiate development in individual villages on the basis of what the people perceived to be their felt needs. This called for a village-level worker, who was a specially trained civil servant, to live and work with the villagers, dialogue with them, gain their confidence, make suggestions and organize discussions. It was felt that only in this way would the village worker help the people identify their needs, and then act as an important source of information for planners (Owens and Shaw, 1972). As can be seen, this is a rather time-consuming process, particularly if a large number of villages are incorporated.

Finally, there remains the question of the feasibility of holding such meetings on a broad scale. On the positive side, meetings can be called in almost any community, with field staff not having to rely upon prior organization in the village. However, the political acceptability of organizing meetings can be a concern in certain countries, although organizing meetings for a specific planning purpose and organizing people in general may be seen as two different types of action.

Integrability. This approach can allow for maximum ease in integrating local preferences into the plan, because 1) it is highly controlled by the organizer and therefore does not usually produce subsequent, unsolicited, critical feedback, and 2) it provides a mechanism to elicit input from the populace throughout the planning process. Meetings can be used at the pre-planning stage to elicit self-articulated community needs, group responses to plans, or ongoing informational or decision-making inputs into the planning process (Torrey and Mills, 1977; Arnstein, 1969). From the planners' point of view, therefore, this approach offers both the flexibility and the control they may desire, although information elicited from community meetings can at times be difficult to systematize and integrate.

Support Lent. The more control exercised by the planners -- leaving the local population without recourse or responsibility -- the more difficult will be the task of gaining support and assistance in carrying out the future program. If the people are not helping to plan their own future or simply doing as they are told, and further, if they are not allowed to develop their own problem-solving capabilities in the planning stage, their initiative in the implementation stage will most likely be minimal (Owens and Shaw, 1972). Worse, there could be outright opposition to the project (Lele, 1974). On the other hand, if meetings are carried out on a fairly regular basis and representative leadership evolves, this approach can stimulate community participation in the implementation of the plan and in the creation of community organizations -- which in turn can facilitate the development process embarked upon.

D. Interaction with Representative Community and Multi-Village Organizations

Dependability. The dependability of the information elicited through this approach is in large part a function of the representativeness of 1) the consulted organizations in relation to the regional population, and 2) the organization's leadership in relation to the general membership. If leaders are the contact point -- and this would allow more intensified contact and deeper two-way communication and comprehension -- the degree to which they are representative of the general membership must be determined. Techniques for determining the latter have been discussed earlier; the representativeness of the organizations themselves can be determined by examining available data on the size, distribution, and specific socio-economic characteristics of the membership, and then comparing this data with that available on the general service population. Of course, if there is a high incidence of community organization throughout the region, this approach would allow for contacting, in a fairly direct manner, a large percentage of the rural population through their own group mechanisms.

Assuming the existence of a number of such organizations and a large degree of representativeness of both the organizations and their leaders, this can be a highly reliable approach. Perhaps most importantly, the presence of viable organizations creates a mechanism for the regular channeling of feedback from the people to the planner about the planning process. From the local people's point of view, it is important that "they have some recourse against actions or recommendations of central officials with which they do not agree. Creating local organizational strength is the beginning of this recourse" (Owens and Shaw, 1972:25). From

the point of view of the planner, such organizations can provide a reliable, corrective mechanism which can greatly assist him in 1) checking the dependability of information obtained through either this approach or another approach, such as interaction with local, traditional leaders or general community meetings, and in 2) securing a better understanding of information already obtained. Thus, this approach, when utilized to its fullest, can provide a fresh, situation-specific expression of local preferences to the planner throughout the planning process.

Interaction with multi-village, or second-tier organizations would appear to yield less reliable information since an additional organizational layer is placed between the planner and the organization's membership. This is especially so in cases such as the Indian Panchayati Raj system in which the higher tiers are federated bodies composed by indirect elections (Mathai, 1973). On the other hand, there is greater likelihood that leaders at a secondary organizational level will possess inter-community knowledge which could be extremely relevant to the aggregate informational needs of the planner.

Practicality. As with the implementation of development projects, working with community organizations to elicit information is administratively more efficient than consulting with the local population on a "one to one" basis. People are already organized into formal groups and the leadership can assist in carrying out much of the work (i.e. calling and conducting meetings, facilitating the conducting of interviews and surveys, etc.) which would otherwise be the responsibility of the planner. On the other hand, the time and effort needed to identify and evaluate local, community organizations can be demanding

upon resources. Organizational development experts may be needed in the analysis and evaluation of such organizations. In this case, it is a trade-off, with the decision best determined within a given context with all its specific variables.

Integrability. While enough time must be allowed for local organizations to internally discuss development needs and/or options -- perhaps by consulting either directly or indirectly with the membership -- this approach can be set in motion to provide information on a timely, flexible basis for integration into the plan. However, once a formal, representative organization is consulted, both a sharing of responsibility between the planner and the organization for defining local preferences, as well as the extension of a certain degree of latitude of expression to the organization, are necessary in the attempt to secure ongoing cooperation. To some degree, therefore, the structure of the planning process itself may have to be altered to accommodate such partnership with representative organizations.

Support Lent. One of the major advantages of using this organizational approach lies in its potential for facilitating the implementation of the plan. At a minimum, the involvement of people, through their own organizations, at the beginning of the project cycles can greatly increase local understanding of the program and thereby foster public support. This is particularly true when communities have an opportunity to contribute feedback throughout the planning process and thus have some assurance that their needs and desires will be understood and accurately taken into account in an ever-changing planning environment.

If this approach is utilized to the fullest, it can not only bring about organizational support, but also achieve the stimulation of active involvement and responsibility on the part of the membership, and eventually the wider public, in the implementation of the plan. Administration of development programs by the local organizations in question is one such output of the planning process. The maintenance of physical improvement projects is another. A third possible outcome is the initiation of self-help, spin-off projects. Without communities bringing their own human and other local resources to bear on local problems, only so much can be achieved by the regional planners when it comes time to implement the plan; hence, the importance of supporting the growth of viable community organizations which have been actively involved throughout the planning process.

Unfortunately, planners are all too often guilty of dealing with local organizations in a paternalistic manner, and are unwilling to delegate genuine responsibility to them. This often involves neglecting the elicitation and interpretation of the membership's input for planning purposes. Such an approach inhibits the development of strong, viable local organizations which are willing to share in the responsibilities and gains of project implementation and can form the basis of self-sustaining development in the area (Owens and Shaw, 1972).

E. Interaction with Representative, Functional Organizations

Dependability. While the consideration of breadth and depth of information obtained are similar to those involved in interacting with

community organizations (except that functional groups are sometimes fewer in number), the issue of accuracy does arise as an important aspect distinguishing the two approaches. For example, a representative farmers' association could give more accurate information about local needs for storage facilities than a general-purpose organization. Farm representatives will better understand the meaning of the planner's questions in regard to this particular service and therefore, they will usually respond with a higher degree of preciseness. This approach thus allows for better immediate communication between the two parties, and elicits answers from the respondent which more precisely and directly addresses the matter at hand.

It must be remembered, however, that dependability of information is also a function of the degree of representativeness of the groups consulted in relation to the total regional population. As these functional organizations are, in a sense, special interest groups, the information elicited from them, should be 1) complemented by the expression of preferences elicited through other mechanisms, and/or 2) limited to more precise, detailed questions which are related to specific services and raised at the later stages of the planning process.

Practicality. The issues raised in subsection "D," relating to 1) the efficiency of eliciting responses through local organizations, and 2) the cost of identifying and evaluating these organizations, are also pertinent to an analysis of the practicality of this approach. Again, the planner is presented with a trade-off, and decisions can only be

made with a knowledge of the particular contextual variables.

Integrability. The analysis applied to the community organization approach pertains here, as well. This approach does have the additional advantage, however, of giving the planner the opportunity to work closely with people who are knowledgeable in a particular area in which specific services will be provided. This means that local views and opinions expressed about local needs can provide extremely useful information to planners in a form appropriate for their informational needs.

Support Lent. As with all organizational approaches, ongoing interaction with functional organizations can elicit the support, involvement, and commitment of important segments of the regional population in eventual project implementation. It can also elicit local effort and other resources which may be directed toward expanding the breadth of the project. Specialized organizations can be particularly important in this regard, due to the high degree of their knowledge, interest, and prior experience in specific component areas of the eventual plan.

The contrary can also be the result, however, if planners are paternalistic and extend to organizations little or no responsibility for identifying local needs and wishes. In a program in Cameroon, for example, planner paternalism extended into the implementation stage, with the result that a deep frustration and hostility about the program on the part of the farmers became quite evident (Lele, 1974).

F. Interaction with Representative, Regional-Level Organization

Dependability. The key questions here relate to the degree of representativeness of such federations in relation to their component parts, and the degree to which upper-level leadership may accurately reflect and communicate the views and needs of members. As has been pointed out earlier, the higher the point of intervention in the organizational hierarchy, the greater the number of layers which separate the planner and the membership -- and thus the greater the chance of misrepresentation of community-specific concerns. On the other hand, leaders at the highest organizational level usually possess a broad knowledge of the development needs of the region, and thus they constitute an important resource base for planners.

Practicality. Again, the major issue which arises in this area is whether the time, effort, and other resources required to determine the degree of representativeness of both the organizational leaders and the organization itself are worth the potential pay-off in terms of accurate and useful information, effective planning assistance, and region-wide support for the implementation of the plan. Given the existence of such an organization of the regional level, it may well be worth the investment.

Integrability. As with other organizational approaches, time must be allowed for organizations to go through their own decision-making process, and unsolicited feedback from the organizations must be accommodated in some fashion. With regional organizations closely involved in the planning process, however, the amount of unforeseen conflict can be minimized.

Support Lent. Again, to the extent that viable, regional organizations which are representative of a significant portion of the local population are present in the planning area, their involvement in the planning process can pay off handsomely in the implementation of the program. If, in the regional plan, the programs developed by the planners can be effectively integrated with those of the organization(s), they will be much more meaningful and useful to project participants and should accordingly elicit their support and further efforts. On the other hand, unless a demonstrated attempt is made to identify, analyze, and respond to the unaddressed wishes of the people, as expressed through their organizations, the projects eventually produced may well elicit only limited support and commitment from an important part of the local population, and may well elicit even resentment and outright hostility. Without popular support and involvement, "no central bureaucracy, even in developed countries, has the administrative capacity to make the infinite multitude of decisions which development requires " (Owens and Shaw, 1972:26).

Assessment of Approaches Matrix

In Figure 4, the preliminary assessments of each approach are summarized in matrix form. The matrix format has been chosen to provide a structure for both a synthesis of each general approach and a rapid review of the issues raised. Due to the lack of knowledge of local, contextual variables and the specific constraints imposed by the particular planning strucutre, neither definitive conclusions or comparisons among approaches have been attempted. These must be left to the planner in the field. What the matrix illustrates are some of the strengths and weaknesses, advantages and disadvantages, and potential trade-offs which are inherent in each of the approaches.

