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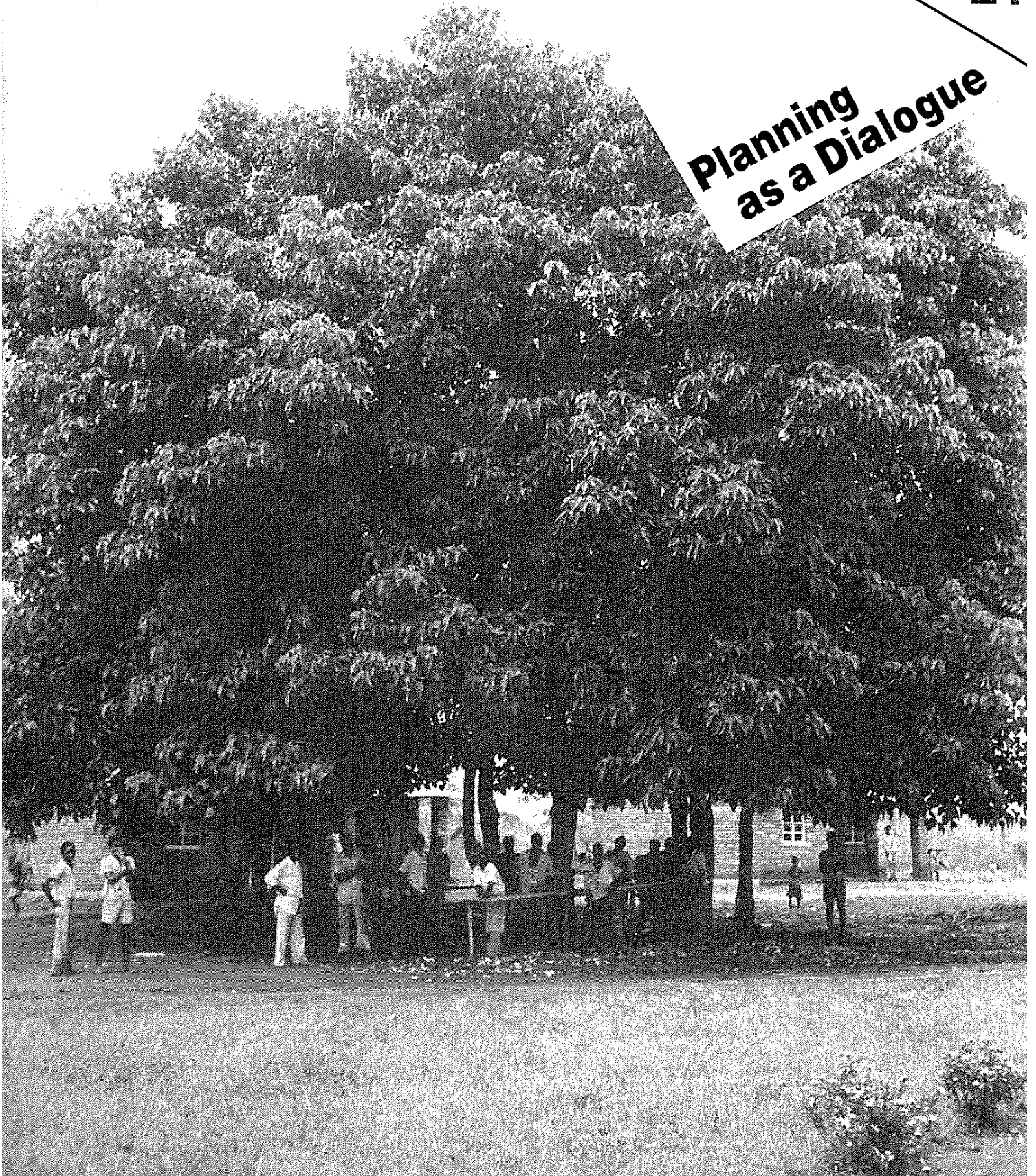
TRIALOG

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der Dritten Welt

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21

**Planning
as a Dialogue**



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Editorial

The title of this TRIALOG issue 'Planning as a Dialogue' sounds a little bit like a play on words. But this play has a serious background. It's ambitious message which aims at promoting and sharpening communication, not only between planners and professionals from the field and academics, but also between those who have too long been regarded as the object of planning, and who have not had any active participation in the planning procedure.

For a journal like TRIALOG, this title, of the new issue, might arouse special interest, as the name of the journal itself is more than just a name but a concept of communication in development planning.

But how can this be achieved within regional development planning? What can be done and more importantly how can the barriers set in the way be overcome. These are the questions of this TRIALOG issue and these were the questions of more than seventy participants, from more than twenty countries, who were looking for answers during the three day SPRING Forum, held at the University of Dortmund, Fachbereich für Raumplanung. This was the second forum of its kind. The first SPRING Forum took place in Accra, Ghana and was organized by the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (1).

There is a broad consensus that regional development planning has been thwarted by the complex nature of the personnel and material requirements needed for its effective organization. For too long, emphasis has been placed on conditions that were not attainable and quantitative growth oriented development concepts were thrown into doubt, as the anticipated spread effects of modernization lagged behind expectations. Criticism went further and looked in the modernization concepts of the past for the decisive planning problems of today.

There is a broad consensus too, that regional development planning should be shifted from the regional, as a subnational unit, towards the district level, and that programme formulation should be

- o emphasizing endogenous development based on local resources and potentials,
- o mobilizing the local population's participation,
- o aiming at the satisfaction of basic needs,
- o encouraging the use of appropriate technologies,
- o contributing to the protection of the environment,
- o supporting the development of small and medium sized human settlements.

Expectations are high, but successes are modest. Poverty continues, regional disparities are still increasing in many countries and the outlined approach has only been partially introduced into existing planning systems. In the search for answers, regional development planning concepts tend to claim too much at once, not taking into account the slow processes of social learning and change. Wishful thinking is confused with reality.

But how do we deal with this constellation of problems? Where are the themes and ways to cope with these questions in a satisfactory way in the future?

"Facing the facts in regional development planning", the theme of the SPRING Forum 1988, is meant to delineate realistic approaches to regional development planning. The understanding and perception of reality as well as the ingredients of a realistic approach, vary widely. The general problems, however, remained unquestioned.

Three clusters of questions were put to the SPRING Forum. Some of them are by no means new questions and no conclusive answers could be expected. But as they point to the present state of regional development planning they are presented here.

It should be noted that the term dialogue has already, for a long time, had a firm place in the planning process. With the failure of modernization concepts, at the beginning of the seventies, planning as a dialogue entered the planning scene in Europe. It entered the scene in many different ways, ranging from advocacy planning to emphasizing the consultation procedure,

from participation to organizing public hearings. There have been numerous attempts to reflect the political will and the awareness of a country. In the mean time, mainly on the local level in the area of housing and urban planning, planning as a dialogue is well integrated, but at the regional level there are still open questions, which conceptually relate to issues, such as basic needs, target groups and poverty orientation. These questions are embedded in the following themes.

- o Regional development planning as a dialogue,
- o Methods and techniques for regional development planning and
- o Managing regional development.

Regional Development Planning as a Dialogue

Regional development planning is seen as the outcome of a dialogue between public and private institutions and groups with different levels of formal organization and development objectives. Therefore, the planning process itself, the way plans and programmes are prepared, is as important as the final planning result. Cornerstones of such a process are to initiate and to manage region-wide discussion processes, to support the formulation of interests, to assist in the articulation of requirements, to coordinate and to manage conflicts. Finally, the main purpose is to identify the bottlenecks, of what has to be conceived, proposed or what has been formulated as a development idea but could not enter the stage of implementation. One of the main objectives is to formulate a kind of regional development consensus, which will become the subject of further planning efforts and analysis. However, there are still many open questions which must be addressed before the concept of "Regional development planning as a dialogue" can be operationalized. These are as follows:

- o How to shape regional development concepts and strategies on the regional level following the concept of "Regional development as a dialogue"?
- o How to integrate social, political, administrative and private interests within the region into a regional development process geared at change?
- o How to initiate and support a continuous dialogue between private, public and semi-public groups and institutions with conflicting objectives?
- o How to integrate regional development with national development planning?
- o What is the role of the planner in this dialogue: moderator, agent for change, communicator, intermediary, administrator, technician?

Methods and techniques for regional development planning

If planning as a dialogue is accepted as a decisive factor in initiating economic growth and social change, in mobilizing human activities and in increasing human motivation, then existing methods and techniques have to be reviewed in terms of clarity and applicability. More attention has to be paid to the learning processes for all regional interests groups involved in the development process. To activate these processes, new techniques are required and the questions are:

- o Which methods and techniques could be applied to better incorporate regional and local groups into the planning process?
- o What kind of methodological package from problem formulation to programme decision is thinkable which defines the dimensions of the planning process?
- o Which methods and techniques are appropriate for regional development planning in the area of resource assessment?
- o How to identify by dialogue and communication local potentials for economic development?
- o How to anticipate social and environmental impacts of regional development planning?

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Managing regional development

Planning as a dialogue puts strong emphasis on the management aspect of the planning process, which is still weakly elaborated in regional development planning. This emphasis is needed in order to overcome the artificial separation of planning from implementation and management which seems to be one of the most important challenges for the future. Day to day decisions, within a consistent development strategy, are required to balance long term perspectives with short term actions. The following questions should be considered:

- o How to formulate regional development programmes?
- o How to translate priorities into actions?
- o How to organize, administer and manage regional development?
- o How to link financial resources with programme formulation?
- o How to raise local funds for regional development?

The bulk of the papers presented at the conference will be published by the University of Dortmund and the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi in early 1990.

This issue of TRIALOG contains a selection of papers.

Facts of regional development planning are illustrated in the first contribution by a case study of a Tanzanian district.

The following articles relate to the topic of "development planning as a dialogue", which attracted attention from academics in reviewing planning experiences emphasizing the analysis of communicative processes in public-private decision making, whilst not ignoring the power gap in a society and specific cultural traditions. General consideration, as well as practical experiences, are presented from Ghana, Portugal, Brazil and Thailand.

Methods and techniques seemed to be of special interest to the planning practitioners at the Forum, who expected some hints on what to add to their toolkit. Two articles are included here, the first on survey methods in a rural Ghanaian setting, the second on data requirements and data handling in Kenya and Sri Lanka.

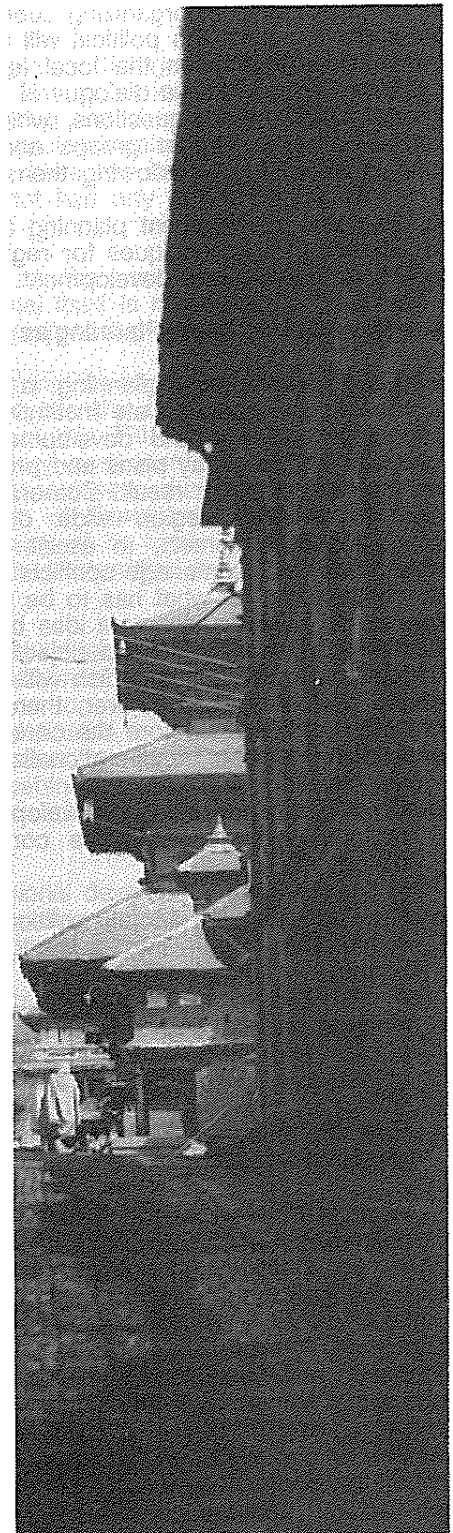
On the subject of "managing regional development", two papers are put forward. The problems of finances at the decentralized local level are analysed in a Ghanaian case study. A different approach - that of training to motivate "barefoot" development workers at the local level to enable them to communicate is introduced, based on Indian experiences. This article demonstrates the full cycle in managing regional development at a decentralized local level and how to equip Planners with communication abilities for the local and regional dialogue.

The conclusions show that social learning, not only in the developing society, but also between planners from different national and educational backgrounds is possible, and that more detailed evaluation of experiences translated into a common language are helpful. There are still many more facts to be learnt.

Bernd Jenssen
Klaus R. Kunzmann
Emmanuel K.A. Tamakloe
Ingrid Schwoerer

(1) SPRING, an acronym for Spatial Planning for Regions in Growing Economics, is the designation for a post-graduate programme in district development planning and management which is being run jointly by the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana, the Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Thailand, and the University of Dortmund, West Germany, with the financial assistance of the Federal and State Government of West Germany, several German foundations and agencies and the Ghana Government.

The first year of the programme is tenable at the University of Dortmund and the second year at the partner institutions in Asia and Africa. The programme takes in students from all parts of the developing world but the majority of the students come from African countries and Asian countries. It is a unique experiment in international cooperation in the field of education and promises to be a model of North-South cooperation in education.



All photographs in this volume are by Klaus R. Kunzmann and taken in Nepal.

Bernd Jenssen

Planning as a Dialogue

1. Introduction

During the last decade, development philosophies shifted from modernization and functional integration emphasizing the industrial sector as the main motor of development – to endogenous development and selective closure stressing the agricultural sector as the main stimulus of development.

Target groups and poverty oriented concepts are formulated. Emphasis is placed on empowering processes and basic needs fulfillment as pre-conditions for regional growth and modernization in later stages of the process. Finally, participation is postulated as a strategy to create new opportunities and to explore open-ended directions of development. In short, man is presently seen as an active subject within the planning process, rather than the passive object of planning procedures.

But how to do it, how to integrate man into development, how to activate, mobilise human potential for regional development? Questions over questions.

Development concepts don't provide answers. They are neither probing tools by which we acquire knowledge about reality nor are they ways on which objectives are achieved. Knowledge of reality is replaced by normative thinking and the real forces of a society are hidden by assumptions like equal access to communal resources (1).

Concepts like agropolitan development or basic needs oriented regional planning approaches are still of importance, but they emphasise more objectives than ways. They serve as a conceptual guideline which has to be used innovatively in line with the conceptual logic. Planning as a dialogue is one proposal in this direction, the organization, the management of a regional wide communication process on plan and programme preparations with the objective to formulate a regional development consensus.

2. Arguments for Planning as a Dialogue

Below are several arguments and observations (2) supporting and illustrating the necessity of planning as a dialogue.

o *Facing facts versus replacing facts*

Planning is concerned with where to go, however where we are and where we have been are questions of low interests for most planners. The former task is intellectually stimulating and has captured the attention of planners and politicians.

But plans cannot have much relevance unless they are well grounded on regional facts and integrated into the real world of the socio-economic and political environment. For example, local decision-makers are motivated by their social obligations. In the economy of affection, responsibility is based on cultural links and ethnic relations. Goals from all groups affected are most likely incomparable with social obligation and horse backing will play an important role in setting priorities. The value system of farmers, traders, and other regional actors do not necessarily follow the planning logic. These are facts, which cannot be ignored, and by no means prevailed by theories or tools. The dialogue may assist in making these factors transparent for broader discussions with the objective to formulate a regional consensus.

o *Dialogue versus technocratic approach*

Given the complexity of the problems, analytical techniques in themselves generally do not provide optimal solutions. The weak data base, shortage of well trained staff restrict the application of sophisticated tools. The black box nature of most tools are a serious problem for action and decision-taker. Qualitative

judgement is essential. Such judgement are most likely to be obtained through consultation and dialogues not only within the government but also with private actors. Such a dialogue remains consultative and require no conformity.

o *Selective versus comprehensive approaches*

Theoretically everything depends on everything and a comprehensive approach is intellectually attractive. But to describe present realities is already a problem, let alone the future which is unknown and largely unknowable. Many systems are designed and the more admired the more elements and inter-linkages they include. The intellectual effort is admirable but the challenging question is more, they are to select and to concentrate within a system on those core elements operating and monitoring the whole system.

In policy making, however, one cannot work on everything at the same time, for concentrating on the main action entry area is essential, priority setting is required due to limited financial resources. Hence dialogue is required to identify areas for action.

o *Blueprints versus communication*

Plans do not get realized by their pure existence, they have to be taken as instructions for a continuous management of programmes and projects. Therefore regional planning authorities cannot restrict themselves on blueprints for future situations. If they are really concerned with development, they have to play an active role within the regional actor constellation.

The dialogue ensures that development objectives are shared by those implementing the plan; decisions of the private sector are part of the plan and programme formulation and regional actors will support planning activities and commit themselves at the very beginning.

o *Conceptualizing reality versus realistic concepts*

What has reality to do with proposed development paths? The growth pole concept is one example which shows how reality is conceptualised, how real facts

of a society are replaced by conceptualised thinking and expectations. In order to propose models for a realistic situation it would be more appropriate to derive models from the situation which fit into the socio-economic and political context. The outcome of the dialogue can help to get a realistic understanding on what is possible or impossible, what can be changed and what has to be accepted. The selection of a development approach itself becomes a result of the planning process with a high degree of political and social acceptance.

3. General Outline of the Regional Platform

In order to bridge the gap between planning and implementation, in order to activate the know how of regional actors for development, a regional wide communication process has to be initiated – a kind of learning process for politicians, administrators and private investors. Expectations, development proposals and ideas will direct planning activities into action areas. Long descriptions and analyses are avoided and quick reactions on changing environments are possible.

The dimension of planning is a decisive factor which refers more to the way and the process procedure of programme formulation (3). The learning process is as important as the final product; the plan. This requires a review of traditional planning concepts, analytical tools in the light of their feasibility within a communication process.

How to design and manage this process, how to incorporate reality into plan preparation, and how to mobilize the local know how for development, are the main questions to be answered.