APPROACHES	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA (1) Dependability of Information	(2) Practicality	(3) Integrability into Plan	(4) Support Lent to Implementation	Synthesis
(A) One on One Approaches	·Provide vehicle for eliciting broadly representative information on felt needs ·Use of sampling techniques renders approaches more reliable in terms of breadth ·Yields individualized, not collective, need expression & does not reliably elicit needs in context of whole community life ·Survey-type approaches can be strengthened significantly if based upon prior, participant observation ·Respondent understanding and survey accuracy suffer because approaches neither stimulate community discussion nor generate community interaction with planner ·Reliability can depend upon trust engendered by interviewer	·Can be costly in terms of ensuring dependability of info, as high-level technical personnel are needed & there are related training, travel, & accomodation costs ·Significant amounts of time are required to put together dependable surveys ·Special resources, e.g. computer use, may also be required	·Informational results can be well integrated into the planning process because these techniques lend themselves to pre-control by planners ·Success is in part contingent upon prior integration of the planning & information-gathering processes ·No continual communication, so friction can arise as result of inaccurate perceptions engendered about the goals of the planning process ·Choice of interviewers critical, as relationship with public can influence reaction to future plan ·Do not stimulate participation of respondents in subsequent plan	·Passive, non-participatory posture of public leaves weak basis for involvement of local communities in implementation of resulting plan ·Does little to enhance development knowledge or skills at local level ·Communication and cooperation among communities are not facilitated by approach ·Implementation can be facilitated some if information about plan is communicated to population during interviews, etc.	Approach provides sound basis for broad sampling of expressed needs on individual basis, but results usually do not engender a depth of understanding of felt needs. Ensuring overall dependability of results can be costly. Major strength lies in high degree of control which planner can exercise over the form and precise content of elicited information, thus facilitating integrability of information into the plan. Major weakness arises in the relatively passive, non-participatory posture it engenders among respondents, thereby failing to lay sound basis for future involvement of local populace in implementing the plan.
(B) Communication with Community Leaders	·Allows for indirect elicitation of needs of large number of people over broad area ·But the views of leaders (without institutional base) do not necessarily reflect those of general populace; their generally higher status and/or income usually is reflected in their perspective on local needs ·Will be some increase in reliability of information obtained if leaders discuss issues with villagers ·Permits continual tapping of local need expression with depth of information where surveys demonstrate a consistency in the needs' ranking by leaders and general population	·Visibility & ease of approaching traditional community leaders enables elicitation of needs expression rapidly & inexpensively ·Planners can visit individual villages or meet leaders in groups at more central locations ·Determining representativeness of leaders' opinions can be a time- and resource-consuming business, requiring period of observation within community	·Info from leaders can easily be integrated into plan, since timing, etc. can be well controlled by planner ·Flexible approach, as subsequent info can be gained by convening meeting of selected community leaders ·More broadly experienced traditional leaders can provide info in appropriate form to planner ·If leaders' views are representative, planners need not weigh and integrate many individual opinions ·Conflict between leaders & planners can arise over control of some aspects of plan	·Traditional leaders may generate support and participation of broader public in implementation of plan ·Leaders selected by planners, however, may have limited authority or legitimacy and be unable to elicit local support ·Leadership can be expanded instead of planner strengthening non-representative elites by expanding their responsibilities	Approach most useful in its practicality and integrability into plan, as traditional leaders are both visible and usually better able than most to communicate with planners. But if dependable info and eventual support for plan implementation are desired, considerable time and resources must be expended to determine representativeness and authority of leaders. Approach can yield unreliable info, since traditional leaders are not necessarily either representative or typical of local population. On the other hand, does allow for broad and flexible utilization.
(C) Community Meetings	·Dependability of info enhanced through direct elicitation of need expression; i.e., no intermediary ·Can bias toward actively interested individuals and interest groups ·Dominance of leadership can threaten free & broad-based expression of needs ·Regularized meetings can break down communication barriers and provide depth of information about local needs ·Possible trade-off between continual, in-depth discussions & breadth obtained through multi-village meetings ·Ongoing meetings provide corrective mechanism to lower risk of misinterpretations of local desires ·Can help planner integrate individually expressed needs into collective expression of priorities	·Organizing meetings in many villages on a continual basis is time-consuming ·Requires special skills in community organizing ·May necessitate organizer/planner living for while in village to gain people's confidence and an understanding of the environment ·Does not rely upon prior village organization	·Can elicit ongoing input from the local population throughout the planning process--from initial need expression to feedback to plan ·Does not produce much unsolicited feedback to complicate info integration ·Planner in total control, so expressed needs can be flexibly integrated into the plan, but info format can be difficult to systematize	·Unlikely support for program implementation if no prior public responsibility or recourse ·Does not develop important problem-solving capabilities ·Outright opposition can result to extent that populace feels that its views are not reflected in the plan ·Regular meeting can lead to creation of community organizations	Can yield reliable information on collective needs if the time, resources, skills, and interest are there to hold regularized meetings in a large number of communities and attempt to include all community members equally in discussions. If meetings are held on a one-time, non-representative basis for ease of execution, however, both reliability and eventual program support will suffer significantly. Control by planner of number, timing, and agenda of meetings yields flexibility re integration of info into plan. Approach does not rely upon prior community organization, but can--if time and skills are invested--lead to creation of groups which can contribute to program implementation.
(D) Interaction with Representative, Community and Multi-Village Organizations	·Possible ongoing communication with representative organizations provides means for gaining dependable information ·Depth of understanding considerable if continual communication with leaders is maintained ·Free & open organizational interchange can make possible a deeper understanding of information collected ·Mechanism for feedback to the planner enables corrections of misinterpretations ·Second-tier organizations yield less deep & reliable info, but may possess important inter-community info and makes possible more equal & mutually respectful communication between planner and service population	·Administratively efficient to elicit expressed needs through community organizations by decentralizing responsibility for meetings, surveys, etc. rather than burdening the planner ·There is a trade-off, in that time and effort are required initially of planner to identify & evaluate such organizations	·Time necessarily allowed community organizations for discussion and decision-making may retard planning process ·Planning process must be flexible enuf to allow for delays and adjustments due to unsolicited information that local organizations want incorporated into plan ·Community understanding can be enhanced through such organizations, thus minimizing potential conflict	·Involvement of people through their own organizations from the beginning fosters their understanding and support ·Can stimulate the active involvement and responsibility of organization & members in implementational activities, such as administration, maintenance, & initiation of other self-help projects ·Helps develop local human resources that can contribute much to project implementation	Although time and effort are initially required to identify and evaluate such organizations, interaction with representative, participatory groups should yield dependable info on an ongoing basis, while providing a mechanism through which expressed needs can be efficiently elicited. Some control over planning process must be sacrificed to allow for delays & adjustments, but if the organizational processes and feedback are accomodated, they can yield greater dependability of info elicited, as well as lead directly to high degree of local involvement in, and support for, program implementation.
(E) Interaction with Representative, Functional Organizations	·Similar to community organizations in terms of the breadth and depth of the information they can provide ·Can provide very accurate information re relevant services because organizations' members are knowledgeable about specific development functions ·Information may not be broadly reliable, as such organizations usually are special interest groups ·Information elicited should be limited to questions related to specific services or be complemented by info gained through other mechanisms	·As with community organizations, planner faces trade-off between efficiency of eliciting info thru local groups & initial cost of identifying and evaluating competency & representativeness of such institutions	·As with community organizations, planning process can be taxed to permit the time required for intra-group discussions ·Has advantage of making available to planner useful information about needs in particular functional areas ·Information elicited can be more technically precise and thus more useful for planning purposes	·Continual interaction with functional organizations can elicit support and involvement of important segments of the service population ·Because of high degree of knowledge, interest, and experience of specialized organizations in specific component areas of a proposed plan, considerable local effort and resources can be elicited for expansion of the breadth of the project ·Implementation can be undermined if planners deny these organizations an opportunity to identify local needs or otherwise participate in planning process	Similar trade-offs as under "Community Organizations": time, effort, & tight control over planning process sacrificed for info dependability, administrative efficiency in eliciting needs expression and public involvement and commitment in the implementation stage. Additionally, functional organizations are best used to elicit highly accurate needs information as well as expertise, related to specific services, and, if involved, can lend considerable effort to program implementation. Less useful, tho, since they are not representative of entire service population.
(F) Interaction with Representative, Regional-Level Organization	·Dependability of info lies in the degree of representativeness of upper organizational levels of their component parts and of their members' views, and the representativeness of the organization of the entire service population ·The higher the intervention point in search for needs information, the greater the risk of misinterpretation of needs expression ·But upper-level leaders possess a broad perspective on regional development needs that can facilitate communication with planners	·Enables even more efficient elicitation of information than do lower-level organizational approaches ·But resources, time, and effort must be committed to evaluation of representativeness of organization & its leaders and accuracy of information obtained	·As with the other organizational approaches, planners must contend with possible unsolicited feedback and with time delays due to intra-organizational discussions ·Unforeseen conflict can be minimized if organizations are involved in planning process--particulary from the beginning ·High level of organizational sophistication allows for precise, technical communication on needs, enhancing utility of information	·If planner's program can be integrated with those of the organization(s) in question; it should elicit the membership's support and efforts and facilitate a lower cost in administration ·Opposition to plan and program could develop, however, if no demonstrated attempt is made to elicit, analyze, and respond to unaddressed needs of the people as articulated through their organizations	The accurate and useful information, effective planning assistance, and regional wide support for program implementation that this approach can yield may be worth the time, effort, and resources require to determine degree of representativeness of organizational leadership and organization itself. If capable organization exists, its broad perspective and planning and implementation experience can be extremely valuable to planners at all stages if they are willing to surrender some control and integrate planning to some extent.

Figure 4

As can readily be seen, the matrix which follows consolidates key points of assessment by presenting the differing approaches (veritical axis), under each of the assessment criteria (horizontal axis). The extreme right column offers a synthesis, combining the major, overall points of assessment for each approach.

Some Considerations Regarding Information Gathering Techniques

Numerous types of information-gathering techniques may be utilized in the elicitation of development preferences. The correct selection and proper utilization of an information-gathering technique is essential to the success of whatever approach is taken to elicit the expression of local input. It is evident that the choice of such an approach will not, in and of itself, guarantee success. Just as important are the specific information-gathering methodologies selected and the way in which they are carried out in the field. Two methodologies will be briefly discussed here to demonstrate the importance of careful selection of information-gathering techniques.

Information-gathering techniques of relevance to this study may be grouped into two general categories: survey techniques and participant observation techniques. Surveys are systematic attempts to elicit information of a specific nature on a broad, individual basis. Their major utility arises in the attempt to reach large numbers of a given population to ascertain direct information. However, the dependability and utility of information resulting from broad surveys can often present problems in terms of planning.

A serious concern, from the planner's viewpoint, is the difficulty of obtaining from surveys expressions of development input which reflect

the multiple trade-offs which he always faces in the planning process (Hoinville, 1971). Although current efforts are being made to design survey instruments in a "trade-off" context, it is extremely difficult to elicit need priorities in the context of their being matched against limited resources, potential social and cultural changes, physical and geographical impediments, and possible population displacements. For these reasons, the dependability and utility of open-ended "wish lists" -- the individual's stated pursuits of development needs -- remain questionable.

Survey attempts to overcome these shortcomings usually involve techniques aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of the needs, values, and attitudes of the respondents. In one such technique interviewers ask somewhat general and open-ended questions, either to individuals or small groups, facilitate discussion and then construct general conclusions in an "indirect manner" (Lynch, 1976). Though excellent in principle, the results of such an approach used on a one-time basis depend on a unique combination of skill and sensitivity on the part of the interviewer.

Another approach involves the use of "attitudinal scales," in which the person is asked to respond to current realities, possible development options and trade-offs, etc., by expressing approval or disapproval -- usually on a scale from "strongly agree" through to "strongly disagree". While sound in theory, the reliability of attitudinal scales across cultural lines has proven to be very shaky. Some studies have reported that Asians, for example, have serious difficulty in expressing direct "yes" or "no" sentiments (Lynch, 1976), and many local people are hesitant to express to relative strangers what may be taken as direct criticism of local institutions or individuals.

The other major technique, participant observation, is a research approach developed as the traditional investigative method of social anthropologists. It is used to gain in-depth knowledge of the perceptions, feelings, and values of the group under study and of the consequent manifestations of these values and perceptions in the general behavior of individuals, as well as in the overall social and institutional structure of the group itself. The method impels the investigator, or investigative unit, to live among the local population for a period of time consistent with the intended scope and depth of the study. Although specific applications of the participant observation approach differ significantly in terms of time, setting, specific information-collection and analysis techniques, and the degree of involvement with the local population, one aspect remains constant: the "observer" becomes a "participant" attempting to gain both a knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the person's "point of view, his [sic] relation to life;" that is, "to realize his vision of his world" (Malinowski, 1972:63).

In the context of eliciting felt needs, the participant observation approach is utilized in various forms. In China, for example, the need to gain a deeper understanding of the development requirements of the countryside resulted in the assignment of both students and government officials to work and live among the rural peoples for extended periods of time (Sigurdson, 1973). In Tanzania, President Nyerere himself from time to time works among rural peasants in Ujamaa villages. In the community development programs of the 1950s, trained workers were sent to rural communities to assist local populations in defining their development needs and obtaining external assistance to meet them.

A more recent example of participant observation is the case of an agricultural "intervention" team of Americans and Peruvians living among peasants in the Sierra of Peru. There, they communicated on an ongoing basis about agricultural needs and worked with the local population to develop experimental, community-owned agricultural plots (Whyte, 1977).

The specific information-gathering methods utilized as part of the participant observer technique may range from extended, informal observation to formalized, structured interviews with individuals and/or small groups. The data collection format may range from keeping journals and field notes to collecting information in pre-planned and pre-structured formats. Surveys may also be used to elicit specific information -- although such surveys are always designed and carried out on the basis of knowledge gained through communication with, and participation in, the local community.

Participant observer investigations may be carried out by trained anthropologists -- for extensive, socio-cultural analysis of local needs -- by non-experts trained in field techniques, or, as our case examples illustrate, by development planners and project officers themselves. In all cases, the objectives remain the same: to elicit self-expressed needs in a manner which addresses their complexity and significance in the context of the "whole life" of the community; and to become sensitized to the peoples and communities under study.

The major weakness of participant observation arises in regard to representativeness. While intensified study of the expressed needs of local communities can produce valid, accurate, and useful information, such information is only reliable to the extent that the communities examined are representative of the entire targeted region. This is a particularly relevant concern in regions which are inhabited by distinct ethnic groups

or which comprise a diversity of physical and natural environments. For purposes of sufficient representation, it is often necessary to carry out participant observation studies in a sampling of communities, each of which represents one of the major categories of human and physical variation within the region.

In assessing information-gathering techniques, the relative strengths and weaknesses of surveys versus participant observation are obvious: the former lends breadth, the latter depth. To choose one approach to the total exclusion of the other is to risk insufficiency in one of the two dimensions. The use of both techniques in careful combination can truly strengthen whatever approach is chosen for eliciting the expression of local needs. Perhaps the optimum information-gathering technique would entail initial, intensive participant observation of key representative communities, followed by a broader survey of the regional population. Such a survey would best be based upon the initial knowledge gained through intensive community study and could in fact be used to test the reliability of the knowledge gained through the community studies.

Given the limited time and resources available in most planning situations, however, trade-offs favoring one technique over the other are usually made. Traditionally, planning authorities have favored survey approaches -- especially in situations of "quick and dirty" overall data analysis. It should be noted, however, that concern among experts continues to rise over the dependability of broad surveys, especially those designed and executed without the benefit of some type of prior familiarization studies at the community level (Lynch, 1976). One available option entails the investigative unit of the planning authority -- normally the field

staff -- living among the service population, rigorously observing (perhaps under the tutelage of an anthropologist) local communities representative of the region under study, and then constructing and implementing a region-wide survey. The "sensitizing" of field staff to local needs, attitudes, and conditions is an important aspect of this approach, as is the opportunity to establish trust and rapport with the local population.

The problems inherent in one-shot surveys and their resulting "wish lists" usually do not arise in the planning process. They arise once the attempt is made to implement the plan, when the planner may suddenly realize that the information rendered did not provide insight into the interrelatedness and complexity of the needs expressed; that it did not show how the people understand such needs, what they meant by them, and how they envisioned the actual changes and workings of the development process itself. What can result is illustrated by the now familiar example of women being surveyed and listing laundry facilities -- as an improvement over a river bank or central well -- as a priority need. Subsequently, after a number of small washing facilities were constructed throughout the town and then not used, it was discovered that the survey did not reflect the important social function of gathering at a central place to do the wash.

Unfortunately, "quick and dirty" information gathering cannot take the place of the patient, rigorous work needed to ensure the long-term feasibility of plans. Success in acquiring sufficient knowledge of local populations is, in Malinowski's terms, to be found through "a systematic application of the rules of common sense and science ... not through the discovery of any marvelous short-cut" (Malinowski, 1972:54).

CHAPTER V. A PARTICIPATORY STRATEGY

Considerations

While participatory approaches must be assessed in specific planning contexts, in most cases no single approach will sufficiently satisfy total informational needs, ensure adequate public representation, or conform to the specific process demands of planning. As previously discussed, sole reliance upon surveys can yield broadly representative data on specific issues but does little to promote active or continuous participation on the part of the public. Interaction with representative organizations, on the other hand, can generate information which effectively addresses aggregate concerns. However, not all regions in the Third World can boast of organizational structures broad enough in both popular and sectoral representation to be able to provide effective and comprehensive inputs throughout a regional planning process.

Therefore, there is a need, in all but the rarest of circumstances, to use various approaches to eliciting public input in a combination appropriate to the specific characteristics of both the region and the planning process. This planned utilization of combined approaches constitutes, in effect, a participatory strategy. The design of such a strategy must in all cases be based upon a few key considerations.

First, as we have seen in Chapter II, the data needs of the rational-process planning cycle are such that public input must correspond to the

planning process. Specifically, the content of public input must proceed from being more general in nature to more specific. At the goal-setting stage of planning, there is little use in eliciting direct, individual expressions of needs, since the planning has not progressed to a level of specificity which can accommodate direct, individual input. Rather, the public input should provide a working definition of the social and economic concerns of the population as a whole. At this stage, the objective is to provide planners with insightful, aggregate information upon which the initial goals of regional planning can be at least partially based. As the planning cycle disaggregates geographically and sectorally and defines alternative strategies and projects, public participation and its information outputs should become, in turn, more direct and specific in addressing these alternatives.

Second, sound planning decisions relating to project implementation require public input of significant depth. The planner must have information that presents more than static, one-time development preferences from the local population if he is to effectively plan projects that complement local social and economic dynamics. To understand and interpret these dynamics within various groups in different communities, the planner must have some notion of the values that underlie the preferences adopted by different segments of the regional population. Valid, in-depth information will best result from a focused participation strategy that facilitates ongoing dialogue rather than the elicitation of one-time inputs (Burke, 1968).

Third, the formulation of a participatory strategy should be based upon specific regional and sub-regional characteristics which are relevant to the inhabitants' participation in planning. Given the diversity

of regional settings within the Third World, a complete analysis of relevant local variables must be made on a case-by-case basis.* There are, however, a few factors which should be assessed in all cases. They are the following:

-- The existence of representative organizations. Since such organizations (described in Chapter III) can provide the cornerstone of a sound and efficient participatory strategy, it is essential to locate such entities and assess their representativeness in the strategy's preparation. To the degree to which such organizations can act as facilitators and conduits of representative local input, less reliance needs to be placed on more individualized approaches, such as indirect or group surveys.

-- The depth and current status of democratic traditions within the region. An assessment of this factor will reveal the degree to which a participatory endeavor per se may represent political and social change. It will allow the planning entity to determine the level of intensity of participation that can initially be pursued without creating undue tension within local governmental and planning establishments and jeopardizing the participatory process and consequent planning benefits (Fagence, 1978).

-- The level of planning experience among the local population. The public's capacity to participate in planning should be assessed to ensure that initial participatory mechanisms do not make unrealistic demands -- a cause of public frustration cited in a number of case studies (Fagence, 1978:366). To the extent that local populations have participated in

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*We refer here to both social and economic variables, the latter including such considerations as available funding, communication and transport facilities, etc.

planning exercises, their ability to contribute more quickly and more substantially to the planning process is enhanced. In cases where local experience is significant, participatory mechanisms such as local "charrettes," which are based upon "shared planning" concepts, may be utilized. In other cases, more basic methods -- such as community meetings and interaction with local functional organizations -- must be utilized as a means of providing initial experience to local communities.

The foregoing points suggest a few basic guidelines which should be followed in forming a participatory strategy. Most fundamentally, the final selection of public-input mechanisms to be used within a particular region or sub-region can only be made, in most cases, after instituting local contact. The appropriate selection of an approach, such as interaction with local development organizations, for example, can only be effected after some type of canvassing of such organizations has been conducted; this is necessary to find out if and where they exist and to what extent they represent the local population. Similarly, interaction through either community meetings or community leaders must be preceded by some analysis of local social structures, both formal and informal, in order to determine the quality of local communicative channels and capabilities. These measures are necessary not only to enable the planning entity to select appropriate participatory approaches at the regional level, but also to specify which mechanisms would best be used in different parts of the region. In addition, this will allow for the identification of the results expected to be yielded by the participatory process within a given time frame.

Conversely, perhaps the most fundamental mistake that could be made would be to impose a participatory strategy constructed on a deductive basis solely to conform to the needs of the planning cycle. The major problem with strategies that do not evolve out of an analysis of local areas is that they may by-pass efficient and politically sensitive local institutions and/or pursue mechanisms of public input simply unsuited to local norms. An example of this would be the use of survey techniques within areas in which traditional village meetings are the normal means of communicating with outsiders.

It becomes obvious that the most effective type of public participation will evolve from a patient, flexible approach that "feels its way through" at local levels, using combinations of participatory mechanisms which correspond to both the specific characteristics of the areas or sub-areas in question and the ongoing needs of planners. The basic objective is to construct a participatory system based upon the social and organizational strengths which local populations inherently possess. To fully realize this, field analysis of local areas should be among the first steps in the design and implementation of a participatory strategy.

A Generic Strategy

While it is obviously impossible to construct a specific participatory strategy for application throughout the Third World, it is possible to outline a generic approach which may serve as a guideline in designing strategies for particular areas. Accordingly, a two-phased generic strategy will be outlined which roughly satisfies the requirements of both the planning and participation systems as described in the preceding sections. The two phases, or cycles, of the strategy correspond to the two most

appropriate entry points for initial public input: goal setting and the comparative assessment of options. This approach assumes little or no previous experience in the elicitation of public participation on the part of a planning entity, and thus represents the first step in a transition toward participatory planning. Planning entities which have previously adopted, or are currently adopting, participatory techniques can modify this approach to meet their own needs.

The first phase of the participation strategy corresponds to the goal-setting stage of planning, and has three primary purposes: 1) to introduce the planning exercise and its limitations (in terms of funding, technology, etc.) to local citizens and organizations and inform them of their opportunities to play a role in it; 2) to determine the most appropriate mechanisms of public participation for use in the second phase of the participatory process; and 3) to elicit the public's general development concerns for the planner's use in goal formulation. Because the needs of the planning cycle at this stage are wide-ranging and exploratory in nature, public input should be as broad and inclusive as possible.

The basic methodology utilized during the first phase would best follow the lines of a loosely structured approach to participant observation (Chapter IV). Field staff* would initiate contact with local leaders, institutions, and private citizens to discuss the general purposes of the planning process and obtain their initial feedback on local development needs. This approach should remain informal rather than highly structured, as the object is to elicit broad opinion while gaining a basic

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*The role of field staff is discussed in the following section on organizational aspects.

understanding of the social, organizational and economic systems in place at local levels. Field staff should also be encouraged to get to know local communities as well as possible through such means as attending public meetings (formal and informal) and spending time in local markets and even taverns.*

Since no decisions which would have immediate impact on local areas are made at this planning stage, public input can be elicited through indirect as well as direct mechanisms. Thus, reviews of relevant literature and research, and, where appropriate, structured surveys, can be undertaken to complement the ongoing field work within the region.