As a tool to activate human potential for development planning the Regional Platform is proposed. The Platform is a meeting point and a communication forum of persons who are active in the development of the region. These persons are invited to contribute their ideas and concerns for the development of the region and to indicate the core activities and perhaps, the scope of or limits to development interventions which they perceive. The output of the platform will guide the planning activities.

The objectives of the Regional Platform are:

- o to create a positive climate where changes and innovations can take place.
- o to promote a continuous exchange of opinions and information among regional actors.
- o to collect development suggestions, to compile and to discuss them with regard to interests, flexibility, social affectivity and economic efficiency.
- o to arrange the coordination between different interests, target groups and actors at a very early stage.
- o to encourage actors to focus their activities on bottlenecks and core action areas.

3.1. Composition of the Regional Platform

Different groups are involved in regional development processes, the development administration, politicians, technical specialists, members of the farmers' association, traders, businessmen, landlords, middlemen, individual acting managers, members of the union, womens' leagues up to teachers, members of financial institutions, co-operatives and craftsmen organizations.

Each representing an institution or target group and has got specific knowledge, experience and interest in plan preparation. Consequently contributing to the plan preparation by presenting their interests, their fears as well as ideas, proposals, expectations and already envisaged activities.

It is obvious that none of these groups will achieve proper planning without the other one.

It is not easy to compose a Platform representing the present interest constellation of the region. Who should be selected and much more important who should be excluded to keep the Regional Platform to a manageable size – who selects, what will be the reaction of those excluded from participation are questions that are not easily answered.

Finally, members are delegated and controlled by the interest groups. Much depends on the organizational level already achieved in the region. Even if the findings are poor, the dialogue can take place in a reduced and simplified version with the additional objective of initiating group building processes. As this is

time consuming, it might be necessary to undertake separate studies for specific target groups which still have no access of articulation.

To promote broad communication and to avoid the creation of a large body, the size of the Regional Platform will be kept to a manageable size (about 20 members). The members of the platform generate ideas primarily through their detailed local knowledge. Nevertheless, a profile report on the regional development is given to them to level general information differences.

3.2. Regional Platform and Participation

It is obvious that the Regional Platform is far away from participation in the direct and absolute form of a village workshop (4).

But the question of participation on a regional scale is still open. Not only in regard to political constraints but also under technical and managing viewpoints. Up to now it is nearly impossible to manage conceptions of a regional population size in large areas over long distances by low physical access.

It doesn't sound very enthusiastic, but it doesn't mean to replace participation on the village level, as the outcome of the Platform can be subject to local discussions. On the other level, it can be argued that the Platform concentrates on inter-communal interests and not on pure communal topics.

But the Regional Platform offers more than consultation or a kind of participation based on the assumption that little is wrong with the direction of development and that past failures are largely due to the 'human factor' which has been neglected. Such a position tries to inject more information with the intention that better informed people commit themselves to support other peoples' programmes. On the contrary, the Platform opens up just the opposite way.

A planner could contact local officials and community leaders, maintain contact with appropriate officials of national planning agencies. He may hold dialogues with national counterparts and experienced staff member on a face to face basis and keep records of their individual contribution but the concept of the Regional Platform achieves a different quality from group dynamics.



3.3. Managing the Regional Platform

It is obvious that the Regional Platform requires a new type of planner who can't restrict himself on the application of professional tools and technics such as data management.

Nor is it possible to negotiate in a black box manner planning issues. Planning as a Dialogue means finally to balance traditional planning with tools management requirements.

This implies that the planner must be trained in guiding meetings assist where articulation is restricted, summarize and guide the discussion floor, visualize statements and take care of classification. As different interests are involved, conflicts have to be considered in a professional and constructive way. This again is not easy and requires the knowledge and application of modern management tools. Altogether it becomes clear that the Regional Platform requires a participatory management style.

Within the Platform the planner steps back from his traditional positions to the role of a moderator, whose neutrality ensures that no group or member will be given priority. Much is required especially in case where his own perceptions on development are overruled by the majority.

At this stage the planner is in the first place a moderator. He is a listener, an observer, he avoids becoming drawn into discussions. His role is to keep the exchange of communication running, that ideas are flowing and to decide at the right point to stop. He is not there to give speeches or to monopolise the forum, but he offers members the opportunity to raise questions of clarity. Due to the power structure within the Regional Platform, due to conflicting interests a high degree of frustration resistance will be required.

There are several management techniques and tools available. Their role in planning is still low. This is especially true in relation to regional science.

As a help to manage the communication processes within the Regional Platform the Goal Oriented Planning and Programming system of GTZ and especially the problem tree analysis can be applied (5).

The main objective is to develop within a group of different interested parties a consensus on the problem configuration. Radiating from a core problem, the substantial and direct effects of the core problem are placed parallel to each other above the core problem, while causes are placed underneath. Then further

causes and effects are developed along the same principle. The problem tree analysis can be concluded when the members of the Regional Platform are convinced that the essential information has been used to build up a causal network explaining the main cause-effect relations of the problem constellation in the region.

Variations according to the specific conditions of a region are possible. The approach promotes communication, presents interests, visualizes experiences and shows interrelations for co-ordination, forces decisions and leads to a mutual consensus on the problem constellation of a region.

However, there are two central weak points. One is the ambition to demonstrate as many causes, impacts and connections as possible, with the effect that one loses the general overview and the control of the system. Obviously, planners are more attracted by complexity than by the intellectual effort to reduce the whole system on the most important strategic factors. If the method is purely technically applied then the total outcome will be a useless exercise.

The other weakness refers to the spatial dimension. Due to the different natural and changing locational conditions within the region, problem trees can be developed for the whole region.

It is obvious that in mountainous parts of the region the problem constellations look different from the nearby flat areas with high fertility. In some parts of the regions water might be the limiting factor for productivity while in other parts the low access to urban and market facilities slow down productivity.

When functional interrelations between problems are constructed for problems which are spatially separated, then the whole system comes into trouble. The result is theoretically acceptable but has nothing to do with real functional interrelations.

These simple examples underline the necessity to introduce the spatial dimension by considering problems, potentials and proposals.

In order to avoid this confusion, sub-areas have to be delineated according to a set of socio-economic and physical indicators for which problem trees are elaborated and potentials and proposals are defined.

3.4. Work Procedure

As an information input members of the Regional Platform are provided with a general document the regional profile which describe the present situation and present activities. The objective of the regional profile is to balance information levels between actors. It will give them the opportunity to integrate their specific interests into a broader context.

Main contents of the profile are:

- o Human aspects, data on population size, labour force, skills income, migration, growth rates.
- o Economic aspects, sector activities, productivity, regional import and export flows, trade organizations.
- o Institutional aspects, organizational structure, public revenue and expenses, cooperatives, present and planned national and local activities.
- o Spatial aspects, settlement patterns, transportation networks and land use pattern.

Before jumping into activities, it is essential to ensure that everyone agrees on the working procedure and on the final outcome of the Regional Platform the regional consensus report on development with separate sections like problem constellation, proposals and conflict configuration for political decisions.

Within the working procedure creative steps should be separated from analytical steps. This seems to be necessary as creativity increases through a process of associative thinking in a working atmosphere in which everything which members wanted to mention is handled equally. To generate as many proposals as possible no one should worry in the first stages how proposals can be put into practice.

Once all ideas are generated, the critical analysis takes place to assess and to decide upon core action areas. To avoid 'shopping list mentality' it is essential to agree upon a few evaluation criteria. At this stage qualitative statements are sufficient, as the remaining proposals are subject to deeper investigations in later stages of the planning process. In case of any doubts, decisions should not be taken against a proposal.

Criteria for assessments are:

- o Positive impact on regional development. Regional resources

should be used, available technology should be applied.

- o Contribution to economic development by regional import substitution, export diversification, generation of job opportunities, supply of regional demand.
- o A high percentage of investment costs are carried by beneficiaries. Low national and district subsidies are required.
- o Self and neighbourhood help should be possible.

4. Final Remarks

Planning with the Regional Platform explore open ended directions of development in a changing environment. At the commencement of planning there is no planning concept, nor the attempt to apply comprehensive planning approaches or sophisticated methods. The attempt is made to detect social reality to grasp the possibilities which can be seen, recognized and wanted and thus determine the planning process and also the application of methods. Thereby, planning is closer to reality, without becoming necessarily incremental.

Regional actors, planners and decision takers are provided with insights into social structures and power relations. Ideas and development proposals are raised by those who are active in the region. Proposals are described, discussed, linkages between them are studied and a first rough assessment are made to avoid shopping list mentality. Hence, regional actors will be strongly committed which is a useful precondition for the implementation after final assessment.

The development proposals – summarised in the regional consensus development report – are one positive effect. The dialogue between regional actors – the exchange of information – is the other positive effect which allows concentration and co-ordination activities at an early stage. Spread effects can be expected from the dialogue as regional actors will present results to their group members.

Plan and program preparations are directly streamlined by the dialogue into action areas for development. Long and broad investigations are avoided.

The Regional Platform and its outcome will be a challenge to the national and local government.

Administration and decision takers may get the impression that they are losing control over activities and opinion building. This might be specially true in highly centralised system.

Much depends on the role of the government in plan preparation. In case of a dominant position, it might be a painful learning process for bureaucrats. But finally the dialogue has to be accepted and supported as there is no alternative under budget viewpoints. In case of a more liberal understanding, where governments restrict themselves on policy interventions the chances are better.

It might be argued that the dialogue is costly and time consuming and that people and regions are still not sufficiently organized. This is true. But in the present situation most planners spend more than sixty per cent of their working time with face to face discussions. Despite all other effects the dialogue is obviously the most efficient alternative and will contribute to develop the organizational pattern in the long run.

For planners it is not easy to fulfill the requirements of the Regional Platform. He is a moderator and a manager and he is a planner in the traditional way applying techniques and methods of planning. His work will be guided by the regional consensus formulated by the Regional Platform. This gives him a broader basis of acceptance and a realistic chance to contribute to the improvement of the working and living conditions in the region.

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Manoris V. Meshack
**Facing the Facts: A Case Study
 from Tanzania**

Tanzania is a United Republic and administratively divided into: Tanzania-Zanzibar which has its own government, and covers the area of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and Tanzania-mainland, which is administered by the union government in both union and non union matters. Tanzania mainland is subdivided into 20 regions which are further subdivided into 110 Districts. According to the 1982 Local Government Act, each of these districts has formed a local government which is an institution for spearheading development in the area. Every district is further subdivided into divisions which are also subdivided into wards, each ward has 3-4 villages. Each village has its own government as an institution of planning and mobilisation at this lowest level.

The aim of this paper is to show in a nutshell the real material conditions confronting those who participate in planning at the district level in an African district. It is very difficult to try to describe an African district in the context of planning and development. This is because Africa is a very large continent with varied climate, topography, political leanings and hence policies which affect the development planning process. Due to this limitation this paper will describe a district in Tanzania as a case study of an African district: Mpwapa in Tanzania.

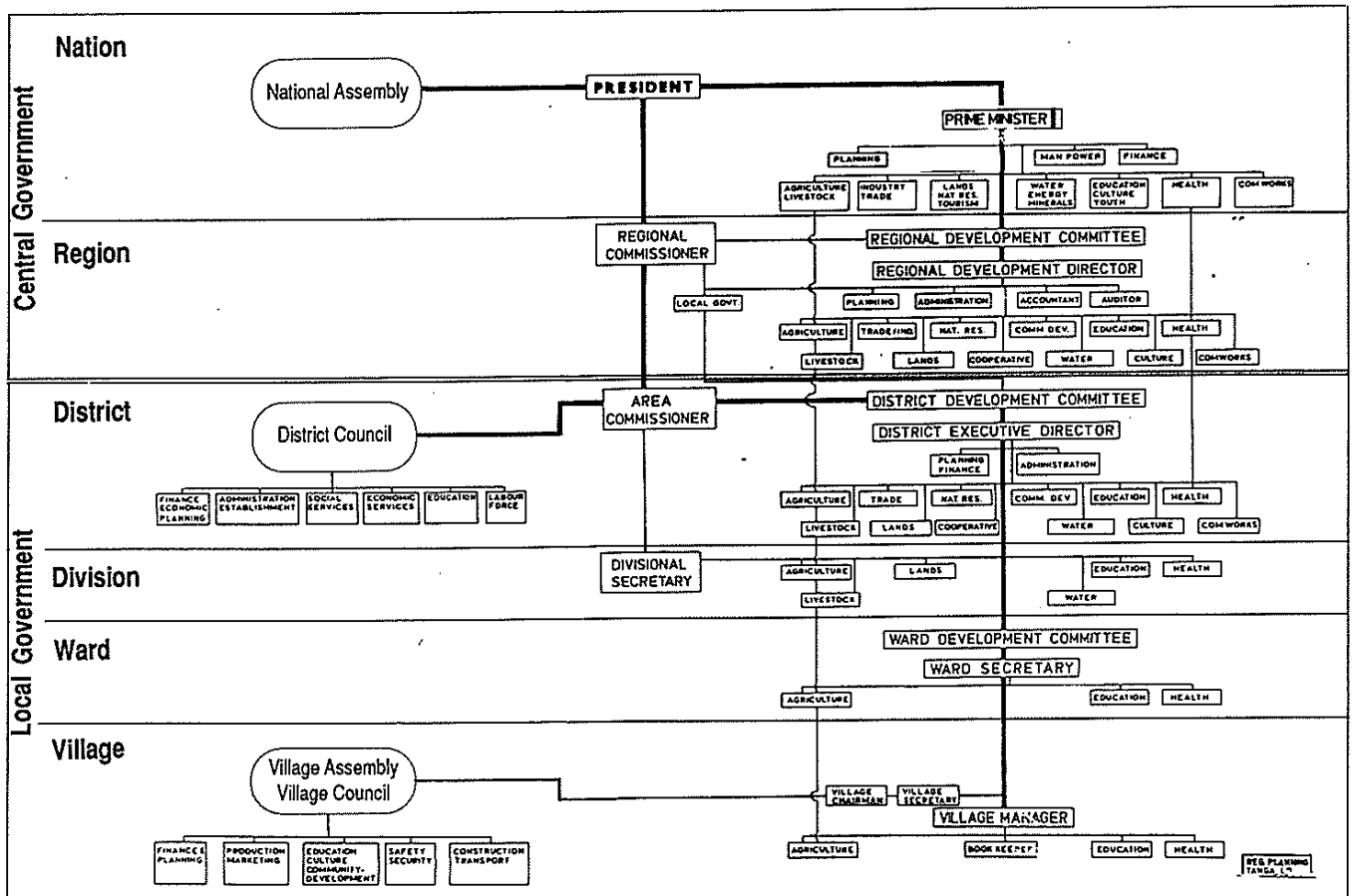
The district planning concept is based on the philosophy of developing institutions at the local level which will be capable of mobilizing natural, human and institutional re-

sources in order to satisfy the basic needs of the toiling people and bring development to those regions categorised as disadvantaged (Manhood P.; 1983, Rondinelli; 1983). Its strength lies on the fact that, the institutions so created are accepted and supported by the local people because they understand the problems of the region they plan for.

Hierarchically, the district in Africa is a point which is far from the centre. But it is an important point because it joins the villages into one single entity. It is also a point at which peoples' ideas come into contact with bureaucrats. In order to understand better how the district functions in Tanzania it will be logical to describe the framework in which it operates.

As indicated in figures 1 and 2 there are essentially three institutions among which political power is shared. These are: Chama Cha Mapinduzi which is the sole political party and is supreme; the government administration which is the implementation organ of the party; and the peoples organs of decision making, which namely, are: the village council for the village, the

Figure 1: Tanzania: Government Organogram 1984



district council and the national assembly for the whole nation. This then forms the framework in which development planning is done.

In the preparations of development plans, the government and the councils are guided by party policies which emphasize the construction of a socialist self-reliant society and the analysis of the economic performance which since late 1970's has shown that the country is undergoing severe economic crises.

The Planning process

The planning process in Tanzania at present includes (see table 1) preparation of guidelines, planning and budgeting cycle and preparation of action plans, implementation and progress report.

The District Local Government (District Council)

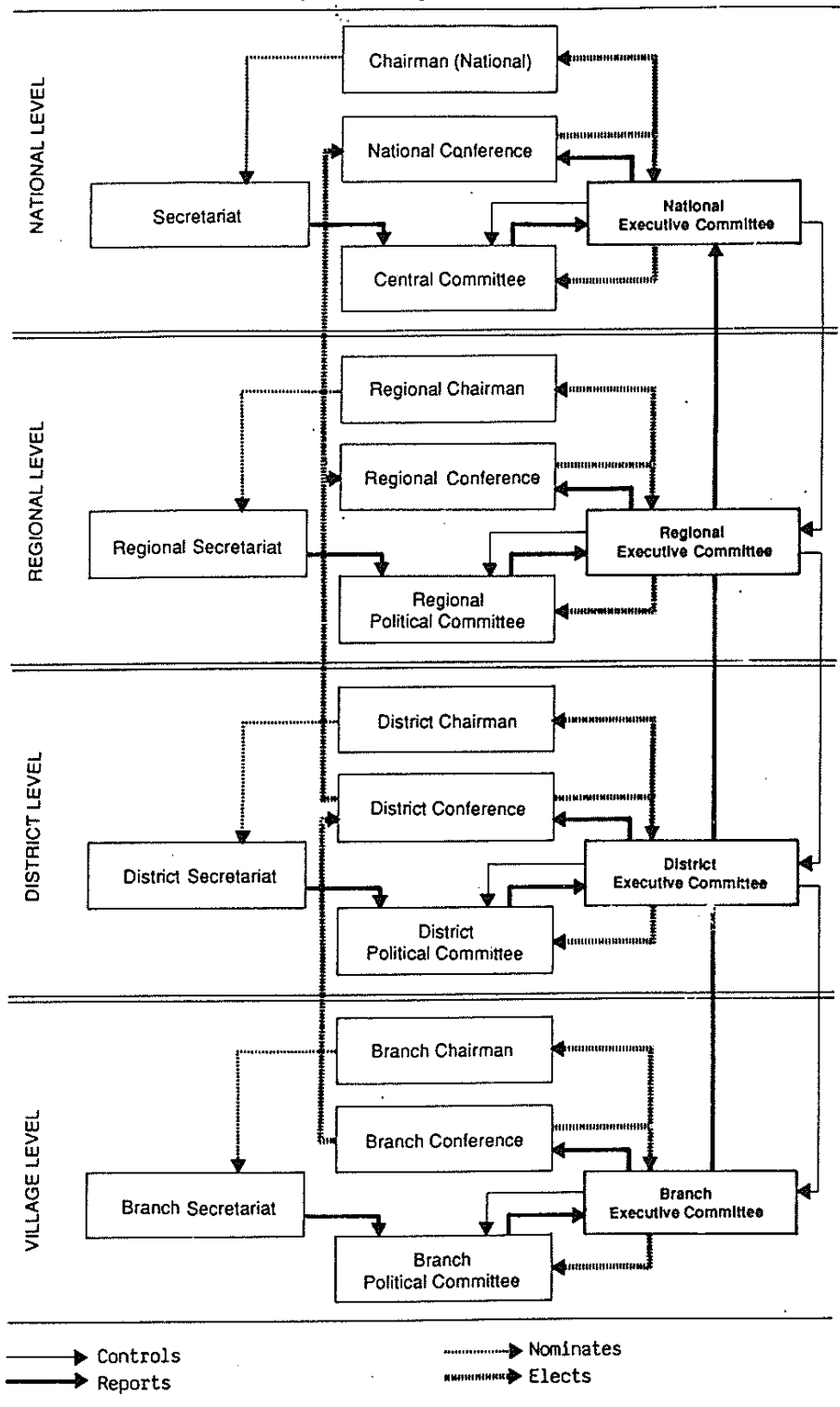
The district council acts as an institution of decision making. Development planning is divided into two main areas (see fig. 3) namely the local government democratic organs (district council and village council), which are the policy making, control and supervisory organs and the executive branch of the district council which is headed by the District Executive Director.