The major output of this first stage should be a coordinated series of reports, composed on a sub-regional and sectoral basis, which attempts to creatively define the major development concerns of local populations. These concerns should be related both to the social and economic contexts at local levels and to the scope and limitations of the planning process. In addition, an analysis of local organizations and planning capabilities should be completed as a preliminary step in the planning of the second phase.

The initial reports on local development concerns should be synthesized to present common problems, concerns and development ideas on both a region-wide and sub-regional basis. These syntheses, together with

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*This last suggestion may not seem serious at first glance. However, in the U.K., the University of Nottingham's School of Planning elicits participation in urban planning by constructing portable scale models of communities and then having local residents actually lay out their community the way they would like it to be. One of the best environments they have discovered for doing this is in the pubs.

initial assessments of local-level development activities and capabilities, should be fed to planners for analysis in the setting of regional development goals.

Once alternatives are generated within the planning process and translated into local options (steps 4 and 5, in the planning model described in Chapter II), field staff would return to local communities in a second participatory phase for specific responses to these options. Responses would be sought here through some combination of direct public-input mechanisms, such as community meetings, individual and group interviews, and the canvassing of local organizations -- the choice of a specific second-phase design having been made through an analysis of local social and organizational variables in the first phase. The direct-input data generated in this phase would then be processed in quantified form and disseminated, on an option-by-option basis, to the planning units charged with responsibility for the geographical area and/or planning sector relevant to each planning option.

Although flexbility should be maintained in the selection and implementation of mechanisms, this second phase must, by necessity, be more structured, direct and specific than the first phase. As the planning process has now moved to a stage of specific strategy and project options, public feedback must now be direct, offering affirmative, negative or alternative replies to each option presented. While field staff should pursue broad public response to options through whatever mechanisms are appropriate, responses should be systematically recorded and later quantified for inclusion in the data analysis process.*

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*A data processing system for use at this stage is introduced on pp. 89-90 and described in Appendix B.

This second phase should be viewed as ongoing and repetitive in nature, and should not be considered as a limited, one-time, phenomenon. Since the planning process continues over time, and generates optional strategies and projects in an iterative fashion, public input should, correspondingly, continue along with it. Furthermore, through this extended process of local participation, there should evolve local-level participatory systems related to planning which would facilitate public involvement in subsequent project planning and implementation.

While other valid strategies can be developed to facilitate participation, their design should include some of the critical elements of the participatory approach presented here. By deepening the level of specificity of public inputs over time, this approach closely parallels the planning process itself, providing appropriate data at appropriate stages. At the same time, its "two-phased" cycle facilitates a process of iteration and dialogue at local levels which is crucial to eliciting valid public input. Similarly, its emphasis on repeated contact would allow field staff to establish trusting relationships within the communities in which they work. Lastly, its "open-ended" approach to the selection of participatory mechanisms provides a critical element of flexibility in determining an appropriate level of participation in the initial stages without compromising the validity of results.

Planning Entity Roles Resulting From Use of Model Strategy

The use of the basic strategy outlined above will lead the planning entity toward a particular set of activities depending upon the participatory and organizational factors present in the region or sub-regions. While it is clear that such factors will be present in varying degrees

within different regional contexts, it may be useful to examine the roles that the planning entity would adopt when such characteristics are exhibited in the extreme. Toward one end of the spectrum, for example, one might well find regions which possess a strong democratic tradition of public involvement in local decision-making, a sound network of local and regional organizations, and a significant degree of local experience in planning of one form or another -- characteristics which may often, in fact, be found together. In contrast, other regions may have little tradition of formal participation in either local decision-making or planning and few representative organizations.

In the latter case, in which the level of organizational development and local planning experience is low, the participatory system will be characterized by a reliance on more basic approaches such as participant observation, small group interviews, and interaction with traditional community leaders. Correspondingly, there will be a direct and rather pervasive involvement by the planning entity (or its intermediary agent) in eliciting public input. In these circumstances, formal, more structured participation by local residents must be initiated to some degree within communities.

While valid public input can be generated through this process, such results will be achieved without the advantage of the time- and resource-saving shortcuts provided by local participatory structures which already exist. However, such a basic participatory approach can yield substantial gains in terms of local capacity building, organizational development, and local involvement in project implementation. Such capacity building is in itself developmental, and would be necessary to the future development of such a region in any case. Thus, resources allocated to this process should not be considered unimportant to either planning or project development.

In the opposite case of a region with a high level of participatory and organizational development, public involvement can be facilitated through local structures already in place, with more basic approaches being used in a more selective and complementary manner. The involvement of the planning entity in the elicitation of local inputs need not be as direct; instead, advantage can be taken of local organizational experience in facilitating public input. The focus in this case would necessarily shift toward the use of "shared planning" approaches, in which, after initial outreach efforts, the planning entity would assume both a planning and advisory role with local organizations and communities.

This shift toward shared planning would result in many cases from the expectation of local residents in such regions to participate not only in the assessment of project options presented to them, but also in the design of their own local projects. In such cases, the planning entity would still present its own project options for local response, but should also advise local groups on the technical feasibility of their own project ideas and on how well these fit within the regional strategies being developed. On the basis of such a dialogue, a complementarity of effort should evolve whereby both larger, centrally planned projects and local self-development endeavors would conform to a regional strategy and be mutually supportive.

Organizational Functions and Requirements

The implementation of a participatory planning strategy, even a first-step strategy, will, in all cases, require some alterations and additions to the planning system. The exact type of changes or additions called for will, of course, vary widely according to particular regional and sub-regional characteristics. Our purpose here is to discuss the general

functions and concomitant organizational capabilities and requirements that are essential in any attempt to engage in regional participatory planning. There are three sets of functions and related capabilities which the planning entity must incorporate in order to implement a participatory program. These functions are external, internal and intermediate to the planning process itself.*

The necessary functions external to the planning system, encompass: 1) the contacting of local populations and organizations to inform them of the scope and general purpose of the planning; 2) an investigation of the general social and economic needs of the region's inhabitants for input into the goal-setting stage; 3) an assessment of local organizations and local planning capabilities; 4) the relaying of information on planning options and alternatives to local levels; 5) the elicitation of feedback on these alternatives (including information on locally developed plans); and 6) the feedback of the public input information to the planning entity.

These external elicitation-feedback functions will require in all cases the employment of field staff with capabilities in social research, specifically in data collection and analysis. The personnel engaged in these elicitation tasks should have strong communication skills -- including the interpersonal skills needed to form trusting relationships in diverse local situations -- and at least some foreknowledge of, and familiarity with, the region itself. For this reason, staff charged with these functions should have prior experience in working with local populations and organizations within the region. In this regard, the advantage of utilizing indigenous personnel to represent the planning entity in eliciting

*This breakdown of functions corresponds to three systems-theory dimensions of external, internal and intermediary (or interface) environments.

local needs cannot be overestimated. Also, while prior familiarity with general development is necessary in carrying out these basic needs-elicitation functions, field staff need not have professional planning expertise.

However, in regions with enhanced planning capabilities within which independent local planning and project development activities may already be ongoing, a more technical orientation may be necessary. In such cases, the planning entity's external role must include the eliciting of information on such plans and the offering of advice on both their technical feasibility and their "fit" within the regional strategy. To the extent to which the adoption of a more technical planning and advisory role is necessitated by local activities, expertise in planning must be considered as a necessary external capability.

The necessary functions internal to the planning system encompass: 1) the reception of public input, both general and alternative-specific; 2) the dissemination of this data to appropriate planning sub-units at the appropriate stages of the planning process; 3) the monitoring of the analysis of public input within various sub-units; and 4) the elicitation and outward dissemination of planning alternatives/options as they arise within the planning sub-units.

These internal functions are essentially managerial in nature. They require that a sound management and communication system be established to coordinate both the diffusion of public inputs within the planning structure and the timely elicitation of project-option information from planners for public response. To assure coordination of internal functions, planning entities would be well advised to place responsibility for these functions within a specific staff unit or working committee. This unit or committee should be positioned at an organizational level high

enough to assure continued access to all planning sub-units.* Staff assigned to these tasks should be experienced in both management and intra-organizational communication.

The crucial intermediary function consists of the two-way translating of planning outputs and public inputs. This function relates to one of the major constraints to participatory planning; that is, the failure on the part of the lay public and the technical planner to communicate. On the one hand, as we have seen, planners have traditionally found that the public's articulations of planning problems do not form a clear consensus, are "too loose," and are not tied to the multiple alternatives and trade-offs which must be faced. In short, the planning system cannot "comprehend" raw, unordered public input. On the other hand, the public -- even in the First World -- simply cannot readily comprehend the technical jargon of planning. There is therefore a need for an "intermediary translator" function to render the technical outputs of the ongoing planning exercise meaningful to the lay public while systematizing public-input data for integration into the planning process.

Successful outward translation is in large part dependent on the abilities of field staff to render planning goals and options understable to the lay public. While this basic ability can be upgraded through training, planning entities would be best advised to employ field staff from the outset who are sensitive to local language and custom and at the same time knowledgeable of the development process.

The inward translation of public input for use by planners presents the technical problem of incorporating differing responses from local residents and organizations on various planning options presented to them. For example, surveys produce multiple responses, while

*The importance of this integration is illustrated in the case study of the Bicol River Basin Development Program (Philippines), presented in Appendix A.

interaction with representative organizations may produce a single position paper, quantified consensus opinions from a membership meeting, or a single informal response from an organizational leader.

To be useable within the planning process, these numerous responses must be ordered, quantified and then stored in a manner which allows for continual recall, supplementation and re-evaluation. This systematization is complicated by the fact that planners require recorded information on both individual and collective responses to each planning option presented locally (Chapter II). Information on each response should include: 1) the position taken with regard to any given option -- including alternatives to the options presented; the reasons given for the option or alternative selected; 2) the method used to obtain the input (e.g., direct or indirect interview, organizational meeting, etc.); and 3) the source of the response (e.g., farmer, local savings cooperative, etc.).

There is therefore a need to utilize some type of data processing system which is simple, adaptable to numerous planning situations, and able to order numerous, unstructured inputs. One such system is described in Appendix B; it is an adaptation of the CODINVOLVE system used by the U.S. Forest Service in processing public input on land management decisions. The specific adaptation of this or some other data-processing system should be made by internal coordinating staff in consultation with both planners and field staff.

Considerations on the Initiation of a Participatory Program

There are a few final considerations regarding general organizational structure and function which are relevant to the initiation of a participatory program. Foremost among these is the need to maintain flexibility in regard to the structure, staffing, and operations of such a program. To

be consistent with the two-phased approach to participation outlined previously, the planning entity should "feel its way" in constructing a participatory program, making decisions on long-term structure and staffing requirements as it continually gains knowledge of the social and organizational characteristics of the region.

At the beginning stages of a participatory program, a relatively small unit composed of internal coordinators, planners and field agents should be sufficient to design and implement the broad needs-elicitation process within the region, to generally assess participatory and organizational characteristics locally, and to design the more in-depth phases of participation that will follow. Further staffing and operational decisions can be made during or after this stage on the basis of greater familiarity with the region.

In carrying out initial outreach and canvassing efforts, planning entities in some cases may wish to acquire the services of an independent organization already engaged in social research and/or development within the region. In situations where the regional planning authority already enjoys relatively sound familiarity with local populations and organizations, such an option need not be exercised, and the agency can immediately move ahead to assemble its own field staff. In other cases, the authority may wish to engage a professional organization already well versed in local affairs and trusted within local communities to initiate outreach on its behalf, and advise it on the longer-term structuring of a participation program. (See Appendix A.) Such agencies can also be utilized in the training of planning authority field staff.

When outside research and promotional agencies are used, however, care must be taken to ensure that their work is integrated with that of

internal staff. As outside personnel enjoy familiarity with neither the staff nor the planning process, their work can quickly become extraneous to everyday affairs, and public inputs may remain isolated to ongoing planning efforts.

Finally, it should be recognized that any transition toward participatory planning must be paralleled by an openness on the part of the planning authority to accept some measure of innovation. While the strategies and approaches outlined in this work do not call for any major revamping of normal planning procedure, firm policy support from planning officials for the inclusion of public input within decision-making processes must be forthcoming from the outset. Otherwise, the exercise may not be taken seriously by either the public or the planning staff, and meaningful public contributions to the design of appropriate strategies and projects will not result.

APPENDIX A: THE BICOL RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM: A CASE STUDY OF PARTICIPATION IN REGIONAL PLANNING

The USAID-assisted Bicol River Basin Development Program constitutes an interesting example that demonstrates the principles of participatory planning as discussed in this study. Although the public's participation in planning was not carried out in an optimum fashion, the Bicol Program shows a serious attempt at integrating different forms of public input at various stages in the planning process. This case study examines the structure of the regional planning body, particularly the decentralized units that are participatory in nature, and discusses the planning process in the Bicol in terms of the relationships between the regional planning body, the participating line agencies and the decentralized participatory units. As it was not possible to extend our research to the field level, the study is based entirely on secondary data.

The national regional policy of the Government of the Philippines (GOP), as expressed by President Marcos in 1976, is " ... to promote the integrated development of agriculture, natural resources, infrastructure and social services in underdeveloped regions to solidify the economic and social structure...." The policy is primarily directed to areas of high growth potential, where new investments in agriculture and infra-

structure are expected by the GOP to yield maximum benefits to the national economy in both social and economic terms.

The Bicol River Basin was selected as a priority area for integrated development because of its combination of a rich agricultural base and a progressive farm community on the one hand, and the problems of a high tenancy rate, periodic flooding, and inadequate infrastructure on the other. The GOP's first step toward planning the integrated development of the Bicol region was to create a coordinating body, the Bicol River Basin Council (BRBC) to oversee, unify and integrate the administration and implementation of the river basin's development.

The BRBC was established by executive order in May of 1973 to integrate and coordinate all plans and programs with implementing agencies of the government and to review the programming and allocation of funds to agencies for all projects within the Bicol. A Board of Directors oversees the general affairs of the BRBC, appoints its executive director and approves budget requests. The Board is made up of the Secretary of Public Works (as Chairman), the Secretaries of Agriculture, Agrarian Reform, Local Government and Community Development, the Director-General of the National Economic and Development Authority, the Provincial Governor of the dominant province in the Bicol, and the executive director of the BRBC.

The BRBC was set up to function through a Bicol-based program office divided into four deputy directorates -- Plans and Programs, Social Infrastructure, Physical Infrastructure, and Budget and Administration. The program office was given no mandate other than to be managed by the executive director "in consonance with the (Board's) policies."

The primary role of the BRBC was to create a planning mechanism at the regional and sub-regional level to develop an implementation strategy. Both the mechanism and the strategy were designed to accelerate socio-economic growth in the Bicol Basin, with an emphasis on equitable distribution, in accordance with the development objectives articulated in the GOP four-year development plan. The plan* states that the national development goal is to improve the standard of living of a majority of the population, but more specifically calls for: maximum utilization of the labor force through the promotion of employment and minimization of underemployment; maximum feasible economic growth; more equitable distribution of income and wealth; regional development and industrialization; promotion of social development; and maintenance of an acceptable level of price and balance-of-payments stability.

The GOP development goals served as a guideline to develop three precepts, which became the basis of the program's planning and management:

-- Development efforts targeted on the rural sector should focus on delineated geographic areas of high growth potential and recognized social economic need where incremental investments in infrastructure, agriculture and social services will yield maximum social and economic benefits.

-- Development planning within the defined geographic areas of high growth potential should be integrated, cross-sectional, and inter-agency in nature.

-- Project planning and management should be decentralized to the greatest extent possible in order to maximize participation from all sectors in the development of that area.

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*GOP, Four Year Development Plan FY 1974-77, Manila, 1973.

The BRBC planning strategy was based on pursuing development through a systems framework -- integrating various sectors to form a comprehensive regional development plan. Each sector of the basin (water, land, and human resource) was seen in light of its technical and economic relationship with the others. The planning strategy was operationalized through the following ten major activities: land reform, compact farm development, agricultural credit and rural bank expansion, water resources development, road development, rural electrification, livestock development, fisheries development, and support services.

The initial focus of the BRBC was upon strengthening the planning institution and its relationship to other government agencies, private agencies and the general public, as well as on building a technical data base. To accomplish the former, the BRBC did the following: 1) established a core of professional and technical staff to stengthen the program office as a sub-regional planning and development agency; 2) organized inter-agency groups to develop the planning strategy and specific projects; 3) formed institutional units of local citizens to elicit participation in planning and project implementation at the field level; 4) established a research and evaluation system for assessing the impact of planning activities; and 5) established institutional units of local citizens to increase local understanding of detailed development planning.

To build a data base, the BRBC concentrated on a preliminary, comprehensive appraisal of the socio-economic and physio-technical constraints in the area and the identification of alternative solutions to "fully exploit the development potential of the Bicol Basin."* Quali-

* 1973-74 BRBC Annual Report.

fied consultants were contracted when additional expertise was required in data collection. The Social Science Research Unit (SSRU) is of particular interest, as it was utilized extensively for felt-needs analysis.

The SSRU -- a private, academic research organization -- was contracted by the BRBC in August 1973 to serve the social science research needs of the Plans and Programs Department of the BRBC. The SSRU's responsibilities were five-fold: to conduct exploratory and feasibility studies in the Bicol River Basin; to assess the impact of the BRBC's activities on the lives of the people living in the program target area; to serve as the "people's voice," eliciting public reactions and alternate suggestions to the BRBC's activities; to feed back their findings to the Plans and Programs Department of the BRBDP; and to sponsor a graduate training program in applied sociology and anthropology.

The content of the various research activities undertaken by the SSRU was determined on the basis of consultation with the BRBC. These research activities included:

-- Annual household panel surveys. Large-sample household surveys conducted once a year with basically the same respondent group.

-- Municipality surveys. Inventories of municipal establishments, services, and other characteristics made annually in the intervals between the annual household surveys and the quick-look surveys.

-- Quick-look surveys. Medium sample field surveys conducted twice a year.

-- Small studies. Field research of various kinds conducted in the intervals between annual household and quick-look surveys.

-- Special studies. Library and office research on selected questions, generally requiring little or no new field work.

The SSRU communicated formally with the BRBC through written reports that presented results, technical details, and planned activity of research efforts. The nature of the SSRU's work is demonstrated by the report titles found in Figure A-1. Although most serve to give the planner an understanding of the social setting, No. 4, "The proposed Balongay fish pond estate: How do the taga-Balongay feel about it?," does present the results of public response to a specified proposed project. The BRBC planners utilized the inputs in the early stages of program conceptualization to substantiate their general efforts and to get an indication of the "social fit" of potential projects.

After nearly two years of the regional planning effort, the BRBC began to encounter problems in its attempt to integrate and coordinate the different activities of the line agencies. A major problem was that its role in relation to these agencies was vaguely defined. Usually the relationships were personal rather than formal, thus giving no guarantee of total and continued agency participation. Although the Council had made progress in planning the region's development, it began to limit its role as a coordinating body by concentrating on developing and monitoring plans, and securing funds. The program was losing its impact and needed increased support, guidance and authority.

The GOP responded in April of 1976 through a presidential decree that broadened the scope of the BRBC and provided it with cabinet-level authority. It declared the basin an official integrated area development program under the supervision and direction of the Cabinet Coordinating Committee on Integrated Rural Development Projects of the National Economic Development Authority. The Council's work in the basin was officially labeled the Bicol River Basin Development Program

Figure A-1

SSRU REPORTS

1. What rice farmers of Camarines Sur say they want from the Philippine government.

2. Rice farm harvests and practices in Camarines Sur: Do compact farms, Masagana 99, and the Samahang Nayon make a difference?

3. The M99 delivery system: How well does it work in Camarines Sur?

4. The proposed Balongay fishpond estate: How do the taga-Balongay feel about it?

5. The aiding response in Camarines Sur: Case studies in cooperation

6. Initial levels of living in the land-consolidation project area of Camarines Sur.

7. Initial levels of living in the water-management pilot-project areas of Camarines Sur.

8. Bicol River Basin households in April 1974: Housing and possessions, health and nutrition.

9. Bicol River Basin households in April 1974: Patterns of intermunicipal and interprovincial travel.

10. Bicol River Basin households in April 1974: Variations in perceived quality of life.

11. Bicol River Basin households in April 1974: Variations in income, expenditures, and employment.

12. Bicol River Basin households in April 1974: Variations in agricultural productivity.

13. Bicol River Basin households in April 1974: Patterns of unemployment.

14. Bicol River Basin cities and municipalities in January 1974: Population, institutions, and transportation patterns.

(BRBDP). It was to operate along general guidelines calling for an integration of national and local government programs and projects within the river basin and a decentralization of the planning and implementation of rural development projects. The Council became the BRBDP Coordinating Committee and served to oversee a much strengthened Program Office.

It became the stated role of the Program Office to: 1) serve as a coordinating center for inter-agency planning and management; 2) identify rural development projects in the basin for inclusion in the integrated development program; 3) prepare feasibility studies for identified projects; 4) monitor and evaluate the progress and effects of project implementation; 5) maintain a continuous feedback system with the national agencies involved; and 6) promote and encourage private enterprises and government agencies to plan, develop, and implement projects. The new decree gave the BRBDP the necessary cabinet-level authority, expanded in-house potential and broadened responsibility to more effectively pursue the basin's development.

For the first three years, the BRBDP focused on organization, the structuring of inter-agency cooperation, project fund source identification, data generation and applied research. In the fourth and fifth years, the program concentrated on the basic mandate to develop bankable projects within the coordinating structure of inter-agency cooperation.

The BRBDP's basic strategy has been to sub-divide the program area into ten development sectors called IADs (integrated development areas), each characterized by distinct and relatively homogeneous hydrology and physiography. Within the program planning department of the

Program Office, inter-agency study groups consisting of representatives of appropriate line agencies planned preliminary programs for each IAD. In each area, an Area Development Team (ADT) was established, consisting of participating line agency representatives and/or elected provincial and city leaders. These study groups developed and planned potential projects for the IADs and, in most cases, provided input necessary for implementation planning. Local input was further institutionalized through IAD Area Development Councils (ADC), intended to be policy-making units composed of local political, business, civic, governmental, occupational, religious, youth, and professional representatives.

The planning process follows a sequence that utilizes the BRBDP coordinating efforts (see Figure A-2). The Program Office coordinates project planning efforts and assists in project management. Responsibility for implementation falls on specific line agencies with appropriate experience and expertise for project execution. The relationship between the BRBDP and the implementing agency is continuous from the cabinet to the project management level. The planning process allows for constant interaction between the BRBDP and the agencies, but the final decision lies with the former. Figure A-3 shows this relationship with the basin's four most developed projects. In each of these projects the linkages between the BRBDP and the line agencies are similar, but the ADTs and ADCs have varied functions. A brief description of each of these projects follows.