Its composition are:

- o Elected members, one from each ward in the area of the district council. It has been noticed that most of the councillors' education background is weak and in most cases they are poorly informed.
- o Members elected by the district council one each from among two persons nominated from each of the mass organizations in the area of the district council. There are five such members.
- o Three members appointed by the minister.
- o The member or members of parliament representing constituencies within the area of the district council in the National assembly. In Mpwapwa there are two such members.
- o One member elected by the district council from among the chairman of the village councils.

The District Executive Director of the district council who is a presidential appointee is the secretary of the council. The chairman and vice

Figure 2: Chama Cha Mapinduzi Organogram: 1981 Constitution



chairman are elected from among the councillors.

Functions and duties of the district council are to consider, regulate and coordinate development plans, projects and programmes of villages and townships within its area of jurisdiction. This is to ensure the enhancement of productivity; acceleration of social and economic development of villages and amelioration of rural life. The village

government will in turn mobilize its populace for production and other development activities.

The planning process involves passing the plan through two other organs of control and supervision in the district; these are: district development committee in the office of the district commissioner, and Chama Cha Mapinduzi (ruling Party) district executive committee, for economic, management and policy supervision and control respectively.

From the district the plan is sent to the region where it is coordinated with other district plans later to form the national regional plans which are presented to the parliament by the Ministry of Local Government and Cooperatives.

After the plans have been accepted by the parliament the district council experts and councillors are informed of the outcome of the plan request. Hereafter each sector makes action plans whose implementation is supposed to be reported to the council quarterly. It will now be logical to look at how much successful the district council has been in the process of development planning and mobilisation from below.

In the following the potentials and constraints will be categorised into four main aspects, namely ecological, economical, political, and administrative structural and technical conditions.

1. The Ecological Situation

In analysing the existing ecological situation in Mpwapwa district in Tanzania in relation to planning and development, it was found out that, there is ecological mismanagement because of the practice of agricultural rotation and clearing of the fields by bush fires. The villagization programme brought new demands for soil husbandry in farming activities. Unfortunately many peasants were not educated before hand of

the demands of soil husbandry whereby one cultivates permanently in the same plot. This state of affairs resulted into mismanagement of the soil hence, the decline in soil fertility and crop productivity.

More than that most of the people in the rural district use either wood or charcoal as fuel. Traditional housing technologies need a lot of short term repairs which demand a lot of wood hence reducing the forest density faster than their replacement.

The introduction of local government brought some potentials for successful planning and implementing ecological planning programmes but alongside these potentials there existed some constraints as will be elaborated below:

The local government has provided the potential of involving the people to execute existing programmes to prevent soil erosion through reforestation, e.g. through the policy of spatial allocation of animal husbandry and by-laws to protect water sources from pollution and destruction but lack of proper and respected physical plans at the district level due to the dominance of socio-economic planning over physical plans and people ignoring environmental protection laws, has constrained the realisation of the potentials.

The ability to popularise already developed research findings on al-

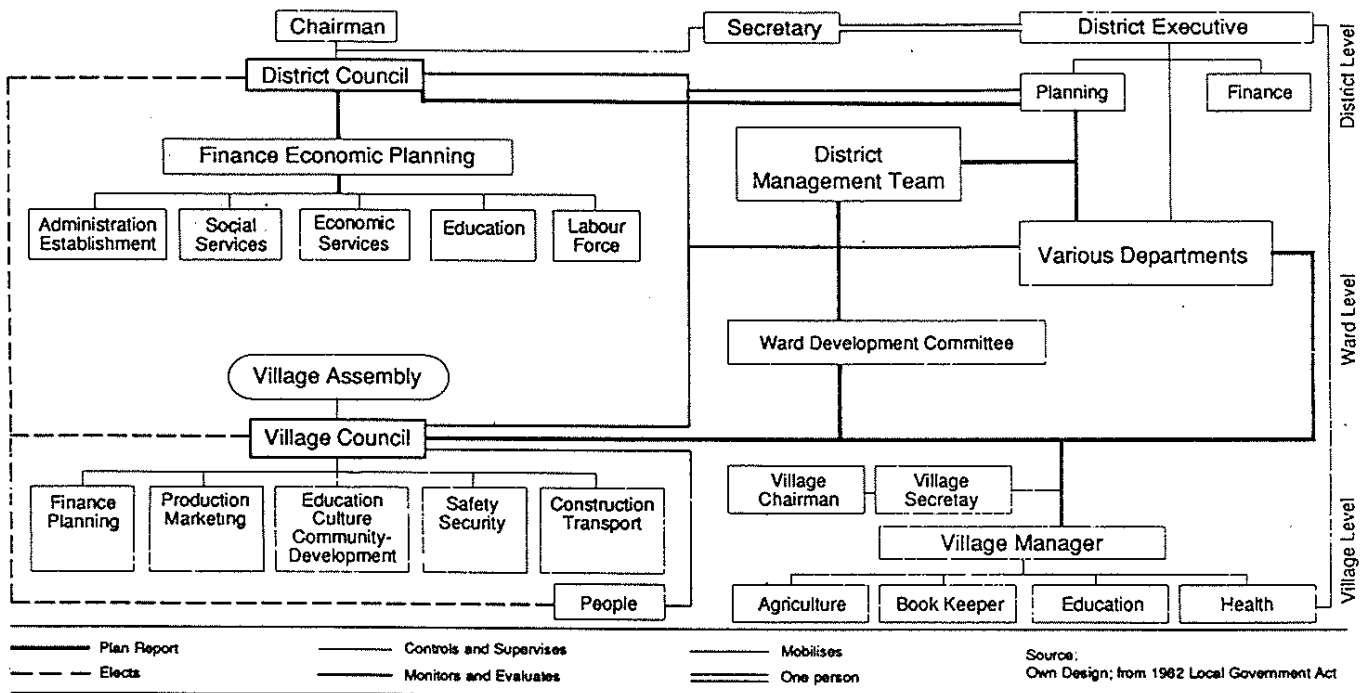
ternative sources of energy for example biogas, solar energy and more economical charcoal stoves, has been constrained by the presence of slow rate of adoption of research findings for development activities. This is due to the absence of plans to that effect and a vehicle to carry out this work. Furthermore, in the case of biogas it is because the equipment so far developed is far too expensive for the common peasant to purchase. Technological development has not taken the socio-economic situation of the people into consideration.

It may be concluded that, there are potentials at the local level for ecological planning and they are being further enhanced by the introduction of the local government. On the aspect of having not fully realised the potentials so described it was concluded that, the absence of physical plans or the ignoring of these plans and lack of efforts to merge research and development, has resulted into ecological and environmental mismanagement. This mismanagement has direct effect on the economy, for the reduction of trees leads to reduction of rain hence of agricultural production. Poluted water will increase diseases in the villages hence weakening or/and reducing the labour force. It is therefore important to take action which will help in removing these cyclic events and bring economic development to the district. It becomes logical then to discuss the economic potentials and constraints.

Table 1: Steps in the Annual Planning Cycle for Regions and Local Governments

Level	Decisive body	Annual schedule:		July onwards
		October/November	December - June	
Nation	National Assembly			review, modify, approve national budget
	Devplan	issue ceilings/planning guidelines		prepare annual national budget
	PRO	issue ceilings/planning guidelines	review/finalize regional/dist. development budget	warrant of funds to regions/distr.
	Ministries	issue ceilings/planning guidelines	review/finalize ministerial budgets	warrant of funds
Region	Regional Developm. Committee	review guidelines	draft annual budget	devise action plans for implement. → monitor quarterly progress
District	District Council	review guidelines	review last year's projects/revenue, and draft annual budget	devise action plans for implement. → monitor quarterly progress
Ward	Ward Develop. Committee		scrutinize/coordinate village proposals	
Village	Village Council	CALL ON VILLAGES FOR SELF-	propose projects	

Figure 3: The Local Government: Plan Movement and Control System from 1982 Local Government Act



2. Economic and Financial Potentials and Constraints.

The district economic and financial conditions, potentials and constraints in development planning in Mpwapwa district in Tanzania can be explained in relation to the main economic activity of the district which is agriculture.

Land is publicly owned and everybody can have enough land for farming. In villages the village government has the duty of distributing land. Soils are fertile and the potentials in the southern part of the district to develop small scale irrigation exist, but they have never been seriously exploited. Farming is still with the hand hoe.

The potentials which were seen after the establishment of the local government in 1982 are:

- o People are ready to raise funds in form of paying taxes; contributions and through labour in self help activities, in order to bring development to their area, i.e they are ready for mobilisation.
- o There is a better atmosphere of enhancing financial control through democratic practices, than the period before the re-introduction of local governments.
- o The centre provides money regularly and the projects being

funded by this money are identified by the local government itself.

- o Regulation of financial transactions are good and can be effective if followed.

Despite these potentials it was revealed in the research that the local government source of finance has been able to satisfy only 38% of the local government budget. The agricultural production and productivity is still low. There are still a number of problems:

- o Lack of efforts to utilise local resources, e.g though there are minerals deposits in small scale there is no major push towards encouraging the peasants to undertake mining activity. Furthermore very little is done to promote small scale industries. Diversification has only started in commercial sector. The cooperative sector in farming has not been given the necessary backup technically.
- o Though People have a lot of cattle, they do not use them for farming and this partly accounts for the small farm sizes. Irrigation is not practiced hence in these small farms people do harvest only ones a year and the productivity per hectare has been revealed to be falling. This has been due to lack of technique and other farm inputs.

- o Non-utilisation of audit reports and feedback in planning and slow rate of technology transfer and its adoption by the peasants, the village cooperatives and government on such aspects as: crop purchasing, large scale crop preservation, financial management ecological and production management. This has led to the conclusion that, the lack of proper dialogue between experts and peasants and technical input in planning and implementation of plans has culminated into weak financial and economic situation in the district. It can be added that, the central government has been encroaching on the areas which could have been the source of funds for local government.

More over the collection of tax has not been done at the time when the peasants have money and people have been discontented by the poor management of funds by the local government, a factor which has contributed to the local government failing to deliver the goods. This is because the poor financial control and management, leads to fewer projects being accomplished as compared to the number of those planned. This has been found to be a result of weak professional capability of the financial department, disregarding financial regulations, routine and proper management practices, plus poor supervision of project implementation and utilisation

of funds, leading to mismanagement of funds.

Under such circumstances one is bound to ask what the local representatives do about this state of affairs. The answer lies in the analysis of the political situation at the district level.

3. Political Potentials and Constraints

It has been revealed that, politically the following factors have acted as a push to adopt policies favouring district planning in Tanzania: Firstly, party policies have aimed at giving people power, hence in 1982 the local governments were re-established. Prior to this policy experts were posted to the local level after successfully implementing the policy of posting of officers to live in the villages. Secondly, the locally initiated projects, from the various rural development policies adopted since independence, have been seen to aim at solving local problems using local resources. It was further revealed that it is easier to implement projects which the people themselves or their representatives had initiated because the introduction of local planning has led to the development of an attitude of collective responsibility enhancing the legitimisation process.

These existing conditions were strengthened further after the introduction of local government in 1982, for there is now a development of the adherence to democratic decision making process in the districts. Political power shows a trend of moving towards the democratically elected organs and as the bureaucrats work closely with people at the local level, it was revealed that, they become influenced by them. On the aspect of control the district provides a good point for proper administrative control of extension officers working in the villages.

At the same time discrepancies between political aims and reality of district planning were revealed and these are the ones which have affected the capability and capacity of the district council.

First, are the consequences of not implementing to the full the process of "planning from below". Though there is a district council the bureaucrats are still better placed in the plan formulation sequence hence they have a dominant position in plan formulation process. They do the first screening of projects at the district level, before presenting the

results to district council committees. Later they prepare action plans alone. The elite interest dominate in resource distribution, conversely peoples' problems do not form the centre of plan formulation process.

Secondly, the struggle for power between bureaucrats and councillors has been seen to hinder district planning especially with the emergence of bureaucratic dominance. Mismanagement of funds and employment of incompetent contractors has resulted into loss of funds for which the councillors have been blamed, leading to strained relationship between councillors and bureaucrats. Poor procedures of taking decisions at the council meetings have been used by bureaucrats to manipulate the decisions on their favour. On the other hand this practice has made the council to be like a paper tiger. Hence the bureaucrats have with ease ignored the council's decisions.

The bureaucracy use their position of access to information to undermine the authority of the councillors by deliberately refusing to give out certain technical information during decision making.

Thirdly, the problems are compounded by the compliance approach of the party in supervision. That is the party at the district level has not taken seriously the task of supervising and evaluating the local government performance in plan formulation and implementation. This situation leads to the conclusion that policy makers have assumed a compliance approach to supervision of the implementation while in fact during implementation policies are refined, reformed or even abandoned.

Bureaucrats are resisting democratic control and/or are performing poorly. This then brings us to the following section which concentrates on looking at the functioning of technocrats, structures and administrative apparatus in the already described political premises.

4. The Administrative Structural and Technical Conditions

The district administrative characteristics and structure showed that, the vertical administrative structure permeates down to the ten cell leaders. Its main levels are the village government, ward, division and district. At the district the administrative set up for local government is established. There is the district

council which is the policy making organ, its various committees are present. On the other hand there is the executive branch with its various departments headed by the District Executive Director. The party has also established its secretariat which is the administrative unit for enabling it to supervise the district council.

Villages have their own government and prepare their own plans and carry out these plans. It was seen that each village prepares three types of plans: village funded projects and recurrent budget/plan; projects which need loans from banks, and development projects i.e projects which are funded by district council and the central government.

The district council through its various committees and the councillors provide check up system of the functioning of the district council administrators. But their effectiveness is hampered by poor administration of council affairs which is left at the mercy of the District Executive Director and the lack of ability of the councillors to evaluate highly complex projects.

The situation of administrative and technical capabilities of the local government at the Mpwapa district revealed that the manpower at the village level provides a potentially good administrative unit for carrying out the planning, mobilising and technical transfer work. Also the district cooperative office expertise provides a good potential to contribute towards providing financial/management technical advice to villages and the district in making comprehensive plans. The party structure is well established to monitor, evaluate and supervise the performance of the district council. Furthermore there are good possibilities of efficient data collection by adoption of already established forms and utilising the services of the extension officers.

Despite the mentioned potentials there is evidence of absence of development oriented administrative structure. The administrative units do not operate to achieve results. Many extension officers work without close supervision hence they perform poorly. Further more there is no system of measuring the performance of each individual worker. The planning officers are not trained for regional planning, and many departmental heads do not know planning techniques even for their own sector. In addition to that, the administrative philosophy, and routines are still not tuned to work for

local government, a sectoral approach to planning still dominates, ending up in sector competition for money and an uncoordinated administrative apparatus in the district. There is an absence of an efficient administrative routine and internal follow up system.

Technically, problem identification and analysis are never used as the basis for planning so the plan is not clear which objectives to accomplish. The official forms of project documentation have been abandoned by the villages and the wards hence diluting the content of information accompanying the plans. Due to poor plans the action plans are not specific and are never coordinated into a single district action plan neither are they synchronised with village action plans, as a result, there is contradiction of these plans and peasants are overworked during the implementation phase. More over the adoption of annual plans has resulted in having plans with shorter life span as compared to the life span of the projects.

The structure of flow of information and data is defective. Due to poor horizontal internal communication and dominance of communication which is geared towards satisfying sector approach to planning it has been found out that, recurrent plan/data does not reach the planning office hence it is never used in the planning process. This state of affairs reduces the chances of using accumulated experiences from re-

Table 2: Sources of Funds for Development in Tanzania 1973-1986. (in 000, Tsh.)

Year	Local source	Foreign source	% Used for development
1973/74	961.0	481.0	34.0
1974/75	1187.0	1035.0	36.0
1975/76	1222.0	1031.0	37.7
1976/77	1846.3	1402.0	40.8
1977/78	1962.0	1368.0	37.4
1978/79	2313.7	2427.2	36.0
1979/80	2864.0	2320.0	36.0
1980/81	2887.0	1872.0	32.0
1981/82	3390.0	1795.0	28.2
1982/83	3293.5	1852.0	25.7
1983/84	3293.5	2965.4	24.0
1984/85	2770.6	1489.7	20.0
1985/86	3901.0	2141.0	16.6

Key: % Used for Development = Percentage of the total expenditure which was used for development activities.

Source: Ministry of Finance and Planning.

current plans. In the case of the availability of information from above this information has not been flowing smoothly. This situation has been used by the elites as a means to monopolise power and decision making process. It has further caused uncertainty and speculative behaviour at the district and village. Worse of all is that it has hindered utilization of local resources by local people. The defective information flow has resulted into Village governments, which are the chief agents of planning and implementation to do their work without technical support. Resulting into plans being formulated without project appraisal and feasibility studies.

So far the ecological, economic, political and administrative conditions have been discussed. The paper will conclude by briefly explaining the main national conditions influencing the district performance.

National Potentials and Constraints to District Planning.

Party Policies Aim to Give People Power.

In 1967 Tanzania adopted the Arusha declaration; a policy document which indicated that Tanzania will build a socialist self-reliant society. This document was followed by 1971 TANU Guidelines which spelt out the need of giving people power and hence culminated into among many other things, decentralizing of government functions. Ironically they also lead to dissolution of the local governments. In 1981 CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) guidelines were given out by the Party and emphasized on the need of the people to be given power. Hence in 1982 the local governments were reestablished with the emphasis on:

- o Promotion of an efficient machinery of mobilising, exploiting, and utilising local resources for development at the local area.

Table 3: Distribution Of Development Funds 1977/78 - 1985/86

Year	Funds To:	
	Ministries/Parastatal	Local Government
1977/78	2949.1	381.7
1978/79	4164.1	376.8
1979/80	4564.0	620.0
1981/82	4537.0	648.0
1982/83	4583.2	562.3
1983/84	5047.0	689.0
1984/85	4467.0	924.0
1985/86	4964.6	852.6

Source: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.

- o Proper organisation of marketing, establishing an efficient and democratic system of local government, so that people make their own decisions on things that affect them directly and hence become responsible for carrying them out.

The importance of the presence of this political factor in Tanzania can not be underestimated. For it is the presence of such policies that time and time again have forced the government in Tanzania to devise programmes which have progressively given people power to plan for their development and to have more control of their activities.

The Problems of Heavy Dependency on International Capital for Development.

Despite the adoption of the policy of socialism and self reliance, in 1967, Tanzania has continued to depend heavily on foreign sources of funds for development. This situation is confirmed by the data in Table 2.

The trend shown in Table 2 is due to the fact that it was found easier to ask for foreign help than mobi-



lizing internal resources. The elitist tastes were satisfied with foreign aid. Hence the elitist dominance plus its alliance with international capital, made the focus of development funds to be towards the satisfaction of elitist needs. This culminated into few funds for the local government, as shown in Table 3

Due to this trend agriculture has not been well developed hence heavily depends on weather i.e little has been done on development of irrigation both at small scale and at large scale; despite the fact that Tanzania is surrounded by large surface of water suitable for irrigation. It is no wonder then that from time to time Tanzania has to import food whenever there is a drought. It is then of no wonder that the character of small scale industries development has not benefited the rural areas, neither have they consolidated self reliance. This because over 70% of these industries depend on foreign source of raw materials.

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Emmanuel K.A. Tamakloe

The Prospects and Problems of Promoting Regional Development Planning as a Dialogue in Ghana

1. Introduction

Ghana, like other African countries, such as Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia to mention but a few have attempted to decentralise political and administrative powers for decision-making, as a means of promoting effective community participation and dialogue in the process of regional development. However, the institutional framework, legislative instruments and the modes of decision-making which have been adopted by these countries have tended to strengthen centralised rather than decentralised decision-making for development planning at the local level. Ghana has a long history of this tendency which current policies of the Ghana government intend to reverse. Consequently, the major policy of the government is to strengthen development planning and management at the local level.

In pursuance of this the government has initiated certain measures for effective decentralisation of planning activities at the local level. Among these are the creation of 110 districts into which the country is divided; the election of district assemblies to be vested with political and administrative powers for the formulation and implementation of development plans in the districts; the decentralisation of a number of central government functions at the district level, as well as the institution of training programmes not only for professional personnel, but also for political decision-makers at the district level.

The main objectives of the paper, therefore, may be stated as follows:

- To review the measures being taken by the government to put in place new structures for the promotion of community participation and dialogue as an integral part of regional development planning.
- To assess public and government aspirations of how the new machinery for decision-making will enhance community partici-

pation in the overall development planning process.

- To identify potential problems which may arise in the implementation of government policies for decentralised decision-making and to make appropriate recommendations.

Thus, this paper hinges on four main premises. The first is the definition of planning dialogue as a continuous procedure of interaction among participants in the development planning process, involving the professional planner, bureaucrats and technocrats as well as the beneficiaries and the victims of plans. The second premise is that in order to promote planning dialogue in a given political system there must be formal procedures or institutional arrangements consciously designed for that purpose. Thirdly, institutional arrangements so designed should have certain basic structural, functional and potentially operational characteristics based on decentralisation of political and administrative powers, in order to promote regional or local level development as a dialogue. The fourth premise is that the extent to which an institutional framework satisfies conditions stated in premise three primarily constitutes the degree of prospects for promoting planning dialogue, and the extent to which it fails to satisfy these conditions indicates the primary potential problems or limitations that the system has for promoting planning as a dialogue.

The sequence of the paper is as follows: First, the characteristics of a decentralised system of government necessary for the promotion of regional or local level development planning as a dialogue are outlined. Then the emerging structure of decentralised system of government and related arrangements for development planning decision-making in Ghana are described. This is followed by an appraisal of the potentials and limitations of the system for promoting local level development planning as a dialogue. The paper concludes with recommendations on how the problems identified may be addressed.

2. The Characteristics of Decentralised System of Government Necessary to Promote Planning Dialogue

2.1 The Philosophy of Decentralised System of Government

Decentralised system of government or in short "decentralisation" has a wide variety of definitions, depending on who is postulating the concept. However, the basic essence of decentralisation is to empower various segments of society especially the disadvantaged, such as the rural poor in developing societies to participate by means of dialogue in national and local decisions that affect the quality of their lives. Thus, decentralisation is an instrument for achieving a set of objectives, and not an end in itself. The main objective of decentralisation is to promote efficiency of government machinery through effective dialogue, as well as spatial equity in the distribution of political and administrative powers for development decision-making. In this sense and as a guiding principle for the purpose of this paper the following definition in (Mawhood, 1983) after Talcot Parsons is chosen:

"Decentralisation is taken, at Parson's "value/goal", to mean the sharing of part of the governmental power by a central ruling group with other groups, each having authority within a specific area of the state. At the level of "norms" it indicates the existence of formal political structures, each covering a defined area, representing local interests as well as the interests of the central rulers; the local share of allocating power is protected by formal as well as by normative rules which are accepted by the centre. At the level of "collectives and roles" it means units of local government in which formal decision-making is primarily exercised by locally representative councillors or officials".

2.2 The Characteristics of a Decentralised System of Government

According to Mawhood already cited, the power sharing structure of a decentralized system of government must possess a cluster of five primary characteristics. To this should be added the requirements of geographical identity implied in the definition of decentralisation given above, as well as access for central and local government relations advocated by (Page and Goldsmith, 1987). Thus a decentral-

ised unit of government should have the attributes of geographical identity, separate legal existence, local planning and financial autonomy, local political representation, as well as performing service delivery functions and having access for central and local government relations.

3. Emerging Decentralised System of Government for Development Planning in Ghana

3.1 Aims and Objectives

The general goals and the overall framework for the decentralisation policies of the government are contained in a document popularly known as the "Blue Book" (Republic of Ghana, 1987). But the specific aims and objectives of the policies are succinctly stated in a speech by a member of the government (Aanaa Enin, 1983) on the occasion of the launching of the implementation programme of the government's decentralisation plan. These are summarised as follows:

- a) To democratise state power and advance participatory democracy and collective decision-making at the grass-roots.
- b) To bring the process of government to the level of the people.
- c) To bridge the yawning gap between the condition in rural areas and the towns and cities.
- d) To redirect excess labour which drifted from the rural areas to major urban centres into more productive sectors, and to reduce overstaffing and redundancy at the ministries and offices of the regional administration.
- e) To popularise at the district level the task of budgeting and control of recurrent and capital expenditure, as well as enforce accountability by involving the people in the decision-making process.

3.2 Government Machinery

3.2.1 Preview

There is a complex history of attempts by various governments to decentralise political and administrative powers for development planning decision-making in Ghana since the Colonial era (Kasfir, 1983). However, the main feature of these attempts has been the manipulation of different types of 'decentralization' measures to promote central

control of local government, rather than the transfer of decision-making authority to the people to mobilise and allocate resources for development at the local level. The result of all this has been the concentration of planning activity at the national level, and exclusion of the local community from the decision-making process; the formulation of sectoral rather than spatial or regionally integrated plans; poor institutional arrangements for implementation of development plans, especially sectoral plans prepared at the national level for implementation at the local level. The overall outcome has been the ineffectiveness of development plans which miss their objectives.

Since this history is well documented by a number of authors (Harris, 1983), (Aryeetey, 1985), (Opoku-Afriyie, 1985) and (Akuoku-Frimpong) to mention but a few it will not be reviewed here. Instead, only passing references will be made to the past in as much as it relates to the present and the future to which attention is now drawn.

3.2.2 Existing Structure

At present, political power is vested in the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and its Chairman, the Head of State by virtue of PNDC (Establishment) Proclamation 1981. From this apex (See Fig. 1) administration and governance of the Country is carried out through a PNDC Co-ordinating Secretariat headed by a PNDC member Secretary. This secretariat coordinates the activities of all sector ministries extra-sectoral organisations, Regional Secretaries as well as District Secretaries through their respective Regional Secretaries. The Regional and District Secretaries are appointed by the government. In performance of their duties as coordinators of government policies in their areas, the Regional and District Secretaries are respectively assisted by Regional Consultative Councils and Interim Management Committees which are advisory bodies appointed by the Government. At the base of the structure are various voluntary organisations such as town/village committees.

It may be seen, therefore, that the administrative machinery is essentially as centralised as previous ones and without direct representation.

However, in order to promote mass participation in government the PNDC has encouraged the formation

of committees for the defence of the revolution (CDRS). This movement which pervades all public institutions and communities in Ghana is involved in the decision-making process at all levels of government machinery. Thus, it may be said that the PNDC government views this as an interim measure of decentralising the decision making process. In effect this is the structure which is in the process of transformation.

3.2.3 Emerging Structure

The intention of the government to restructure existing political and administrative machinery in order to effectively involve people in the decision-making process is still evolving. At the moment there is no overall structure that can be discerned in a finite and final document. What is presented here, therefore, comes from scattered sources including the Blue Book, government pronouncements in newspaper publications and discussions at public forums which cannot be aptly quoted. The major reform which is underway occurs at the local level with the district as the primary unit of the decentralisation

policy. Hence, for ease of reference and analysis the major features of the reform are outline under the criteria for decentralised system of government stated earlier in this paper. The main features reflect the contents of a new Local Government Law 1988 (PNDC Law 207) which was promulgated with effect from October 1988.

a) Geographical Identity

By legislative powers vested in the PNDC, Ghana is divided into 110 Districts. Each District, the boundaries of which have been demarcated shall have a District Assembly which will exercise state power as the people's local government. In addition, three metropolitan areas (Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi) with their respective Metropolitan Assemblies have also been designated.

b) Separate Legal Existence

A District or Metropolitan Assembly will have the status of a body Corporate with perpetual succession and power to sue and be sued in its own name. It will also have a

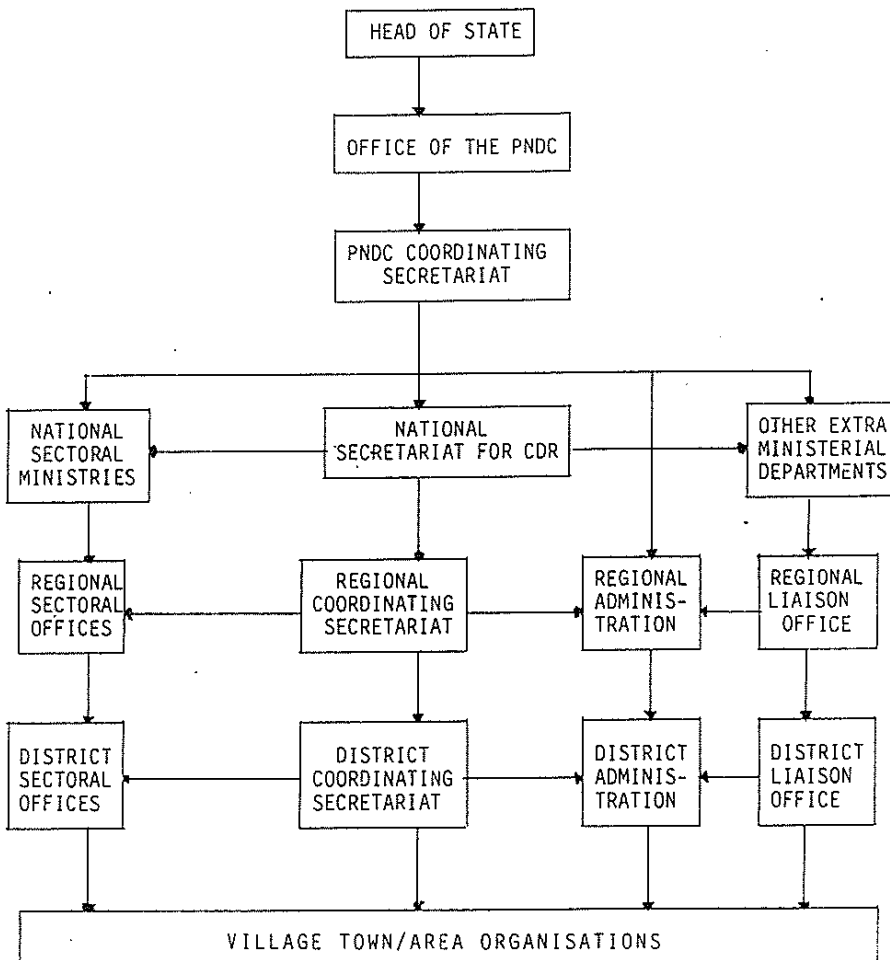
Tender Board to advise the Assembly on award of contracts in the districts for projects which are to be exclusively financed from the Districts own's resources.

c) Local Planning Authority

Among the functions to be carried out by a District Assembly are the following:

- i) The Assembly shall be responsible for the overall development of the District and shall ensure the timely preparation and submission of the budget for the District for approval by Central Government.
- ii) The Assembly shall formulate plans, programmes and strategies for effective mobilisation and utilisation of resources in the District.
- iii) It shall support productive activity and to the maximum extent possible, remove obstacles to initiative and development.
- iv) The District Assembly shall take such steps and measures as are necessary subject to law, to execute approved development plans for the district.
- v) It will have power to coordinate, integrate and harmonize the execution of programmes and projects of approved development plans for the district as well as other development programmes promoted or carried out by Ministries, Departments, Public Corporations and other statutory bodies in the District.
- vi) Above all, a District Assembly may agree with any or more District Assemblies in appointing a joint committee for any project in which they have common interest, and may delegate to such committee any function of the Assembly relating to the project.
- vii) The executive functions of the Assembly (including development planning functions) shall be carried out by its Executive Committee to be chaired by the District Secretary. For the effective performance of its functions the Executive Committee shall have a number of sub-committees, including economic productivity, social and technical infrastructure, planning programming and budgeting as well as justice and security. The sub-committees will be composed by members of

Figure 1: Existing Structure of Government



the Assembly and appropriate sectoral departmental heads in the district.

d) Local Financial Autonomy

All District or Metropolitan Assemblies will by law be entitled to the following powers on financial matters.

- i) Establish and maintain a bank account for all revenues and other monies raised or received by it.
- ii) Incur all expenditure necessary for carrying out of any functions conferred on it.
- iii) Raise loans or obtain overdrafts within Ghana of such amounts in such manner that may from time to time be approved by the central government.
- iv) Invest all or any portion of the monies of the Assembly as may be approved by the Assembly.
- v) Insure all or any of its property against risks of any kind.

e) Service Delivery Functions

A District Assembly will be responsible for coordinating the functions of not less than eighteen decentralised government departments to ensure effective delivery of essential services for the welfare of the people in the district. These functions include, education, health, transportation, information, agriculture extension, ecology and environmental hygiene, justice and security. The District Assembly shall be responsible for the preparation, administration and control of budgetary allocations of the departments and organisation responsible for the above functions and services.

f) Local Political Representation

The District Assembly shall be the highest political and administrative authority in the district and shall provide guidance and give direction to, as well as supervise all other political and administrative authorities in the district. It shall, therefore, exercise deliberative, legislative and executive functions. The Assembly will consist of the following members.

- i) the District Secretary appointed by government.
- ii) two-thirds to be directly elected by the electorate in the district.

iii) one-third to be appointed by the government in consultation with various interest groups in the district.

iv) a Presiding member of the Assembly who shall be elected by at least two-thirds of the members of the Assembly.

g) Access for Central and Local Government Relations

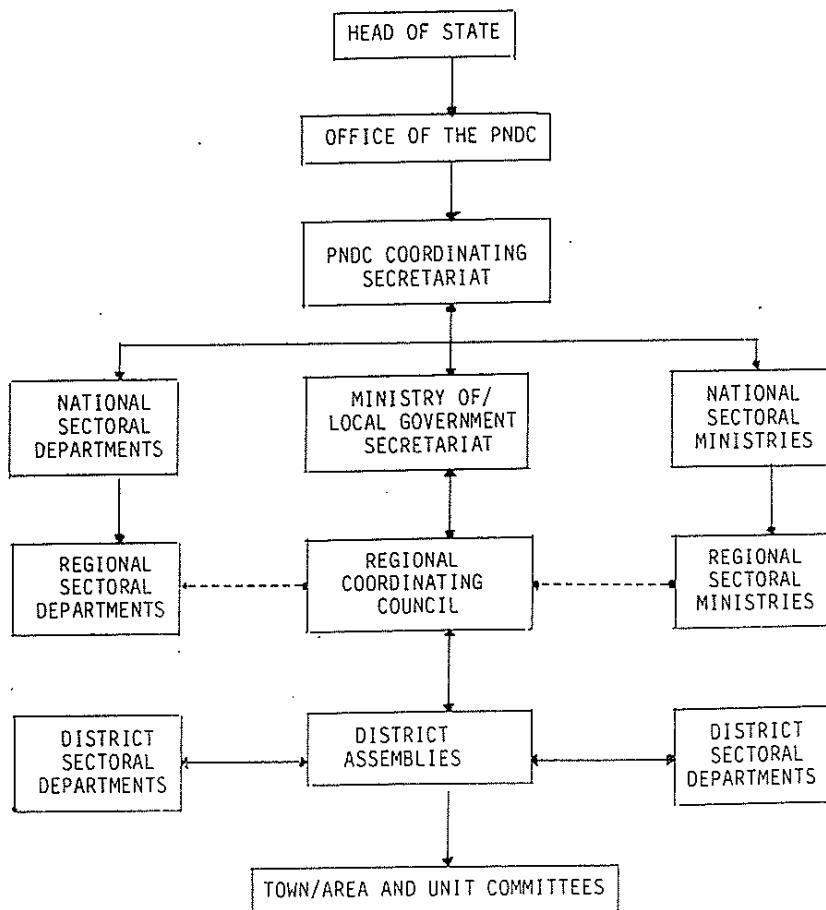
It appears that a three-tier system of local government units is emerging with the district at the centre, the regional unit at the top and the town/and area units at the base. (See Fig. 2). However, at present it is the district which is being vested with clearly defined political and administrative powers for development decision-making, of which the regional and the town and area units are derivations. The characteristics of this structure are outlined as follows:

- i) The District Assembly will take responsibility for the creation of Town/Area Councils and Unit Committees within its jurisdiction as prescribed by law.

ii) The regional unit will be designated as the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) consisting of the Regional Secretary as Chairman, deputies of the Regional Secretary as ex-officio members, all District Secretaries in the region, the Presiding members of all the District Assemblies in the region, one member from each District Assembly and not less than ten persons appointed by the government.

iii) The duties of the RCC will include coordination and formulation of integrated plans and programmes of the District Assemblies in the region, and harmonizing these plans and programmes with national development policies and priorities for approval by government; monitoring the implementation of programmes and projects and evaluating the performance of such programmes and projects in the region; planning at the regional level and integrating all departmental programmes in the region; as well as allocating to the Districts in the region public

Figure 2: Emerging Structure of Decentralised System of Government



funds and grants – in – aid ap – proved by the government.