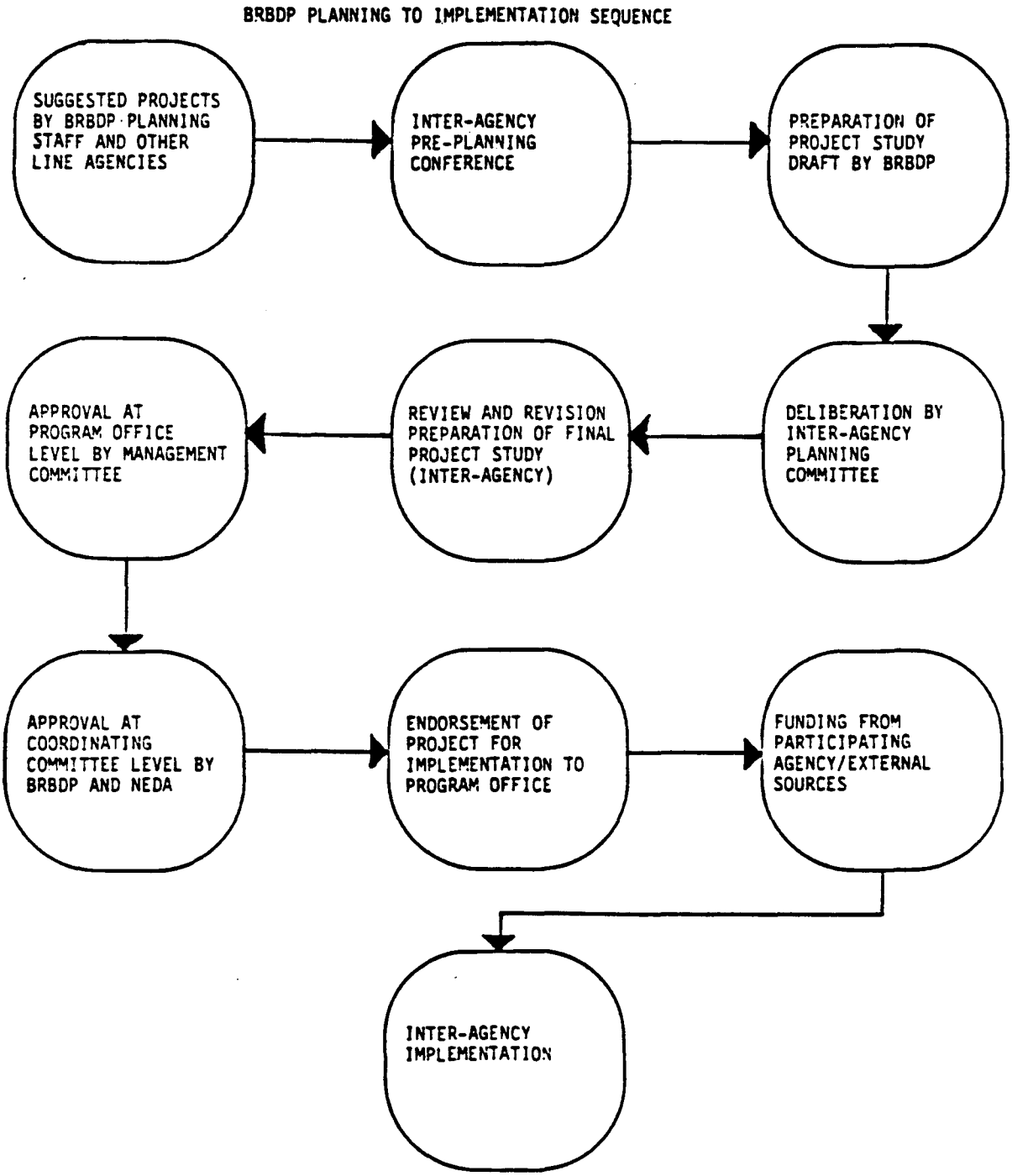
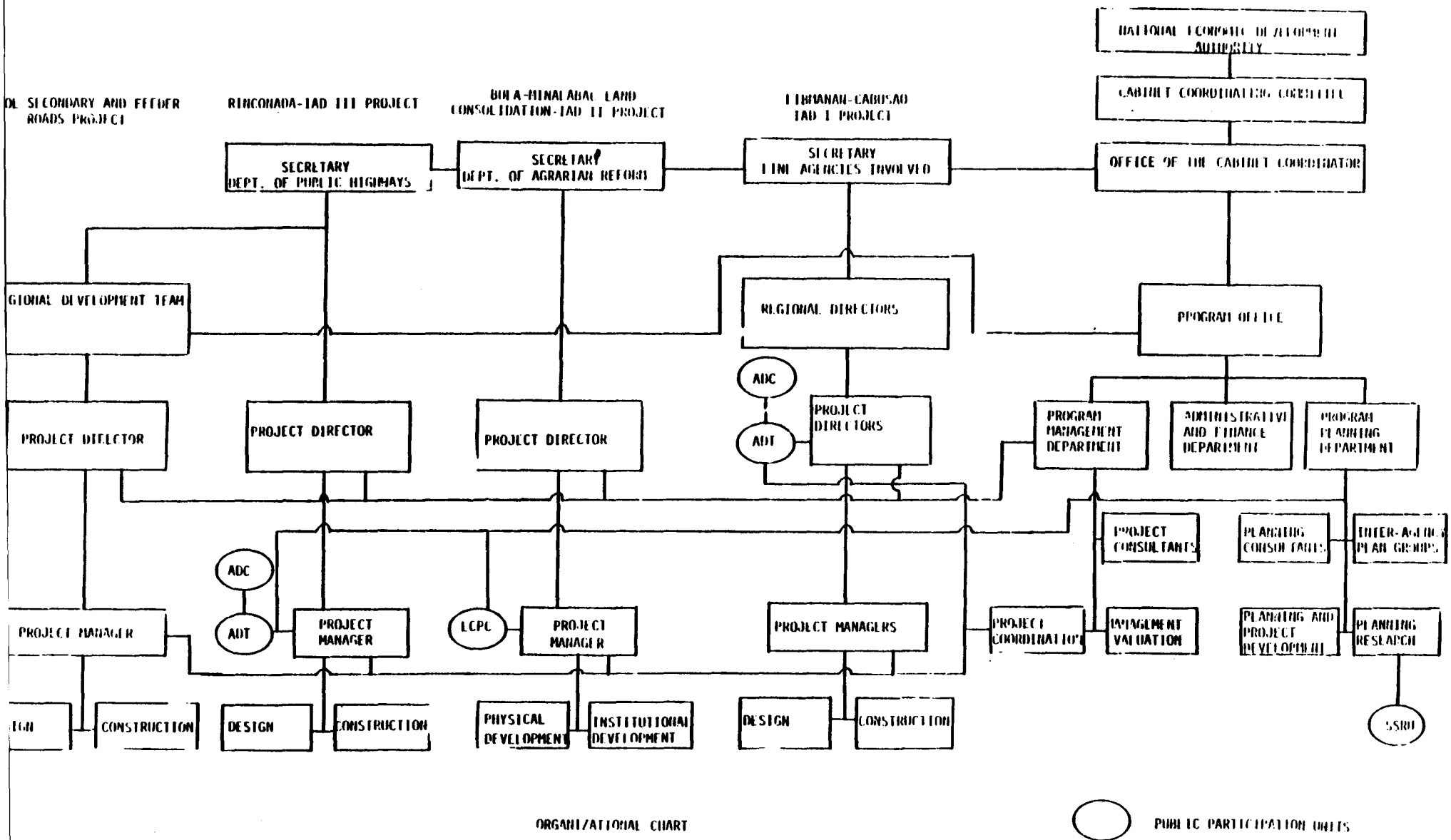

BRBDP PLANNING TO IMPLEMENTATION SEQUENCE
SUGGESTED PROJECTS BY BRBDP PLANNING STAFF AND OTHER LINE AGENCIES
INTER-AGENCY PRE-PLANNING CONFERENCE
PREPARATION OF PROJECT STUDY DRAFT BY BRBDP
DELIBERATION BY INTER-AGENCY PLANNING COMMITTEE
REVIEW AND REVISION PREPARATION OF FINAL PROJECT STUDY (INTER-AGENCY)
APPROVAL AT PROGRAM OFFICE LEVEL BY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE
APPROVAL AT COORDINATING COMMITTEE LEVEL BY BRBDP AND NEDA
ENDORSEMENT OF PROJECT FOR IMPLEMENTATION TO PROGRAM OFFICE
FUNDING FROM PARTICIPATING AGENCY/EXTERNAL SOURCES
INTER-AGENCY IMPLEMENTATION

Figure A-2



ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

BICOL RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Figure A-3

The Libmanan/Cabusao - IAD Project was designed to enhance the output of 3,874 hectares through the systematic interaction of improvements in farm-level organization, farm practices, extension services, transport, land tenure arrangements of project farmers, and marketing services. The IAD-I effort consists of five sub-projects that require the participation of a number of line agencies.

The objective of the IAD-I Area Development Team is to ensure efficient and fully integrated implementation of this multi-agency project. The ADT assumes a strong leadership role in general management through its coordinating committee, comprised of a representative of the National Irrigators Association, the BRBDP water management Program Director, Department of Agrarian Reform Regional Director, the BRBC Project Coordinator and a Director of Applied Research. To enhance project management, the ADT is responsible for establishing a sustained working relationship with local leaders and organizations through the IAD-I ADC.

The ADC is composed of local leaders, including mayors, provincial government representatives, BRBDP officials and private-sector leaders. Its purpose is to promote the project, resolve problems that arise, and facilitate mobilization of community resources in support of projects. The ADC and ADT are linked by the ADT head, who serves as permanent vice-chairman of the Council.

The Bula/Minalabac Land Consolidation - IAD-II Project consists of six components -- Physical Facilities, Homesite Development, Land Consolidation and Tenure Reforms, Organization Development and Training, Applied Agricultural Research, and Project Operations and Management. It

is an effort by the BRBDP to coordinate the work of the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) with other IAD-II activities in areas of marketing, education, electric power, road construction, health and housing.

One of the first activities of the BRBC in 1973 was to plan this project. Baseline data was collected by the BRBC planning office and an inter-agency planning group was established. After a year's work, the implementing line agency, the DAR, sought public input and met with local leaders and residents to discuss the proposed project in areas of land consolidation, pump irrigation, road construction and agricultural extension. Local DAR and Department of Local Government and Community Development (DLGCD) officials continued the meeting process to obtain public reactions and suggestions to project proposals. In one area, a Land Consolidation Promotion Committee (LCPC) was established. Since the project planning was initiated before the ADT/ADC structure was set up, the LCPC performed many of the same functions as the later ADT/ADC, but for a much smaller area. The LCPC combined the two, with local representatives and government technicians serving together in the same group to assist and advise project planners and implementors.

The LCPC consists of local community leaders, marketing organization representatives, religious leaders and officials from DAR, DLGCD, the National Irrigators Association (NIA), and the Bureau of Lands. The functions of the LCPC include: providing advisory assistance in project implementation; reviewing the reallocation of consolidated lands; assisting in the appraisal of land value, the resolution of conflicts between farmers, and project-related information campaigns; motivating farmers in project-related activities; considering resolutions related to the project; and passing adopted resolutions on to the project management for consideration.

During project implementation, the LCPC has a monitoring role and submit quarterly reports to DAR and BRBDP/PO to establish a feedback link between the implementors and the beneficiaries. For this purpose, the LCPC is to be expanded and given additional orientation training.

The Rinconada - IAD-III Project is designed to improve the agricultural output of IAD-III, which suffers from heavy flooding, poor transportation and insufficient support services. The Rinconada Project addresses these problems in four ways: Flood Control, Irrigation and Drainage; Roads; Agricultural Supports; and Watershed Protection. These components are coordinated with other work in the basin that complete the integrated development package for IAD-III.