- iv) With the above arrangements the Central Government through the District and Regional Secretaries will keep regular liaison between itself and the District Assemblies, who may also deliberate on issues of national concern and make recommendations to Central Government as they may consider appropriate.
- v) In order to facilitate communication, District Assemblies may conduct business in any Ghanaian language common to the Communities in the District other than English.

3.3 Planning Machinery

3.3.1 Existing Structure

Within the existing political and administrative framework for policy decision – making outlined earlier, the machinery for development planning decisions is still highly centralised in Accra at the Ministries, particularly at the Ministry of Finance and Economic planning. This is significant in view of the government's preoccupation with national economic growth under the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) financed by World Bank credit as well as structural adjustment facilities from the International Monetary Fund. Such economic growth oriented policies certainly thrive well on centralised decision – making structures, albeit with a price. It is not surprising therefore, that despite promising medium to long term growth prospects, the economy is characterised by widespread poverty and economic hardship, affecting certain segments of the Ghanaian Society. The government, therefore, had to resort to a programme of actions to mitigate the social costs of adjustment (PAMSCAD) to address the negative impacts of the ERP (Republic of Ghana, 1987).

3.3.2 Emerging Structure

On the basis of its determination to restructure and rationalise the institutional framework for planning services at the national, regional and local levels, the government has accepted proposals to establish a broadly representative National Development Planning Commission (NDPC). This commission will be located at the highest executive political level, supported by an inter – disciplinary and technical planning secretariat for integrated development planning and coordi –

nated implementation of development plans (Trevallion, 1987). The details of the composition, powers and functions of the NDPC and its secretariat as well as its relationship to other organs of government administration and Ministries are currently under discussion.

However, the overall structure of the machinery for planning which is emerging consists of an autonomous planning decision – making body at the district level, where decentralised central government departments will be transformed into local government departments under the orbit of the District Assembly, as well as the coordination and integration of sectoral plans prepared by these departments. District development plans so prepared will be subject to review and approval by the RCC at deliberations in which members of the District Assembly participate (see Figs. 3 and 4). The prospects and potential problems of these emerging structures for promoting planning dialogue are now examined.

4. Prospects and Problems

The prospects and problems of the decentralised system of government under construction in Ghana for promoting planning dialogue may be assessed primarily in terms of the structure and mechanism of the system itself, and from the view point of the community. Community views on the system are assessed on the basis of newspaper scan (fifty nine issues of the *People's Daily Graphic* a popular Ghanaian daily newspaper were reviewed from mid July to September 30th 1988) by the author and field interviews of the community in a target district in Ghana by one of the graduates of the SPRING programme (Midala, 1988). This assessment is outlined as follows:

4.1 Prospects

4.1.1 System Based Prospects

These are identified as follows:

- (a) The promotion of local initiative and community participation in plan formulation and implementation.
- (b) The reduction of absolute reliance on central government finance and the promotion of self – reliance and efficiency in financing the implementation of plans and projects at the local level.
- (c) The promotion of dialogue among bureaucrats and non – bureaucrats as well as the integration of plans as a spatial entity rather than separate sectoral units.

4.2.1 Community view of Prospects

The newspaper scan indicated that out of fifty – nine daily papers which were reviewed there was a total number of forty – two articles in which views on the prospects of the decentralisation process were expressed. These views were grouped under ten major headings similar to those often given as positive reasons for decentralisation including dialogue. The distribution of major prospects is shown in Table 1. It can be seen that the list compares favourably with the list of (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983). It can also be seen that the prospect to which the highest weight is assigned is dialogue in the planning process.

Table 1: Newspaper Scan: Distribution of Community Views on Prospects for Decentralisation of Government Machinery in Ghana

Prospect	Number of Articles	Percentage
1. Popular participation in Decision – making (Dialogue)	14	33.33
2. Satisfaction of basic needs in rural areas	6	14.30
3. Effective channels of communication between centre and periphery	3	7.15
4. Reduction in regional inequalities	4	9.50
5. Coordinated national development	1	2.38
6. Mobilisation of productive forces/resources in local communities	6	14.30
7. Political stability	5	11.90
8. Reversal of rural urban migration	1	2.38
9. Promotion of fundamental human rights	1	2.38
10. Reduce cost in operation of government machinery	1	2.38
	42*	100.00

(* Total number of articles expressing views on prospects.)

4.2 Problems

4.2.1 System Based Problems

Since the decentralised system of government in Ghana is still under construction, there are naturally many unanswered questions which cannot be posed now. However, the structure which has emerged so far generates a number of pertinent questions which are outlined as follows:

- (i) The possibility of dual allegiance to the Central Local Government Coordinating agency and the National Development Planning Commission by the Regional Coordinating Council.
- (ii) The relationship between regional sectoral departments and the Regional Planning Authority is not clearly defined. This is likely to undermine administration and functional efficiency at the local level.
- (iii) The procedure for approval of District Development Plans by the National Development Planning Commission is likely to be fraught with delays and red tape, leading to a chain of reactions back to centralisation.
- (iv) The composition and functions of Town/Area Councils in the local government hierarchy are not yet defined. This constitutes a missing link in the channel of communication between the local and the regional/national levels of decision-making units.

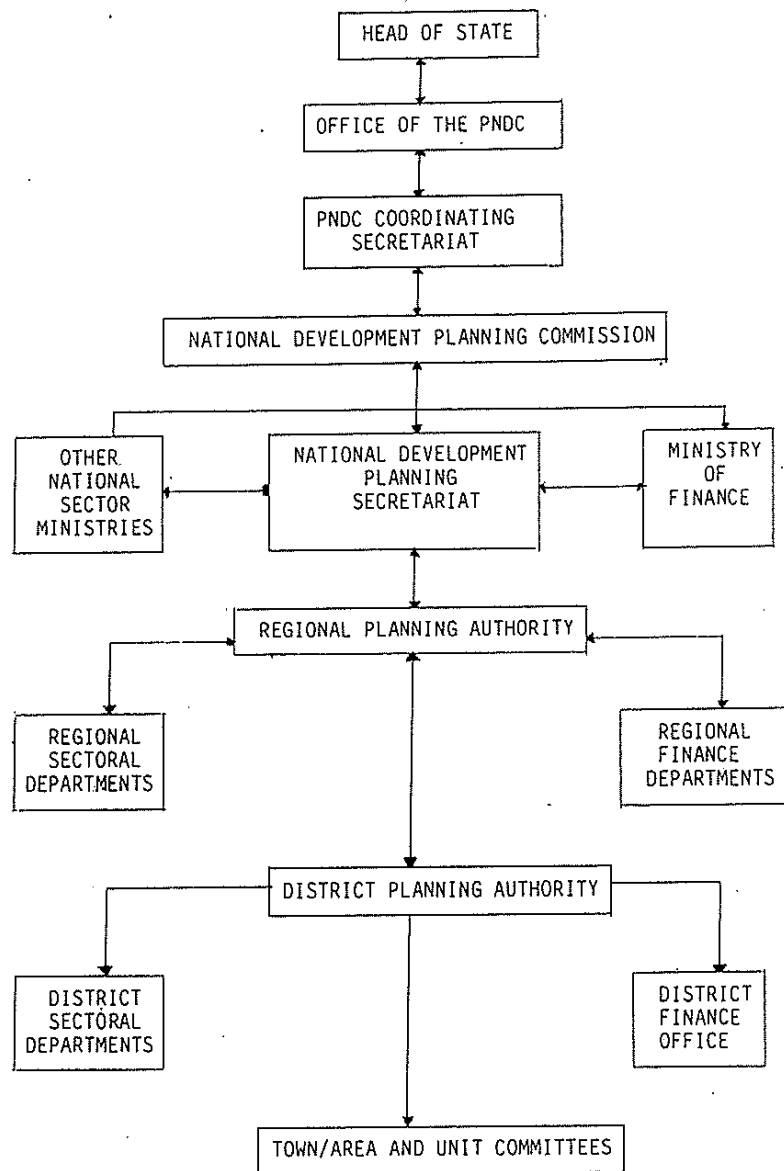
4.2.2 Community View of Problems

In the newspaper scan, negative views were expressed in twelve out of the fifty-four articles on the decentralisation process. This forms about 22% of the total number of articles on the subject. The negative sentiments relate to the following:

- a) Corruption and mismanagement.
- b) Inadequate infrastructure to accommodate local government services.
- c) Lack of adequate manpower and skills to administer local government machinery.
- d) Dual allegiance of local sectoral heads to parent ministry in Accra.
- e) Domination of the poor by the elite.
- f) Apathy due to lack of information and awareness about the decentralisation programme.
- g) Self-seeking Assemblymen.
- h) Ethnic politics.
- i) Divisiveness due to chieftancy disputes.

The last factor scored the highest frequency with the rest having the same frequency of occurrence. The main conclusion from this analysis which confirms Midala's findings is that it appears community perception of the problems is due to lack of information on the structure of decentralisation and the actual role which the common man in the village will play in the decision-

Figure 3: Emerging Structure of Decentralised Planning Machinery



making process apart from voting. This is because the Blue Book/Law contains provisions which may be invoked to address some of the problems identified by the community. For example it is stated in the Blue Book that

"The elected Assemblyman is responsible to his electorate and accounts to it. The electorate therefore has the right to revoke before the expiry of the full term, the mandate of an Assemblyman in whom it has lost confidence"

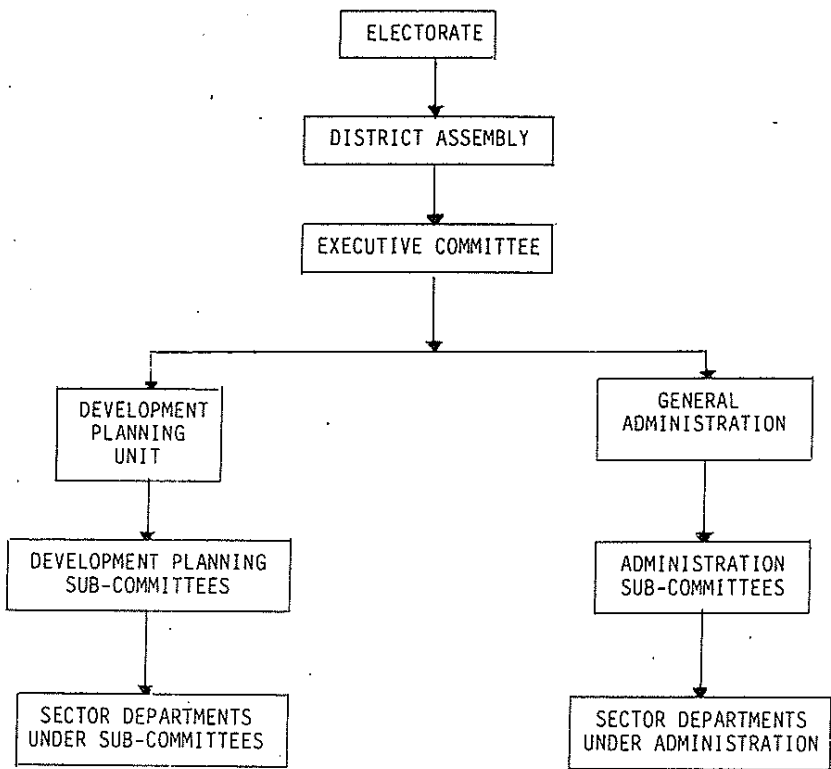
The procedure for revocation of an Assemblyman's appointment is specified in Article 19 of the Local Government Law.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

It is apparent that the foundations of a decentralised system for development planning decision-making by means of community participation or dialogue are gradually being laid in Ghana. The main features are the establishment of District Assemblies as the highest political and planning authority with powers to formulate and implement plans at the local level; the creation of a machinery for regional planning, not only in terms of administrative but also functional areas, in which elected representatives of the District par-

Figure 4: Emerging System of Local Government by District Assemblies



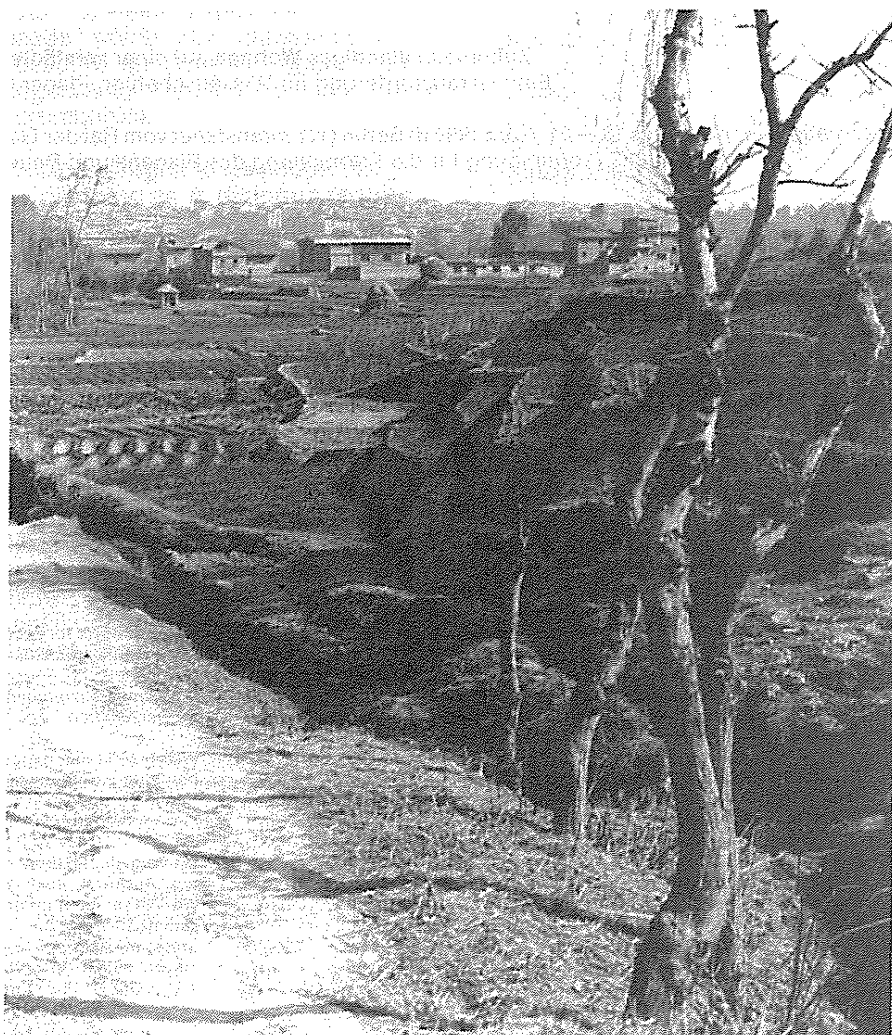
ticipate. These measures have the prospects of promoting community participation in plan formulation and implementation as well as local self-reliance in financing the implementation of plans and projects at the local level.

In sum it is possible to trace broad channels of communication for inter-dependent decision-making from the district to the national level and vice-versa.

However, the above prospects are fraught with certain problems of structure and implementation of the decentralised system. Significant among these are the possible dual allegiance of Regional Planning Authorities to political and administrative heads in Accra, and similar divided loyalty of regional sectoral departments to regional and national administrative heads. Another thorny problem is that because the functions of Town/Area Councils and Unit Committees are not yet defined as in similar terms to the District Assemblies, rural communities are unsure of their role and even doubt whether central government will divest power as a matter of policy. This lack of information and awareness tends to lead to apathy towards the decentralisation programme. It is in this light that the following recommendations are made.

5.2 Recommendations

- a) It is recommended that the Regional Planning Authority should be made responsible to the National Development Planning Commission which is a higher political and administrative body than any ministry of state. This will not only clarify the direction of responsibility but create the NDPC as a clearing house where administrative and professional matters can be sorted out.
- b) It is recommended that attempts should be made to define the role and functions of Town/Area Councils and Unit Committees in the decentralised machinery of government. In doing this deliberate and executive functions in the local community as well as the relationship of these units to the District Assemblies should be clearly defined and brought to the notice of the rural community.
- c) It is also recommended that in order to obviate the problem of storing District Development Plans



at the national level indefinitely, modalities and timing for approval of plans already recommended by Regional Planning Authorities should be worked out. The main suggestion is that distinction should be drawn between components, types or aspects of plans and programmes that can be implemented by District Planning Authorities after approval by Regional Coordinating by Councils, without approval by the NDPC.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Zukunftsbeständiges Wohnen auf einer verstädterten Erde? Eine Herausforderung für Wissenschaftler, Planer und Politiker

Internationaler Kongress 18.—24. März 1990 in Berlin (W) veranstaltet vom Rat der Gemeinden und Regionen Europas (RGRE) und TRIALOG (Vereinigung für die Erforschung des Planens und Bauens in Entwicklungsländern)

Die Verstädterung der Erde, besonders die der Entwicklungsländer, wird schon in naher Zukunft gewaltige Größenordnungen annehmen. Von 1960 bis heute betrug der Bevölkerungszuwachs in den Entwicklungsländern zusammen 890 Mio. Städter und 1,09 Mrd. Dorfbewohner. Von heute bis 2020 wird dieser Zuwachs — Prognosen der Vereinten Nationen zufolge — 2,07 Mrd. Stadt- und 340 Mio. Landbewohner betragen. Vor allem die Ballungsräume werden wachsen. Selbst eine erfolgreiche Strategie der Kleinstadtförderung wird wenig dagegen ausrichten, daß z.B. in dem am wenigsten verstädterten aller Kontinente, in Afrika, wo vor dreißig Jahren nur die Millionenstadt Kairo existierte, nach weiteren dreißig Jahren über 100 solcher Metropolen mit einer Gesamtbevölkerung von 370 Mio. zu finden sein werden, davon etwa 40 Ballungsräume von über 4 Mio. Einwohnern mit einer Gesamtbevölkerung von 260 Mio. — gegenüber ca. 65 Mio. heute in Lateinamerika.

Bestimmt durch konventionelle Siedlungsmuster und Infrastrukturen wird das Leben in vielen dieser Ballungsräume auf allen Kontinenten von Luftvergiftung, Wassernotstand, Mülllawinen, Pflanzensterben, Gesundheitsgefahren für Mensch und Natur gekennzeichnet sein — mit Auswirkungen auf das jeweilige Hinterland und auf das Klima und die Wirtschaft der ganzen Welt. Um den Preis ihres Überlebens: Die Menschheit muß umwelt- und sozialverträgliche, insgesamt „zukunftsbeständige“ Muster der Verstädterung finden.

Um die notwendige Aufmerksamkeit für diese Aufgabe zu wecken und vor allem um mögliche und notwendige Lösungsstrategien zu identifizieren, rufen der RGRE und TRIALOG zu einem internationalen Kongress auf, der sich aufteilt in einen

- i) wissenschaftlichen Workshop (Konferenzsprache englisch), der die Tendenzen und Strukturen der Verstädterung der 3. Welt auf Zukunftsbeständigkeit bzw. auf Möglichkeiten der Gegensteuerung untersucht, und ein
- ii) kommunal- und basispolitisches Forum (Konferenzsprachen englisch, französisch, spanisch, deutsch), das auf den Resultaten des Workshops aufbauend handlungsbezogene Aussagen erarbeiten soll und zwar insbesondere in Hinblick auf kommunale Initiativen, lokale Aktionsgruppen und Nord/Süd-Gruppenpartnerschaften.

Zur Analyse von Zustands- und Trendaussagen sowie von Innovationen in zu-

kunftsbeständiger Siedlungsgestaltung sollen folgende Arbeitsgruppen gebildet werden:

- I.a kommunale Managementstrukturen und lokale Handlungskompetenzen,
- I.b Formen sozial- und umweltverträglichen Wirtschaftens und
- I.c zukunftsbeständige Flächennutzung, Ver-/Entsorgung, Bauform, Umwelpflege usw.

Mit dem Ziel, Empfehlungen für basisnahe Nord-Süd-Kooperationen auszuarbeiten, werden anschließend Arbeitsgruppen gebildet zu Themen wie

- I.d Voraussetzungen selbstorganisierter Nord-Süd-Gruppenpartnerschaft,
- I.e Vermittlung und Verbreitung von Techniken zukunftsbeständigen Handelns und
- I.f Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und politische Sicherung zukunftsweisender Strategien.

Das kommunal- und basispolitische Forum sollte Aussagen zu den folgenden Themenkomplexen erarbeiten:

- II.a Richtwerte für zukunftsbeständige Lebensbedingungen,
- II.b Gestaltungselemente zukunftsbeständiger Wohn- und Wirtschaftsformen und
- II.c Kompetenzrahmen für lokale Selbstorganisationen und Nord/Süd-Partnerschaften.

Wissenschaftler, Experten und Sprecher kommunaler und lokaler Aktionsgruppen sind zur Teilnahme sowie zum Einsenden von Beiträgen zu den obigen Themengruppen eingeladen. Eine begrenzte Zahl von Reisespenden steht zur Verfügung. Sie sollen den Autoren wichtiger Beiträge zuerkannt werden.

Um Anmeldung für Beiträge zu den oben benannten Arbeitsgruppen wird gebeten. Auskunft, auch zur Formatierung der Manuskripte (wissenschaftlicher Workshop: nicht mehr als 5.000 Worte in englischer Sprache, sowie eine Zusammenfassung bis zu ca. 200 Worten; kommunal- und basispolitischer Kongress: maximal 4.000 Worte in deutsch, englisch, französisch oder spanisch einschließlich einer einleitenden Zusammenfassung) erteilt: TRIALOG, Dr.-Ing. Jürgen Oesterreich, Am Dickelsbach 10, D-4030 Ratingen 6

José Manuel Henriques
**Planning as a Dialogue -
The Portuguese Experience**

I. Why the need of "regional development planning as a dialogue"?

The results of traditional regional planning practice are not encouraging. The recent appearance of several proposals for innovating regional planning is symptomatic. The crisis accelerated transformations in territorial structures which made more acute the referred dissatisfaction. The urgency of regional problems, the growing scarcity of public financial resources and the need for strengthening the legitimacy basis of the state, raises the claim for more efficiency in the use of public resources for more effective results of intervention.

The limits of traditional functionalist planning practice have been sufficiently well analysed (FRIEDMANN, J., WEAVER, C., 1979). It shares the main assumptions with neo-classical economic theories, refers mainly to optimizing problems of the localisation of economic agents and the functioning of regional and urban systems. The lack of assumptions related to individual human behaviour, to needs satisfaction, to income distribution and to natural resources consumption are examples of its limits in dealing with problems related to mass poverty, "basic-needs", collective and individual value-oriented commitment and ecological problems (BAUER, L., 1985).

Therefore, a deep restructuring of concepts, methodologies and instruments for regional planning is needed. The concept of "regional development planning as a dialogue" emphasizes the need for interactive communication. The need for negotiated interventions and effective communication between the several agents involved in the planning process are considered as preconditions for success. The reconciliation of contradictory interests (negotiation among private agents, between private and public agents, between public agents, etc.), the communication between different forms of organization of knowledge (between different cultures, between

academic and non-academic knowledge, etc.) the interactive communication practices to formulate norms (as conscient internalization of the rules of collective life in the use of territory) and the communication among regional planning technicians of "regional development planning as a dialogue".

The territorial approach to regional planning that will be discussed here has its roots in the regional "endogenous" concept of development (FRIEDMANN, J., WEAVER, C., 1979; SENGHAAS, D., 1977; STÖHR, W., 1981). Territorial development will be understood as local development at different territorial levels, and refers mainly to the ecological, economic, psycho-socio-cultural and political aspects of local resources mobilization to the satisfaction of basic needs within the framework of a collective development project "endogenously" determined in local communities.

II. Does "regional development planning as a dialogue require a new paradigm of scientific knowledge?"

The conceptual problems raised by "regional development planning as a dialogue" show no solution within the dominant paradigm of scientific knowledge.

The interdependency between ecological problems and human survival needs the integration of the different fields of scientific knowledge. It is not only a question of claiming for more interdisciplinarity within the social sciences. Time is ripe to accept the challenge of the integration of natural sciences with social sciences.

The personal involvement of regional planning technicians with the planning object can no longer be forgotten. Hence if the planning object can no longer be confined to problems of optimal location, or network management, and is explicitly assumed as being related to concrete living conditions of concrete living people with dissatisfied basic-needs the classical subject-object

distinction is no longer meaningful in concrete places to which they are tied by historically defined cognitive and affectionate bonds, make the utility of scientific knowledge based on quantification and generalization of little value to planning practice. Concrete "life" problems are the result of particular articulations of multidimensional aspects of the reproduction of human life in society and in nature. Scientific knowledge may face the risk of sterility if it cannot be used by anyone without an academic education.

Regional development planning as a dialogue may well need a new paradigm of scientific knowledge. We will briefly follow the proposal of Boaventura Sousa Santos (SANTOS, B.S., 1987) in his paradigm of a "prudent knowledge for a decent life":

- o all natural scientific knowledge is social scientific; the "person" is relocated as author and center of the world, and the "nature" is relocated in the center of the person;
- o all scientific knowledge is local and total; it aims at totality, is constituted around themes (not disciplines) that can be adopted by concrete social groups as projects of life, and is knowledge about "conditions of possibility"; it needs, therefore, "methodological transgression";
- o all scientific knowledge is self-knowledge; first one has to know deeply about oneself; only then is it possible to know what there is possible to know about reality through oneself.
- o all scientific knowledge aims at becoming common-sense; it is basically the possibility of communicating with other forms of knowledge and of being open to other forms of organization of knowledge.

III. Some aspects of "regional development planning as a dialogue"

Regional development planning as a dialogue has the territorial integration of territorial integration of endogenous regional development processes as its main reference. It is generally conceived as a process of comprehensive resource management. Regional development planning as a dialogue does not correspond to a dominant practice. Its configuration can only be approached in a speculative way.

As it should be strongly connected with local initiatives to face concrete problems, there exists no standardized solutions. In each case the regional planning process should be understood as a methodology closer to "social engineering". The approaches aim at continuous social innovation processes through the mobilization of all the resources and energies of local communities. Its method is holistic, multi-level and complex.

It is obviously a process that differs radically from functionalist conventional practice. There is no such thing as technically identifiable social optima that can be transferred to, or imposed, on reality. The main question to solve is "the creation of structures through which the people can relate better to their environment and have a broader access to (urban) resources" (MABOGUNJE, A., 1980, p. 217).

Regional development planning as a dialogue assumes as a basis the interactive human communication. Dialogue is related to social relations at the different levels of human organization in society: dialogue between different philosophies and contradictory interests, dialogue between cultures and different forms of organization of knowledge, dialogue for the construction of norms for collective coexistence in the use of territory and dialogue between scientific disciplines: This means dialogue among people with different scientific background.

Dialogue as a process of negotiation of interests

Regional development planning as a dialogue accepts the complexity that arises from the interaction among different agents at different territorial levels and recognizes the reasons for their "rationalities". It assumes, in this process, different agents with unequal negotiating capacities, contradictory interests and eventually antagonistic strategies.

The planning agent is just an agent among others and his capacity of intervention in regional development processes depends on his negotiating capacity (PORTAS, N., 1985; PORTAS, N., 1988). Therefore, regional planning has to be imbedded in the real competence of the planning agent and the reinforcement of his negotiating capacity. This facilitates the possible change in regional development processes towards a desired goal.

Regional development planning as a dialogue assumes that the capacity of intervention in regional development processes by territorial governments is relatively small and that the quality of the possible intervention depends very much on the precise identification of the limits of the intervention itself.

The intervention is more successful when its own limits are better known. And this knowledge may be articulated with a global, qualitative and multiple prospective vision (GODET, M., 1985). The identification of the forces and the agents influencing regional development processes and the identification of "germs of change" can play a strategic role in planning processes.

Such an approach brings us to some main assumptions of "territorial strategical planning" (CARVALHO, J., et. al., 1987; SALLEZ, A., 1986). It helps in the identification of strategic objectives, the choice of ways to adapt to "heavy trends", to mobilize available resources and it offers an operational framework for the intervention of the planning agent for the "possible" control of regional development processes.

However, this approach needs informal planning procedures (ABE-CASSIS, I., et. al., 1985, SILVA, F., 1988). The articulation between planning and management, the implementation of continuous planning processes and a planning process through strategic programmes and projects to face specific problems in critical areas are some of the aspects of such an approach. Continuous and oriented diagnosis and expeditious processes of obtaining strategical relevant information (privileged informers from within the local communities, etc.) allows the definition of their first operational objectives and continuous refinement through processes of "progressive focusing" (LOBO, M., 1988).

Dialogue as communication between academic and non-academic knowledge

Regional development planning as a dialogue for endogenous development gives rise to difficult problems, namely, those related to the role of planners in the planning process. In functionalist planning technicians play a decisive role in identifying problems and evaluating needs dissatisfaction. This role has to be analysed in relationship to the limits of the subject-object relationship in scientific knowledge. That distinction transfers to the collective uncon-

science and to the affective and cognitive individual unconscious an essential meaning (PREISWERK, R., 1976, p. 155). A planning technician will tend to reproduce the ideological and cultural universe of his social class and of the educational system in which he lived through his socialisation process. As a product of this process he will remain an ethnocentric and egocentric individual unable to recognize the needs and the problems of a different social group or of a different cultural universe (PREISWERK, R., 1976, p. 158).

With the above attitudes the assumptions of a regional development planning as a dialogue will be difficult to realize. They will remain entrenched in theoretical ways of thinking "from above", what Schäfer describes as being individualistic, supposed to be objective and not involved (SCHÄFER, W., 1982, p. 210).

But the change of attitudes and behaviours in local communities requires important changes in the attitudes of planning technicians.

Community centered approaches are needed, and the lived dimension of the problems has to be considered as being as important as the theoretical explanation of its nature. The point of departure has to be the empirical dimension of problems, and not only the knowledge and the rational explanation (CALDEIRA, C., 1982, p. 81). It requires the wish to communicate, starting with where the problems are real to common sense knowledge.

The possibility of communication in those circumstances needs basic attitudes from regional planning technician teams. Congruence (agreement of the team with itself), unconditional listening (acceptance of people without value judgements) and emphatic understanding (apprehension of the affective world of groups and individuals within local communities) are the three basic attitudes suggested by Rogers (ROGERS, C., 1979) to help communication. If regional planners want to contribute to the promotion of change they have to learn first how those who face the problems understand their world. If that can be reached, the restructuring of common sense will be easier and the possibility of the construction of a critical consciousness may arise (FREIRE, P., 1975). That could also become a first step towards community self-consciousness and freedom (CALDEIRA, C., 1979).

Dialogue as the base is for norms and rules of collective life

Technicians need changes in their basic attitudes if they want to effect changes in local communities. They may need to accept the development of dialogal pedagogics in dealing with norms and rules for collective behaviour in a given territory to promote public participation in regional planning processes.

To be effective, norms and rules have to be related to the traditions and culture of local communities (LOBO, M., 1988). Their meaning has to be clear and the scientific reasoning to be translated into the language of the local community audits existing cultural universe.

Again, the point of departure has to be found in commonly felt problems of a lived dimension.

Dialogue among scientific disciplines in regional planning

Regional development planning as a dialogue in terms of endogenous regional development has a global, multi-level and complex approach. Therefore, it is based on interdisciplinary cooperation in the organization of scientific knowledge.

The communication between disciplines of different scientific traditions depends mainly on communication among persons with different scientific backgrounds. The quality of interdisciplinary knowledge depends deeply on the quality of interpersonal relationships within the regional planning teams. Common values and emotional or political commitment may be determinant conditions for the quality of interdisciplinary results. The pleasure of interacting inside the group may be the determinant of the imagination and of the creativity that the group may be able to develop.

The possibility of non-defensive behaviour and attitudes becomes essential. It may be easier to accept the areas of ignorance which may stimulate further progress than to live with insecurity and fear of the risk of professional disqualification.

The quality of communication inside the planning teams may also depend on the size of the groups. Small groups make interaction easier. Therefore, small groups make quality easier. It does not seem that the bigger size of technicians teams with different education background may make it easier to achieve a better quality in the global apprehension of complexity.

In the same way, the quality that may result from personal interaction in interdisciplinary work cannot be mistaken with the sophistication of methods and technics of information organization that computers made possible. Small groups with strong internal interaction, experiencing conditions of possible non-defensive attitudes, may obtain better results in interdisciplinary work than the big teams supported by the most sophisticated electronic equipment.

IV. Some examples from Portuguese municipal planning practice

This paper tries to show that some recent innovations in Portuguese regional development planning practice are close to the concept of regional development planning as a dialogue. Its capacity of achieving concrete results towards the solution of the problems of the territorial communities may reinforce its opportunity.

In Portugal there are no administrative regions, a regional policy never existed and the spatial consequences of national development policy do not receive significant attention. With European Community integration these aspects became even more relevant.

The Portuguese experiments in regional planning under central initiative were very few. They showed great difficulties in intersectoral articulation of actions and the articulation of central and local governments were never successful.

In Portugal there are no regionalist traditions. The territorial identity of Portuguese people is local. Therefore, if regional planning practice must be imbedded in the competence of territorial governments, and if one accepts that territorial identity seems to play an important role in local development than the municipalities see their position justified in regional development planning issues.

Municipalities are the only territorial governments with autonomy within the framework of their competence and they are facing the need of an increasing participation in the development process. The expression of the main problems of the Portuguese society at the local level are forcing the Municipalities to defensive and offensive strategies to promote local development.

The autonomy of local governments was first recognised with the Con-

stitution of 1976. 305 Municipalities and 4,156 parishes are the base of Portuguese local government structure (the use of "parish" not in the religious sense but as a section of a municipality). One should note that the territory of Portuguese municipalities has an average population which is significantly higher than in other southern European countries (28000 inhabitants, 6841 in Italy, 3909 in Spain). In Portugal the reorganization of local governments did not happen as the sequence of a regionalization process as in other countries. It was the consequence of a decentralization process aimed at the increase of participation. That's the reason why local governments still have significant freedom in their interpretation of the law with special reference to the protection of locally defined interests.

Traditional regional planning practice does not exist in Portugal. There are, however, interesting processes under municipal initiative that are close to a possible understanding of a concept of regional development planning as a dialogue. The Portuguese municipal intervention in development promotion shows some innovative experiments and it is rich in examples attributing to the interpretation of the configuration of alternative development styles (HENRIQUES, J.M., 1987).

However, formal physical planning is without significance at the municipal level: From the 305 existing municipalities only 6 have their master plans enacted, lending a legal value to the plan.

Let us bear in mind the definition of local development suggested by Greffe (GREFFE, X., 1985 quoted in PFLIEGER, S., 1985 p. 34) and the definition of territorial development suggested by Clyde Weaver (WEAVER, C., 1981, p. 93). Local development will be understood as a process of strengthening and diversification of social and economic activities based on the mobilization and on the coordination of the resources and energies of the local communities to meet their fundamental needs. It will be the result of the efforts of the population and it assumes the existence of a development project integrating its economic, social and cultural aspects. The local development aims to transform a space of physical contiguity into a space of active solidarity.

Having in mind the basic assumptions of the concept of a regional development planning as a dialogue

and of a concept of local and territorial development, planning initiatives cannot be reduced to formal regional planning.

Local government organizations for the reinforcement of local power

Regional development planning as a dialogue assumes different scales of analysis and intervention. Its different issues are associated with specific problems and the analysis of those problems shall occur at different scales according to nature.

Moving scale of regional municipal and inter-municipal initiatives and deconcentration of local power "from below"

The creation of a National Association of the Portuguese Municipalities and the creation of a National Association of the Portuguese Parishes are interesting cases of deconcentration "from below" aimed at the reinforcement of negotiating capacities of local governments facing central administration.

The moving territorial scale of regional municipal intervention is present in the practice of many municipalities. They may belong simultaneously to different associations at regional level according to different problems with specific incidence in particular areas with different territorial scales of analysis and intervention.

That's the case of Vila Franca de Xira, an industrialized suburban Municipality from the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (88,193 inhabitants). It belongs to three different regional associations to face three different types of problems: waste water treatment, cultural animation and agricultural promotion.

The claim for competences, resources and establishment of legislation related to local governments

Five municipalities (Braga, Coimbra, Aveiro, Portalegre and Barreiro), including some of the biggest towns, announced in the newspapers to sue the government. They argued they were not receiving public resources that they had the right to receive according to the law. The problem was related to the inefficiency of public transportation competences.