The development of the Rinconada Project followed the basic BRBDP process of inter-agency groups conceptualizing and planning the effort by analyzing technical baseline and feasibility data, SSRU studies, and ADT/ADC inputs. In this case, the ADT originally consisted of the seven municipal mayors. During the planning stages of the project, the ADT met with BRBDP officials a number of times and later submitted data that defined the major development problems in each municipality. Each mayor listed what he perceived as major problems in his community in order of priority. They compiled data on roads, health facilities, and schools, answered questions that required detailed information on current operating water facilities and the number of government technicians in their area, and submitted a list of projects of which they felt their communities were especially in need.

The ADT's make-up will become more aligned with that of other IAD-ADTs during project implementation by including line agency field heads and technical/extension workers. This is designed to develop an extension service capability within the ADT. The new personnel will come from the Bureau of Agricultural Extension, Bureau of Plant Industry, Bureau of Fishers and Aquatic Resources, DAR, DLGCD, Department of Health, Department of Education and Culture, and the NIA. Together they will work through the ADT mechanisms, which will serve as the integrating tool for extension services of the various line agencies operating in IAD-III.

The ADC in IAD-III is composed of political, business, civic, farm and non-farm groups, as well as religious, youth and professional organizations. It serves as an institutionalized link between the beneficiaries and the ADT.

The Bicol Secondary and Feeder Roads Project consists of fourteen sub-projects, each of which includes a secondary road and a trunk line with feeder roads branching out into rural farm areas. The fourteen secondary roads will consist of 200 kilometers and the feeder roads 254 kilometers. The secondary roads will end either at a market center or at an intersection with a national highway which leads to a nearby market center.

Project planning was headed by an inter-agency and region-wide team consisting of provincial governors, municipal mayors and the regional directors of DPH, DAR, NEDA, BRBDP/PO. The basin-wide nature of the project precluded the use of the ADT/ADC mechanism, but the local municipality representation on the Regional Development Team ensured some local input into the project planning process.

Assessment of Participatory Planning Effort

Although the Bicol planners incorporated participatory efforts in the two strategic planning stages -- goal formulation and option assessment -- discussed in Chapter II, they primarily relied on public input during the latter stage. SSRU data on "felt-needs" of the Bicol farmers was used to refine the planning precepts and public input at various stages during the planning cycle influenced goal revision. Little conscious attempt was made, however, to incorporate participation in goal formulation.

At the option-assessment stage, the Program Office study groups examined each IAD, assessed area needs and designed projects to alleviate identified problems. Public participation was incorporated through surveys conducted by the SSRU, as well as through the ADT/ADC network.

The SSRU played the role of middleman or interpreter -- finding or creating a means whereby ordinary people could talk with planners. Through sophisticated, yet sensitive, research, the SSRU was able to channel information between the planner and public in a manner that was understandable to both. At some point, however, the SSRU-planner dialogue in the Bicol Region became more of a monologue. The Bicol planners utilized public input in support of the social fit of their projects, but failed to integrate ongoing participatory efforts into the planning process.

Frank Lynch S.J., head of the SSRU, claims that the BRBDP Program Office accepted the human character of development in principle; that is, it accepted the notion of a people-planner dialogue, but failed to

implement it in its operations. Lynch partially blames the SSRU for failing to play its "people's voice" role as firmly and insistently as it should, but concurrently the Program Office inadequately integrated public input into its planning.

The ADT/ADC network was established to incorporate public participation into the regional development effort. It was primarily utilized for project implementation but also played a limited role in project planning through its elicitation of community needs from the Rinconada IAD mayors and through surveys taken in the Bula-Minalabac IAD. However, the broad, continuous use of this network in planning has been constrained by two factors: the ADT's composition and the ADC's impact on the planning process. The mixture of popular representatives and technical advisors in the ADT ensures some public input in the team's work. Yet, the effectiveness of that input depends upon the balance between the elected officials and technicians, as well as the nature of the groups that support these officials. For example, evaluators close to the project* have taken issue with the municipal mayors' and provincial governors' roles on the ADTs, since these leaders are normally political elites who are limited in their ability to articulate the local beneficiaries' development needs. The members of the ADC, on the other hand, generally represent a broad spectrum of public interests, thus their input is indicative of the interests of the beneficiary population. However, the Council's ability to impact upon the region's development has been constrained by its limited involvement in the planning and implementation process, as demonstrated in the four project summaries.

Although the ADT/ADC system has the potential to be used as a means for direct, continuous participation, in practice it has either

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*SSRU and AID evaluators.

been representative without impact (ADC) or has had impact without adequate representation (ADT). Moreover, the system's role has been limited to project option assessment and implementation planning. It has not been utilized at other stages in the planning cycle.

Although the BRBDP used public input to help form its initial planning precepts and attempted to use it to enhance its option assessments and impelementation planning, it did not attempt to integrate this input into the planning process per se. Likewise, the SSRU attempted to play an intermediary role between the public and the Bicol planners, but the latter did not fully incorporate SSRU data in the planning process. These shortcomings have been exacerbated by the failure of the ADT/ADC network to become an effective channel for public participation.

To date, the integration of participation and planning in the Bicol has been limited to the attempts described above. As a result, public contribution to the design of local strategies and projects has, also been limited, and there is little evidence to suggest that public support for the implementation of local projects has been generated to any significant degree. It would appear, in retrospect, that two essential steps could have been taken to significantly enhance public involvement.

First, a concrete organizational mechanism could have been established which would have allowed the information on public needs generated by the SSRU to be fed into the planning system in a continuous manner. The creation of an internal unit to work with the SSRU, for example, could have served the purpose of preventing that entity's isolation from the planning process. This would have assurred at least some continuing impact of public inputs on that process. Second, the ADCs

could have played a more direct role in the planning process, since they are both representative of local populations and are firmly established as organizations. The problem seems to have been the lack of a direct and continuous link between the ADCs and the planning department. If the SSRU had been allowed to play a more effective field-agent role (as suggested above), it could well have provided that necessary link.

APPENDIX B: PUBLIC INPUT DATA PROCESSING: A TECHNIQUE

CODINVOLVE is an information-processing system that utilizes edge-punch cards to facilitate organization, analysis, storage and retrieval of data. Although originally designed for use by the U.S. Forest Service, CODINVOLVE's application is not limited to the field of resource management. Its only information requirement is public input that relates to whatever planning issues might be at hand. The underlying concept of the system is that all public input consists of opinions for, against, or about an issue, and that these opinions are often supported by a variety of reasons. By using planner-defined issues as a framework, CODINVOLVE organizes the inputs according to opinion and supporting reasons, and identifies the source and type of input. The data are then objectively summarized according to opinion, reasons, source, and type, and submitted to the planner for evaluation. The technique involves coding inputs on cards that are designed for quick, manual separation for summary. The coding and summary processes are not excessively technical and have high utility in Third World field situations. What follows is a brief description of the system as it would relate to a regional planning effort.

Certain principles underlying CODINVOLVE guarantee its objectivity and utility:

- -- Analysis is separate from evaluation. The analysis of inputs in objective, whereas evaluation is subjective; CODINVOLVE is content analysis, not evaluation.
- -- Decision-making questions guide analysis. Public inputs are based on various, personal responses to an issue; CODINVOLVE orients them to the planner's information needs.

-- All input is relevant and must be processed. CODINVOLVE is structured so that any input addressing the issue can be processed; none is excluded.

-- Analysis must be systematic, objective, visible and traceable. CODINVOLVE is a systems approach that facilitates data processing, sustains objectivity, produces results that are understandable and visible to participants, and allows for an independent reviewer to follow input processing.

-- Identity of the input must be maintained. The inputs' form and source location is maintained in CODINVOLVE and can be summarized according to each characteristic.

-- Analysis must be a continuing process. Planning is an evolutionary process that has changing information needs; CODINVOLVE provides storage, retrieving and summarizing characteristics that meet the planner's ongoing requirements.

CODINVOLVE proceeds in five steps, the first of which is to identify questions which must be answered by the public. The nature of such questions will guide the process of coding inputs. For the purposes of public participation in regional planning, these questions would, in all cases, center on responses to project options presented to the public, and the coding system would evolve accordingly.

The second step is to survey initial inputs to determine the breadth of issues which must be taken into account in the coding process. Public input must be sampled, since it may contain important data and raise significant issues that pertain to the planning effort but have not been previously considered. The sample will provide a basis for code identification, so that when a relevant, but previously unconsidered, option predominates in the sample, it can be included in the coding card structure. This ensures that all inputs related to the planning effort will have some way of appearing in the CODINVOLVE analysis.

The design of a coding card and codebook constitute the third step of the planning process. These two items are the two essential tools of CODINVOLVE. The codebook tells coders how and where to enter information; it gives instructions, definitions and examples to ensure that coders maintain consistency in recording inputs. The specific design of the edge-punch coding card (Figure B-1) depends upon the planners' needs and the public's input. For example, option assessment by the public would necessarily give an option orientation to the card. The planners' alternatives, as well as those outlined by the public, appear on the card, guaranteeing the inclusion of all option-oriented inputs, while excluding non-related material. Pertinent data from each input are summarized and then entered on these edge punch cards. This facilitates data separation and summary.

The source and type of approach used to elicit input is also accounted for on the cards. Since "one-on-one" methods provide formal, individualized input, information on respondents (i.e., on their community, occupation, family size, etc.) is critical to the planner's understanding of how different types of people respond to each issue. Similarly, in cases where responses are elicited through interaction with community groups and organizations, details on membership size and the nature and locality of the group will be required. Figure B-1 illustrates how such categories of information can be accounted for on the coding card.

The fourth step is the actual coding of inputs through the use of the edge-punch coding cards. This task entails the analysis of public-input data submitted by field staff to identify: 1) preferences on