The inter-municipal dialogue to solve common problems within the territorial limits of their competences at different scales, and the national

inter-municipal and inter-parish dialogue to reinforce common capacity to negotiate with the central administration are interesting examples of inter-active communication inside the public administration.

Promotion of local development processes through municipal intervention

Some municipalities took the initiative of stimulating development impulses from within local communities.

That's the case of Castanheira de Pera (5,137 inhabitants), a small highly industrialized municipality at the centre of the country threatened by the crisis in textil industry in which it specializes. A local development process was initiated. A community scenario workshop following the model of a "Zukunftswerkstatt" (JUNCK, R., MÜLLERT, N., 1981) was organized. Local participants were involved in four working groups: valorization of local culture, textile industry restructuring, support to local enterprises and forest restructuring.

Later, a local development organization was created by municipal initiative. Two-thirds of the local inhabitants were shareholders of the local development organization. The mayor explained the project in his meetings with the population from the small parishes establishing the parallel between buying shares and donating the money for religious purposes: "like offering the money to the saint". The municipality as well as many emigrants in Brazil, Canada and northern Europe, participate in the capital of the organization. Meanwhile, it has already financed a medium size assembly factory creating 100 jobs.

In another municipality, Portel, a small and poor rural country the southeast with 8,306 inhabitants, the municipality started to organize a meeting in the local community. The invitation explained that only the citizens themselves could change their own attitudes and start to mobilize their rich but under utilized endogenous potential. A Local Association for the Development and Environmental Defense was created. New products were invented (bricks incorporating olive tones, fertilizers produced from organic garbage by earthworms, essential oils drawn from the wild plants in the mountains). Several small cooperatives and local employment initiatives were created. An association of honey producers was organized as

well as an association to commercialize the handicrafts of small isolated producers from the several small parishes of the municipality.

In both cases local initiatives and abilities were used to promote development impulses "from below". Inter-active communication was possible in situations where common problems could be discussed. Crisis and under-development were felt with fear and depression. Some hope emerged and the territorial identity played an important role in community cohesion.

In Castanheira de Pera dialogue was present from the beginning. First, a community workshop was organized. Afterwards the idea of creating the Local Development Organization was discussed and explained to the population. Local savings were mobilized and dialogue made it possible that the individually rational behaviour was not dominant: To take the money to the bank instead of buying shares from the local development organization was an investment with less risk and more profitable. The explanation of the initiative in religious terms could be understood as an example for inter-cultural communication.

In Portel small scale dialogue was also present from the beginning. Nobody believed in its success. Continuous cultural work with unemployed youngsters encouraged enthusiasm.

A collective development project was initiated in both cases, local available resources were mobilized and the integration of cultural, economic and social aspects made it possible.

The role of the autonomous sector in regional development planning as a dialogue

The promotion of communal life has been an aim of the municipality of Castelo de Vide, a small rural town (4,187 inhabitants) in south east near the border of Spain. The mayor assumes his role as a community development agent in personal terms. Talking with people he suggests ideas for collective initiatives. The local newspaper is produced and distributed by a small association. In another example, the potentiality of that approach may become more obvious. In a small parish the care of the elderly was felt by the local community as an unsolved problem. The mayor, representing the municipality, promoted a meeting to discuss the problem

and suggested the creation of an association to find a solution to the problem. Self-financed by the local community the association started and was gradually transformed into a community cultural centre.

The problem (elderly care) was the point of departure. Formal local power was used to promote an association. The formal power was returned to the community as soon as the association started to function.

Reinforcement of local and intra-regional communication

There are about 700 local radio stations in Portugal. They play an important role in promoting local community participation in discussing local relevant issues.

An interesting example of dialogue in "real time" can be seen in the municipality of Vila Franca de Xira. Every fortnight, the mayor can be reached by telephone on a local radio station at a specific time. He answers questions put to him on local issues.

Informal regional planning as a dialogue

Formal territorial planning activities are almost non-existent in Portugal. Regional planning practice initiated by the central administration had almost no results. On the municipal level planning formal initiatives just started. But there are some effective planning processes and though they do not necessarily follow the law, they are becoming effective.

Integrated Plan of the Setubal Peninsula

In the southern part of the metropolitan area of Lisbon, 9 municipalities (584,648 inhabitants, representing 25% of the population of the metropolitan area) created their own association for development promotion and planning purposes. It is an area with severe unemployment caused by the crisis in old industrial sectors (metallurgy, shipbuilding, chemicals for agriculture, etc.).

The aim of the plan is to coordinate the development policies of the different municipalities within the framework of a global development strategy for the whole area. It also aims at the reinforcement of negotiating capacity of the local municipalities in relationship to the central administration as it took the initiative to promote an Integrated Development Operation for the area.

Such a plan does not exist in the Portuguese law. Its success will depend on the quality of the dialogue.

Coordination of local initiatives "from below"

Lisbon (807,937 inhabitants in 53 parishes) was for a certain period following a concept of planning as a dialogue. Officially, the objective was to revise the master plan. Instead, the planning department gave priority to the support and coordination of the local initiatives of the parishes. Parishes with similar problems were organized to discuss them and, to look for common solutions. Those concrete problems were used as reference for the involvement of sectoral departments of the central administration and of grass roots groups "pedagogy of the urban problem" was promoted with exhibitions and interactions at schools where some interdisciplinary pedagogical experiments were tried.

Informal land use control

In Evora (51,572 inhabitants), a nice historical town in the south of Portugal, the municipality had to face the need to control illegal settlements. Formal planning initiatives to control land use were considered to be ineffective. The municipality decided to interfere within the market mechanism and started to sell serviced land at a price below the market price.

In those cases planning was understood in different forms: negotiating capacity reinforcement in Setubal, coordination at different scales of local initiatives of the parishes in Lisbon, interference with the mechanisms of territory restructuring, after analysing the nature of decisive forces and agents in this process and competing with them with the same market weapons in Evora.

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Ingrid Schwoerer
**Exploring Opportunities for Planning:
 Two Lessons from Brazil**

During the military dictatorship, Brazil became well known not only for its high economic growth rates (accompanied by the ideology: the cake has to become bigger first before it can be distributed), but also for its huge investment projects – the most famous probably being the Transamazonica and the Itaipu electricity generating plant – which the Brazilian public nowadays call "pharaoh projects". The slow and ongoing change in democracy in the "Nova Republica" led to new development expectations concerning social and economic justice, participation and involvement in decision making. Also decentralization has been called for to empower the lowest level of government, which is the municipality. This level had not lost its formal rights, but most of its financial and effective power during the dictatorship. The reintroduction of free elections for mayors and the municipal parliament would strengthen then local politics, so were the expectations. The call for democratization also meant restructuring of the planning machinery. As the crisis continues, the politico-administrative system is having a hard time living up to these expectations.

The subsequent observations are based on a Brazilian-German Technical Cooperation project which took place in a rural area in the North East of Brazil from 1986-88. Its objectives were to support an association of 42 local governments (Associação dos Municípios) which had been established to strengthen local and regional units as well as to support the weak rural local governments in providing technical and administrative services. Not the whole range of regional problems and project activities are covered here, the following elaboration focuses on potentials and restraints for communicative planning processes, using two examples to develop the points to be made.

Regional Setting

The region is located in the North East of Brazil, albeit that it belongs to the state of Minas Gerais, which is usually counted as part of the

rich South East of the country. The area is geographically enormous: 120 000 sq.km. with 1.2 million people. Its economy is based on agriculture – cattle, some irrigation areas at the Rio Sao Francisco which are of agroindustrial proportions, wood extraction for charcoal production to be used in the steel industry, partially from eucalyptus reforestation areas. Latifundias go along with small holdings which are often held without titles, implying the danger to the occupier of being evicted. Products are rice, corn, coffee, beans, cotton, sugar cane, depending on locational factors and the drought, which has struck this region as well as the whole of the North East periodically. Migration is ongoing. Most of the population lives in thinly scattered small rural settlements. The political structure is conservative.

Example 1: A rural feeder road programme

A sectoral programme is chosen here in order to illustrate the different types of imbalances hindering dialogues.

As can be seen from the map, the intraregional road network is still sparse and based on dirt roads. At the state level a programme for rural feeder roads is being formulated. There are highway authorities present at the national and state levels. The state highway authority has computers with which it can monitor ongoing investments. Its technical capacities are high. It is the head line agency for several regional workshops responsible for plan implementation (construction) and maintenance of roads. However, its information about local (municipal) roads is incomplete. Therefore, it requires further information to formulate its programme.

A questionnaire of about 40 pages, asking for many technical details is printed and sent out to the 34 Municipal Associations, which are again asked to distribute it to the 722 Local Governments in the state of Minas Gerais. Because of manpower and financial restraints, the ques-

Figure 1:
 The region and its municipios: Area Mineira da SUDENE



tionnaire remains for weeks in the offices of the municipal associations. However, even its distribution might not lead to the expected results. Many mayors in the rural areas have only primary school education. They are not able to answer the complicated questionnaire. They do not have an engineer whom they could ask to fill in the information required. Even worse, they might not even have an up-to-date road map of the territory of the municipios, but only of its urban zone. Of course, the local administration has some preferences for roads to be built, but these choices may be highly personal. As a result, only a few questionnaires from the relatively larger and well to do municipal governments will be sent back, some not at all, some incomplete. The technicians in the highway department will be frustrated.

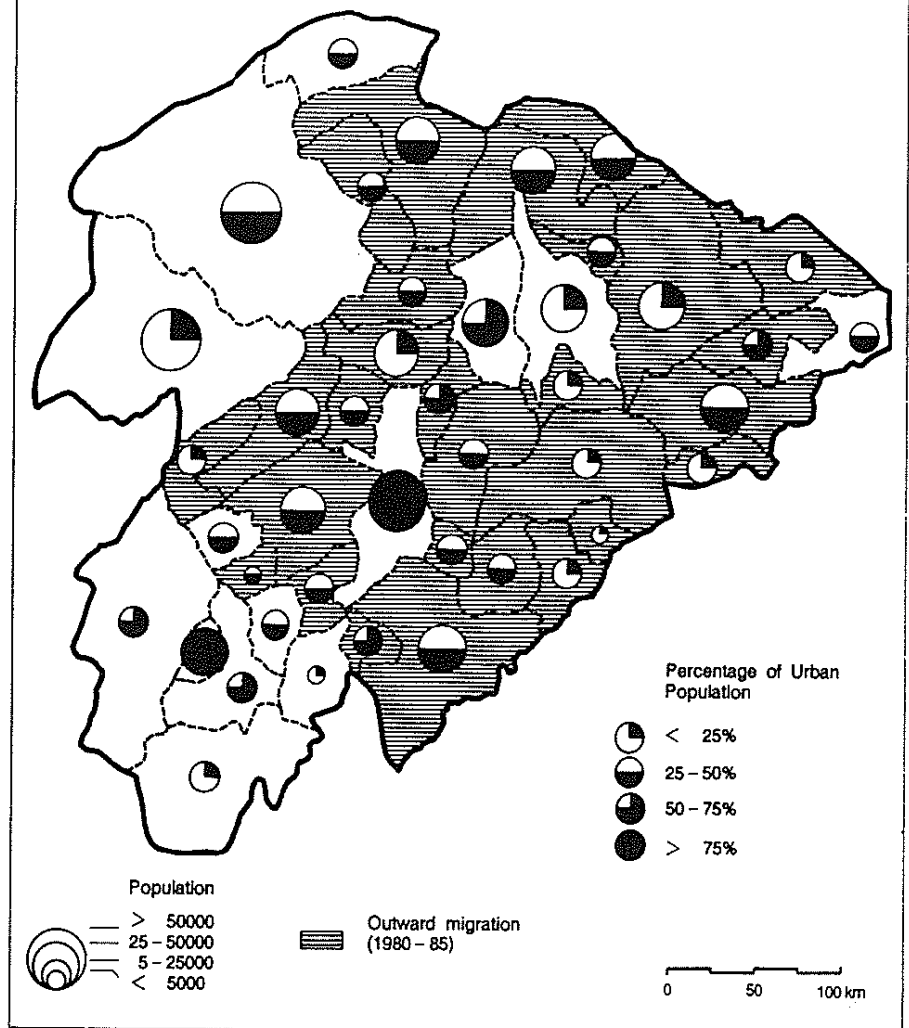
Instead of answering the questionnaire, the mayors will pay a visit to the highway authority and their contact person there on their agenda for their next trip to the state capital. In addition, they will try to use their political influence for inclusion in the programme. The decision making process will be fragmentary, with a lot of "hidden" dialogues. The final programme, of course, will legitimize the decisions taken in this technical-political muddle through process.

In the actual example, the problem was overcome by including a transport engineer in the process. He, together with planning personnel from the municipal association, visited all 42 municipios, made appointments with mayors, political representatives and community groups, helped them to formulate a simple road priority plan for the area in the municipal development context, got the maps drawn and the requests formulated. So through the project situation, there was an effort to strengthen the local participation in the decision making process at the state level.

However, I want to use the aforementioned simple example to illustrate a number of imbalances which hinder dialogues in planning processes. They are imbalances - between requested information and information available at the local level,

- o between a costly and probably inefficient survey and the limited scope of the programme (the investment sum will definitely not be adequate for all local feeder

Figure 2:
Urbanization and rural population 1980



- o road requests - so why not formulate criteria in advance of asking every local government),
 - o between the professional methods and techniques of the sectoral institution at the state level and at the local level - in this case between questionnaires and computers and local governments which are hardly able to manage very simple administrative procedures,
 - o between the pretension of technically sound decision making and the actual fragmented decision making process which will take place,
 - o between politics and administration. It should be obvious that the road priority programme at the municipal level requires political decision making based on technical advice. The programme cannot be formulated if there is no technical advice available or no will for political decision making processes, and
 - o between periphery and centre. From the military dictatorship results a huge technocratic bureaucracy which is highly specialized, but relates poorly to other sectors and even less to the peripheral development reality.
- Decentralization, although politically asked for, still has a long way to go. A side effect of the request for participation in the formulation of development programmes is that now delegates from the various sectoral development institutions visit local governments and ask for community participation in programme formulation. This induced self-organization may increase local political fragmentation, if it cannot build on an ongoing process of self-organization of interests at this level. It happens that imbalances between time ranges of institutional programmes and the self-organization process lead to the dissolution of groups because they do not get what has been promised, they don't have access to intermediate agents who communicate

with institutions etc. The church – also not widely present in the above described region – and primary school teachers seem to be the only ones able to take over the role of intermediate agents at the local level.

Example II: A workshop on local development in the region

This workshop was organized at the location of the municipal association. It was intended to facilitate the exchange of experiences at different levels within the region:

- o between community associations in different rural areas,
- o between municipal administrations,
- o between line agencies present in the region,
- o between municipal associations, and
- o between an established university and the regional university in process of formation concerning extension work in rural areas.

Detailed information on the seminar is not covered here. It should be mentioned, however, that the political representation (mayors/party leaders) was weak, but the professionals and the active participation and competence of rural community leaders helped to focus the workshop on local rural development problems. The results concerning the opening up of a regional development dialogue may be summarized as follows:

1. Self-organization is a prerequisite for endogenous development

If endogenous development is to be supported and there is no big investment project which will change the face of the whole region rapidly, local creativity and the process of self-organization is a prerequisite for identifying local development potentials. In rural areas, it is a difficult and lengthy process because so called "change agents", who could become community leaders tend to migrate. Left behind are poorly organized groups of illiterates, women and children – to paint a drastic picture – and the few privileged which tend to be conservatives in a still latifundia based society. Even in cases where a mayor shows a willingness for a more participative policy – and this happens when there is little he can expect from outside, but still wants

to broaden his popularity – the self-organization process is still lengthy. The experience of a comparatively successful small rural community organization which was visited during the seminar and which had gone through its ups and downs shows that its history started with religious groups of self-valuation, described as a process in which the individual starts to take his/her own life seriously and becomes responsible for his/her own actions. The organization – which still needs the support of the Catholic church and other intermediate agents – has become a political fact not to be ignored by the political community and the administration, now entering a new and more formalized field of work (and conflicts).

2. Promises not followed by actions discourage self-organization

The above described dilemma between different time spans of self-organization and government action can become discouraging if – as it has happened in this region – the area is the target of many special development programmes, with a lot of project identification visits from institutions asking for self-organized requests and with little to follow.

3. Educational institutions can get involved

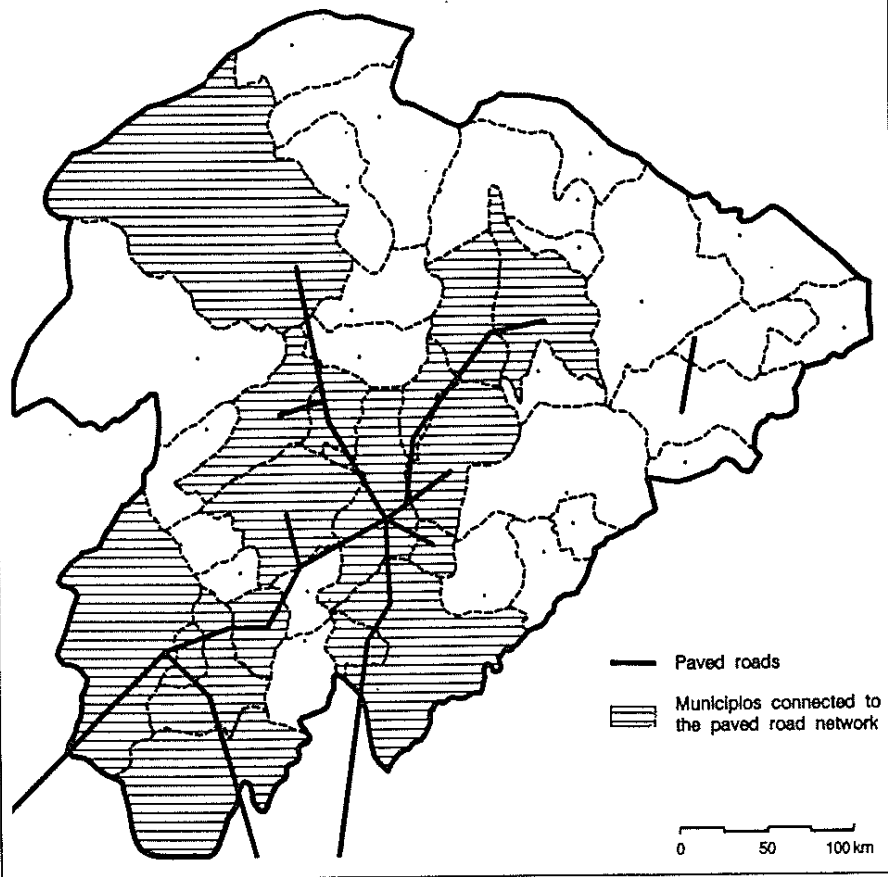
This proved to be a very promising venture as the local university is eager to strengthen its regional links. Project work could be coordinated with local governments and community groups in different fields (medical assistance, upgrading of primary education, assistance to the local administration). Although the objectives differ – the educational institution wants to improve its "real world learning" while the community wants reliable assistance, a support for self-organization may be the outcome of these activities.