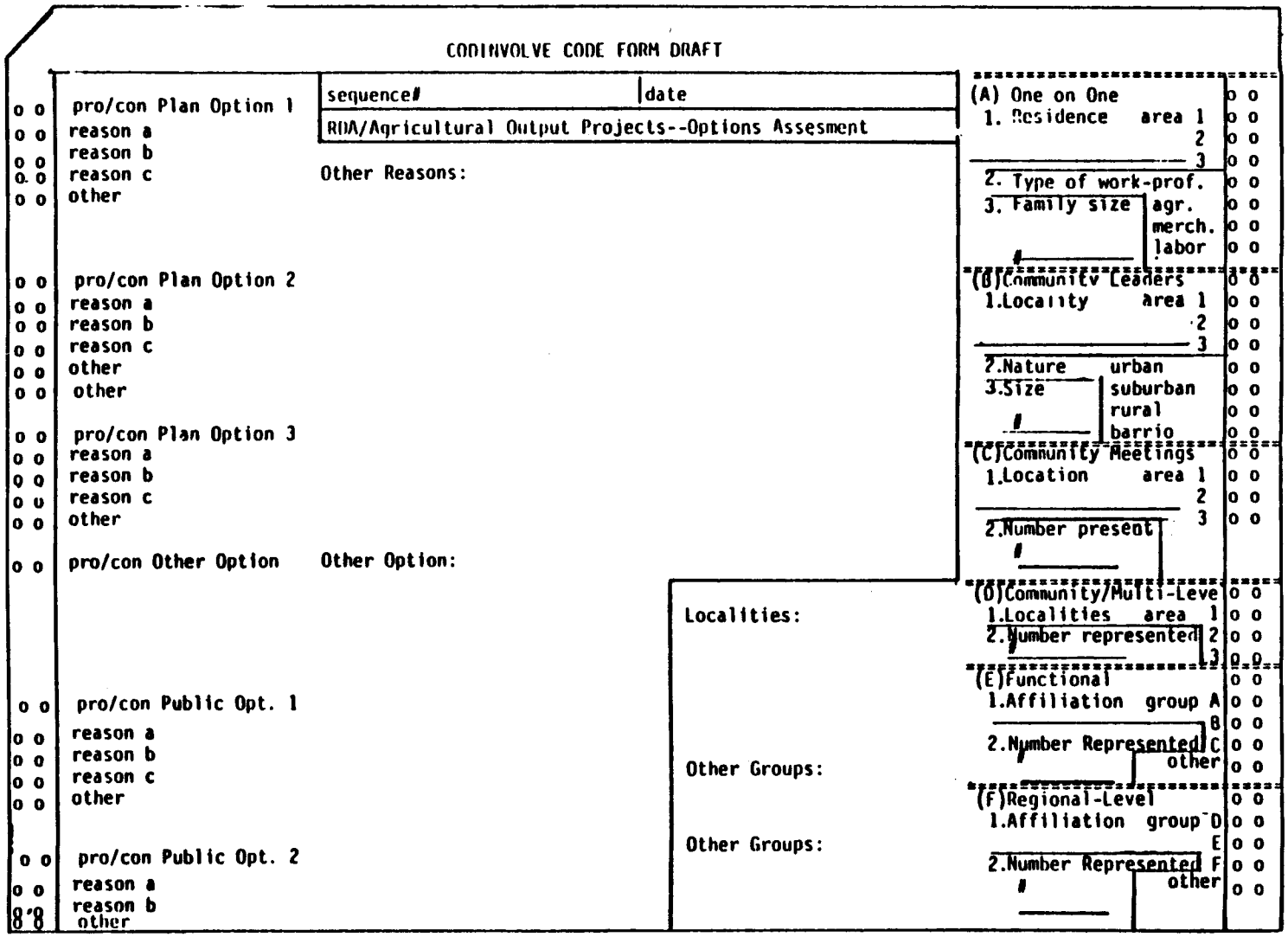

CODINVOLVE CODE FORM DRAFT
sequence#
date
RDA/Agricultural Output Projects--Options Assesment
pro/con Plan Option 1
reason a
reason b
reason c
other
Other Reasons:
pro/con Plan Option 2
reason a
reason b
reason c
other
other
pro/con Plan Option 3
reason a
reason b
reason c
other
pro/con Other Option
Other Option:
Localities:
Other Groups:
Other Groups:
pro/con Public Opt. 1
reason a
reason b
reason c
other
pro/con Public Opt. 2
reason a
reason b
other
(A) One on One
1. Residence area 1 2 3
2. Type of work-prof.
3. Family size
agr.
merch.
labor
(B)Community Leaders
1.Locality area 1 2 3
2.Nature
3.Size
urban
suburban
rural
barrio
(C)Community Meetings
1.Location area 1 2 3
2.Number present
(D)Community/Multi-Leve
1.Localities area 1
2.Number represented 2 3
(E)Functional
1.Affiliation group A B C other
2.Number Represented
(F)Regional-Level
1.Affiliation group D E F other
2.Number Represented

Figure B-1

options; 2) reasons given in support of such preferences; 3) demographic information on respondents; and 4) the approach used to elicit the inputs. To maintain objectivity, the coding should be carried out by individuals with no vested interest in the planning effort. The task is not extremely complicated and can be efficiently undertaken by a small group of coders after a brief training course on the use of the codebook and the general purposes of the planning.

As a fifth step, the input data is summarized. This can be done at any time in the process by analyzing the cards coded to date. While the options presented for public response provide the preliminary basis for such an analysis, no findings are excluded from a summary report. The technique for summarizing the inputs recorded on cards is demonstrated in the example which follows.

An understanding of the CODINVOLVE process can be enhanced by running through a hypothetical example that embodies characteristics of Third World regional planning efforts. In this example we will assume that a Regional Development Authority (RDA) has sought public response to planning options at the option-assessment stage through various approaches. The information yielded by these approaches corresponded to three basic questions:

1. What was the public's opinion of each option?
2. How did opinions vary by geographical location, type of respondent, and type of input?
3. What reasons were given to support the opinions expressed?

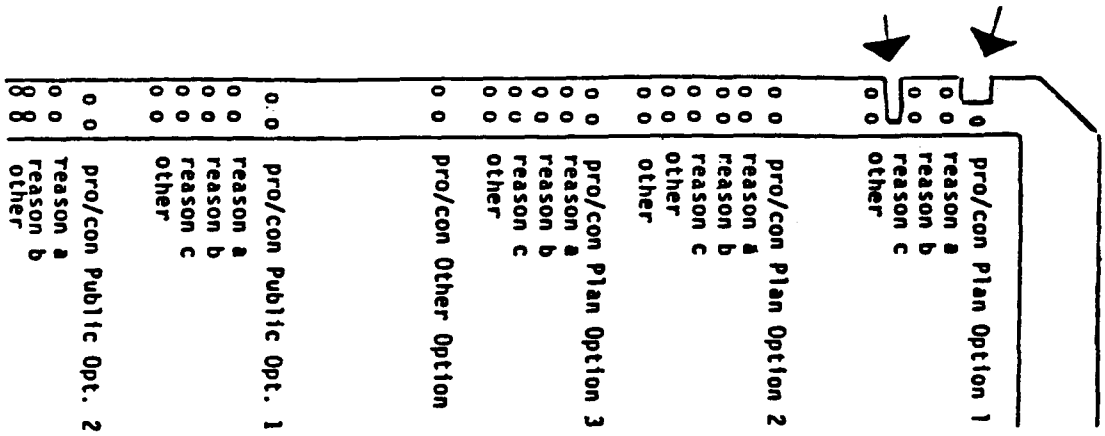
A content survey of the inputs revealed that the public repeatedly suggested two options that the planners had not considered. These were

outlined and included in the code form along with the response to pre-determined options.

The design of the codebook and coding card was based on the two previous steps. The codebook provided general instructions to the coder and explained the process of completing each part of the card. The coding card was designed to meet the planners' needs by listing the three options which they presented to the public and citing the participatory approach used and demographic data collected. The card allowed for public inputs outside the planners' structure by listing the public's suggested options from the content survey and providing space for additional public options along with supporting reasons.

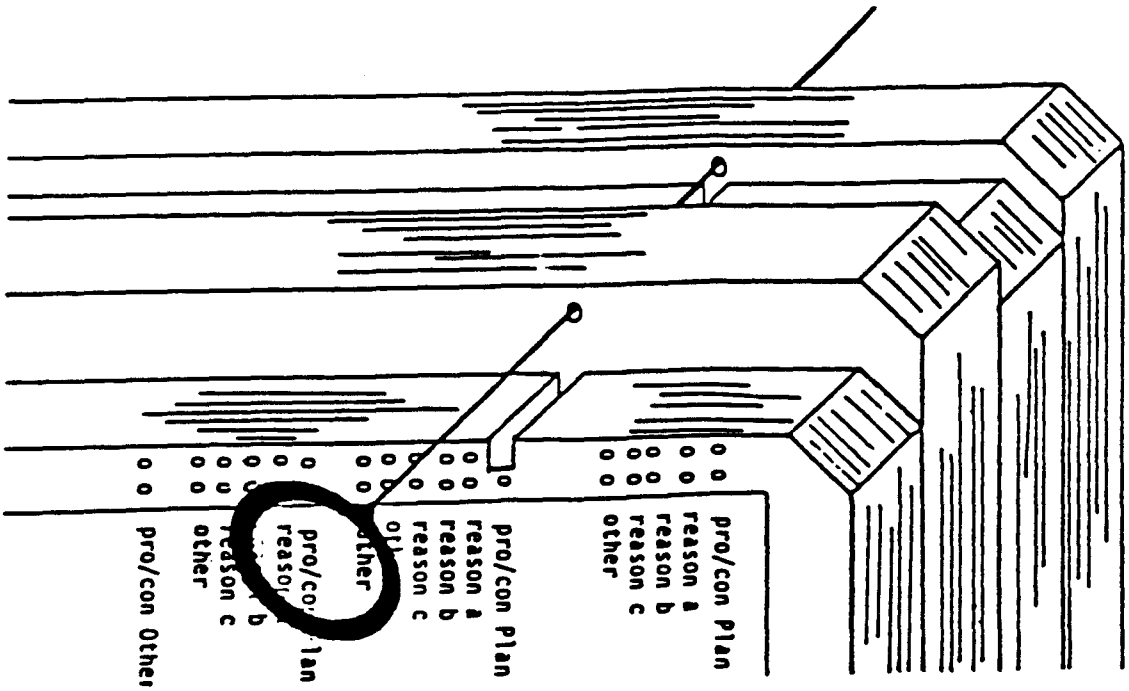
As illustrated in Figure B-1, options appear on the left side of the card while the approaches to the elicitating of input and data on respondents appear on the right. Beneath each option are the reasons that appeared most often in the content survey, as well as an "other" category that allows the coder to write down a deviating response on the card. Each of the six approaches used in data collection requires certain specific information, which appears beneath each one. Most of the information can be registered with a punch, but some has to be entered by the coder. The "Os" in the margins represent holes in the card. The coder transfers the data to the card by punching the edge so that a notch replaces the holes. Each hole may have a meaning, as in the "pro/con plan option" items where the first hole is "pro" and the second is "con". Most items, however, reflect only one choice and both holes are notched out (see Figure B-2).

The true value of the cards lies in their ability to be quickly sorted by hand according to any data item that has been entered through



CODING REASON "C" AND "PRO" OPTION ONE

Figure B-2



SEPARATING FORMS FOR OPINIONS IN FAVOR OF PLAN OPTION 2

Figure B-3

punching. When all of the cards are stacked together, they can be sorted by taking a two- or three-inch stack, carefully aligning the edges (note that one edge is flat to ensure consistent positioning of cards), running a long needle-like tool through the holes that represent the data items desired, and then lifting the tool so that only those cards whose holes have been notched out fall away (see Figure B-3). In the pro-con situation, putting the needle through the outside hole allows both pro and con (in other words, all cards with a response to that question) to drop out. Then, by taking these cards and putting the needle through the inside hole, only those cards punched for the negative response fall away; the balance of the pile constitutes the positive opinion.

The summarization of data can be displayed according to the planner's needs; i.e., by option, type of input, opinion, location of respondent, type of respondent, reason for preferences voiced, etc. Figure B-4 shows how one page of a summary report might appear. The flexibility of the system is such that summaries can be either specific to one data item or inclusive of all such items, with inputs being cross-tabulated. Thus, summaries on a particular option can range from a simple display of "pro and con" opinions to a breakdown of these opinions in relation to geographical area, catagories of respondents, and types of participatory approaches. Planners would clearly benefit from such comprehensive summaries.

This discussion of CODINVOLVE only serves as an introduction to the system and excludes many of the fine points discussed in the users' manual (Clark, 1974). Nevertheless, the system's value in terms of

OPTION TYPE OF INPUT

OPINION*

FOR

I:_____
R:_____

RESIDENCE

Area

1	2	3
I:_____	I:_____	I:_____
R:_____	R:_____	R:_____

Localities

REASONS

RESPONDENT

Type of Work(%)

prof.	agr.	merch.	labor
____	____	____	____

Family size
total_____ave._____

OPINION

AGAINST

I:_____
R:_____

RESIDENCE

Area

1	2	3
I:_____	I:_____	I:_____
R:_____	R:_____	R:_____

Localities

REASONS

RESPONDENT

Type of Work(%)

prof.	agr.	merch.	labor
____	____	____	____

Family size
total_____ave._____

* I-Inputs

R-Number represented by that input

Figure B-4

adaptability and practicality is apparent, especially when used in efforts which incorporate various approaches to eliciting inputs.

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INDEX