4. The municipal associations (Gemeindeverbände) are still weak

They function partly as service institutions to the local governments.

However, their regional articulation and integration role has not yet been put forward, the tradition of considering every municipio as a "capitania" or little kingdom is still quite common. They are not able to tackle urgent planning problems of regional extent (e.g. a water resource study to deal with the drought).

Figure 3: Road network



5. The line agencies reflect the institutional instability

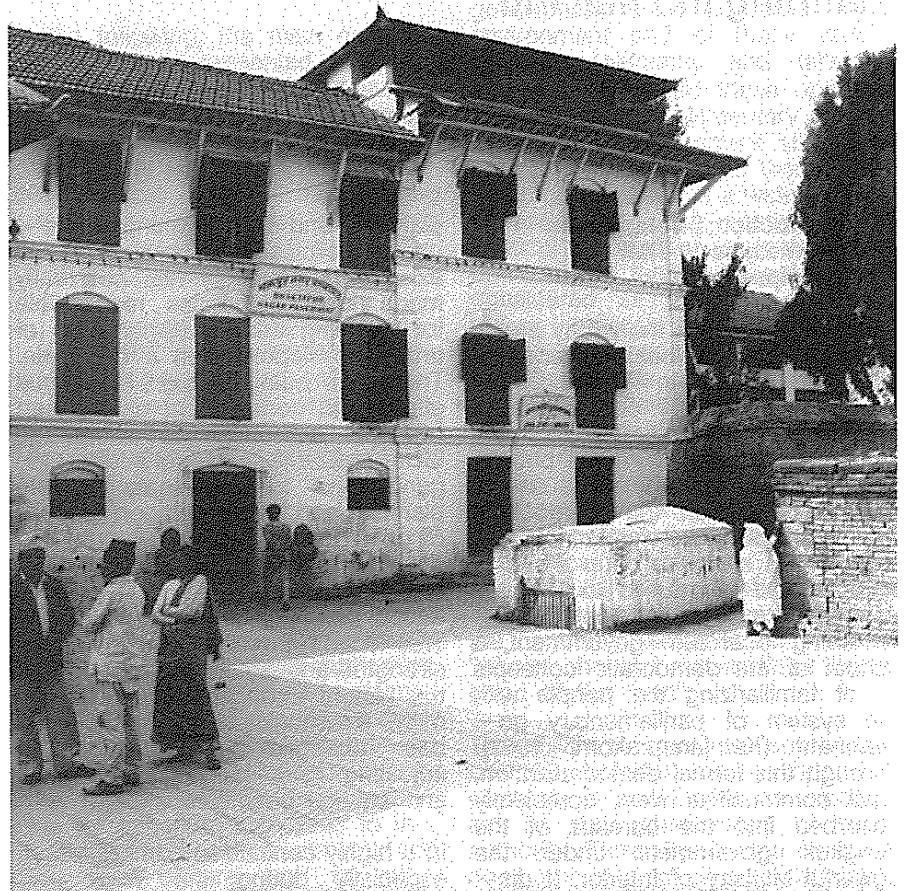
Many of them function at the moment under financially heavy restraints with regard to personnel/career prospects and changing policies. Also they have difficulties in adapting to a new planning and implementation style. Their coordination at the regional level hardly functions. However, some technicians are eager to improve their work in relation to the rural realities. Under the prevailing institutional insecurity, however, the capacity is limited.

6. Make local problems the centre of discussion

This summarizes the most successful feature of the seminar. The competence of the community leaders concerning their knowledge and comprehension of local development problems astonished many of the "experts", who ended up discussing ways in which to better adapt their sectoral programmes to the local needs. However, to initiate such a process there is a need to adjust the usual power structure hindering this type of dialogue. In fact, poor and less well educated persons in comparison to the well paid technical professionals become "experts" of their own problems, putting questions to the professionals. This is still a new experience for some technical bureaucrats, who are used to being rather powerful and unquestioned under the old system.

Conclusions - and more questions

The planning - or priority setting and decision-making process concerning the future of a municipal or regional environment - de facto happens through a number of dialogues, especially in a highly verbally communicative society. However, most of these dialogues are unregistered, no records are kept or they even have a tendency towards "secret dialogues". Therefore, these processes parallel the actual power structure. No balance is reached, a common platform for communication first has to be created. Differences between the urban and rural political culture seem to be polarizing. In a highly transitional environment, such as Brazil is at the moment, with its political, institutional and last, but not least, economic context, new channels of dialogue may break open, but only if there is some organized pressure from below. It is, however, questionable as to whether planning dialogues may become what Habermas has called



a "Diskurs" - the creative formulation of thinkable futures under the condition of no repression. For this the struggle of interest in the environment, as described above, is much too violent, and often it is not only a struggle of interests, but also a struggle for resources with which to survive. Enforcement of basic human rights and laws may, therefore, be a prerequisite for creating a minimal power balance from which a dialogue for development processes can start. The creation of a regional communication network, as has been tried with the workshop on local development, strengthens a civil society.

While on the side of practical planning tasks techniques have been developed and improved to involve more people in the formulation of development objectives, I find that research on the functioning of these types of planning processes and their effects in rural societies in developing countries is still scarce. An evaluation of communicative planning processes is required. The research approach could mix what has been called community power studies of a purely descriptive type by anthropologists/sociologists in the 50s and 60s with action research

orientation and the focus on decision making processes in planning. Then we would not only be able to judge better how fruitful dialogues may be initiated and function, but also which inputs from the planner are helpful or hinder, and how the different time horizons of what John Friedmann has called "spatial as opposed to functional time" can be better integrated. Or to put it much more simply, I would be curious to learn what changes are being achieved in the rural setting in developing countries through newly applied techniques such as the Goal Oriented Project Planning advocated by the German Development agencies. And - in a broader sense - what changes can be realized from this new paradigm in development planning. Are dialogues leading to a more balanced development increasing endogenous potentials?

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Chamniern Paul Vorratnchaiphan
**TAOISM in Community Development
Planning in Thailand**

1. Introduction: Strengths and Weaknesses of Thai Municipalities

During the absolute monarchy period some forms of local government were introduced in Thailand, but power was primarily controlled and exercised by the central government officials rather than by local people. The municipal government is one of the products of the democratic regime adopting the western democratic ideas after the coup d'état of 1932. It was introduced to Thailand with the hope and attempt of establishing local self-government, a school of the democratic concepts - of familiarizing the people with the system of parliamentary government (Karnjanaprakorn, 1962). Through this formal democratization, local communities were completely absorbed into the bureaus of the Bangkok government under the powerful Ministry of Interior. It dissolved self-reliance, autonomy and communal life and created centralization, a strongly hierarchical structure, an autocratic attitude and a new elite of government bureaucrats (London, 1982). The municipality, one of the four local self-government institutions had to face the same fate as the others in being controlled by the central government, the same old bureaucracy of the absolute monarchy regime. Though the municipal council members are locally elected and principally headed by the mayor, practically the administration is managed by the municipal clerk or the chief district officer, the centrally appointed government officers by which tension and conflict between local politicians and central officers perpetually arise. Laws and regulations which were promulgated by the central government have been instruments to control rather than to decentralize power to the local authorities or they are not flexible enough to respond to local situations and local problems.

Most of the development plans and projects have been designed and financed by the central government. There is a great lack of competence and efficiency of local authorities in

planning and implementing appropriate policies and projects. The existing bureaucracy has not really made local authorities responsible for planning and implementation of urban development on a full scale. There has been no sign of serious efforts and commitment on the part of local authorities to encourage local residents and voluntary organizations to participate in the planning and implementation process of development projects.

However, with all the above mentioned problems and limitations, the Thai local authorities have their own strengths and potentials. Throughout the history from its first establishment, the municipal government has been changed and developed in adjusting itself to existing political and cultural conditions.

In a highly centralized administration, especially during the Third and Fourth National Development Plans, from 1972 to 1981, social justice was stressed and an explicit spatial development strategy was adopted. Nine regional cities were selected and developed in order to curtail the growth of Bangkok, to decentralize administrative power and to create non-metropolitan centres of change. Municipalities of these regional cities have become administrative centres. Their financial and administrative status have been improved. In the Fifth and the present National Development Plan (1982-1992), policies and strategies for development of regional cities were outlined in detail, particularly as centres for industry, markets as well as for rural development. Economic and social infrastructure facilities and higher order services are planned to be provided.

Speaking in concrete terms, since 1984 through the assistance of the Office of Urban Development, Department of Local Administration in co-operation with UNICEF (Thailand), nine municipalities of the regional cities and other growth centres have managed to improve more than 150 slum communities. Community residents are encouraged and assisted in forming their com-

munity organizations to deal with primary health care problems, to initiate income-generation activities, to improve community infrastructure and to conduct their community survey for development planning purposes.

In terms of governing the municipalities, there has been an increase of young, local and educated politicians elected to be council members. In the sphere of planning accompanying the development of regional cities in accordance with the Fifth Plan, since 1982 the Department of Local Administration has seriously introduced a new municipal development plan to all regional growth centres. Municipal administrators and planners are trained and guided to produce medium-term plans (5 year) and annual plans according to four sectors, namely economic, social, administrative-political and infrastructure. These plans have to be discussed and approved by the municipal council and endorsed by the provincial governor. A Planning Section has been formally set up under the Office of Municipal Clerk with at least one trained planner. Thai municipality, as being observed in this context of its historical development, has been in between control and autonomy: a combination of centralization and decentralization trends and efforts, each with its strengths and weaknesses. Municipality is a part of "above" of the central administrative structure, as well as a part of "below" of the local government. Being viewed from above, municipality is a locality where national policies and plans could be actualized, where power structures are accessible and decision-making is made comprehensible to ordinary citizens. Municipality, as being viewed from below, is a locality where basic needs and services could be met, and is also a realizable entry point where a solid foundation could be built towards political and structural reform. Municipal planning, as being proposed in this context, is a realistic and workable strategy in bringing unity and balance of change from above and from below. Municipal planning is a DIALOGUE for development.

TAOISM should be an appropriate way to the dialogue

2. The TAO: the Way, Process of the Universe: the Order of Nature

Like Hinduism and Buddhism, Taoism is interested in intuitive wisdom, rather than in rational knowledge. The Taoists regard changes in

nature as manifestations of the dynamic interplay between the Two Great Powers, the polar opposites of YIN and YANG. The enumeration of the opposites would be endless; they cover the whole manifestation in the physical and mental universes. Here are some of the manifestations of the opposites:

the YIN: physical, emotional, bottom, inertia, female....

the YANG: spiritual, rational, top, energy, male....

They are passive, receptive like water and earth....

They are active, creative like air and fire....

The opposite of the Yin and Yang concept is inseparable, unable to maintain itself except in relationship. They are interconnected, integrated, interrelated and interdependent. They cannot be comprehended as isolated entities, but only as integrated parts of the whole. They are different manifestations of the same Ultimate Unity, Tao in Taoism, Brahman in Hinduism, Dharmakaya in Buddhism (see e.g. Yutang, 1948; Capra, 1976; Cooper, 1981).

The fundamental objective of the Taoist is to attain the Unity, which is considered the root of the Eastern philosophy. Unity can be attained and maintained through the recognition and reconciliation process of balancing and harmonizing of all polar opposites, the Yin and Yang. Being in the state of balance is the process of adjusting oneself in the centre, where "the pull and tensions of opposites are finally resolved... the focal point of energy, the point of which it is possible to make things whole,...." (Cooper, 1981).

The Unity of opposites concept is extremely difficult to accept particularly in the West, which generally demands certainty, a clear cut stand and "objective attitude" by rejecting anything "merely subjective". The Absolute and the Perfect are the dominant features and objectives of the West. Actually, life and nature are full of uncertainties and imperfections. Taoism is neither escapism nor romanticism, which a Taoist is often accused of. For the Taoist, there is no need for asceticism and renunciation. Firstly, the Taoist is a realist in accepting the existing conflicts and tensions as symptoms of imbalance and disharmony between opposites. However, these opposites are considered complementary and can transform each other. Secondly, the Taoist is a person with Utopian thinking with the dimension of change in working towards the centre, the point of

balance which is inevitably demanded for justice, and which is more than an emotional or pleasure-giving act.

In the following, the main concepts of Taoism as presented above, a few important analytical frameworks and principles will be highlighted and some recommendations will be given in the spheres of administrative-political structure, the planning arrangement and the community development activities of the municipal governments.

3. 3 Proposed Working Principles for Municipal Governments for Planning and Community Development in Thailand

The Integrated Governing Power Principle

First and foremost it is a bare fact in governing and administering a country to recognize the existence, the need and the importance of the relationship between the central government and the local authorities. The purposes are popularly claimed for political control, for public order and a population that supports the regime and its ideology, for economic regulation to guide expenditure, for minimum standards to increase and equal treatment and acceptable welfare, and for administrative efficiency to promote effective local participation. (see Mawhood, 1983; Kunzmann, 1986). Concretely speaking, it is also well accepted that the results of the central-local relationship are bureaucracy and dependency on the centre, which fundamentally tend to destroy YIN of the local autonomy, which is the other important opposing element of the relationship, besides the YANG of central control element.

The objectives and administrative structure of municipal government are the other elements which create a painful mix if there is no proper balance. There are opposing sets of aims between local representation and popular democracy, between elections and popular access. There is a contradiction of objectives between people's participation and effective services, which are both essential elements of democratic local government. Being a decentralized entity, local government is a contradiction between devolution and deconcentration strategy: a grievous mix between local representative government and local field administration, or between democratic decentralization and bureaucratic decentralization. How can we deal

with these conflicts and contradictions?

First of all, there is a need for local government to be conscious of its environment and of these various opposing elements and tensions, and also to regard these opposing elements as complementary to each other. Local government should be able to analyse and put these contradictory qualities in a wider context of national, social, economic and political systems of interests. These conflicts and tensions should not be considered as absolute obstacles, but as potentials and as an effective means to development and change. In other words and more importantly, both central and local government should create the balance of the opposing elements in transcending them in order to attain unity and harmony. Harmony, principally and practically, requires that each local government, the "part" should fulfill its particular functions in relation to the "whole", namely, the central government and that the "whole" should be committed to the good of the "part".

The ability to create an appropriate balance between these opposing elements is considered an excellent art in the government of local authority. Extremity, on the contrary, does not require any delicate skill. This sense of balance is a demanding need from both the national and local authorities, from local politicians and local administrators, from elected councillors and citizens.

The integration principle is the other important element in creating balance and harmony. Particularly in the governing of municipality, various forms of decentralization strategies, namely, devolution, deconcentration and delegation should be integrated and utilized according to the capabilities in performing each function of each locality. For instance, devolution could be an ideal strategy in the distribution of power; but it would be unrealistic and inappropriate to any local government whose personnel, technical and financial resources are limited; here deconcentration and delegation strategies should be used. Devolution strategy, however, should not be ruled out particularly in the areas of allocating and securing of resources to perform public functions in its own boundary. Furthermore, democracy should not be limitedly decentralized only through the election of municipal councillors, but it should *integrate* the education and mobilization of local communities to

participate in political as well as development activities of the municipality.

The Dialogue Planning Principle

Municipal planning should be regarded as a process to bring about balance and harmony of the opposing objectives and strategies, and as a means of creating a healthy dialogue among participants involved in development and change. Dialogue requires fundamental and realistic concepts and conditions both from the national authorities from above, and of the local government from below. From above, planning should be flexible enough to accept and adapt the concepts and approaches of local and community participation as an integral part in the processes and procedures of local planning. Though most of the development programmes and projects are initiated from above, they should be adapted to local conditions, and to specified groups according to their needs, their abilities, weaknesses and their willingness. The planning bureaucracy is needed to be opened *from within* in order to change and adapt policies, rules and regulations to each locality and *from without* in order to include local citizens in the planning and implementation process. Local participation is to include protests and demonstrations of people as signals of learning or correcting certain bureaucratic aspects or planning procedures. Protests and demonstrations should not be viewed and believed from above as "sensitive" forces overthrowing or detrimental to bureaucracy and representative democracy, but as factors to enrich them.

Planning, as viewed from below, should be realistic in recognizing the constraints of the bureaucratic administration of the governmental organizations and the limitations of their own local resources. It is, therefore, an essential task of the local government as well as local grass-roots organizations to make the bureaucracy workable for participation and development. Planning might be achieved through conflicts, a confrontation approach or through a collaboration approach. The choice of the approach should be determined by the degree and type of that specific pressing issue, the strength and status of the responsible and accountable agency, but more importantly, it should be determined by the level of consciousness and capability of the members and their organization.

Consciousness can be built through the process of dialogue: CONSCIENTIZATION. Being realistically aware of their own milieu, their own resources and limitations, being critically conscious of the relationship and influence of the external problems and realities and being able to organize themselves to change are the fundamental characteristics of dialogue. There are many tools and techniques in order to create dialogue. The community survey, the Basic Minimum Needs Questionnaires, audio-visual aids, theatre, dynamic groups... and most importantly community organizing activities for planning and development are important tools for community empowerment.

The Partnership Community Development Principle

Similar to planning, *development should be from above and from below*. On the one hand, it hardly needs repeating that development programmes and projects which have been initiated from above by central government or from outside generally have failed to respond to the real needs of local citizens or communities or have not reached the real target groups. It is well-known that state sponsorship of community participation has been largely detrimental and manipulative

in character. On the other hand, local government and community love freedom and want to maintain their autonomy, but at the same time require external funds or resources. How to combine the two "good" opposing qualities: external resources and local autonomy?

Firstly, we should be aware that *total control and total autonomy states* do not exist in the real world. That is how a government comes to exist and how revolution occurs.

And that is what development and change are meant for. The principles of authentic participation, decentralization, self-reliance and autonomy should not be disregarded or devalued. Development strategy, however, must be realistic as well as flexible in adapting and translating these principles in accordance to the actual local settings and conditions, which are varied in the different levels. The authentic participation and autonomy are next to nil, if they could not be realized in a concrete response to people's needs. Community development, therefore, should be an integrated effort of both the central government and the local authority, of both external organizations and community organizations, as well as of governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations. They are



partners who are enriching each other in development.

People, lastly, should be the centre of local planning and development of both from above and from below. Local planning and development often and mainly is preoccupied with files, formulae and models. Local planning and development should recognize the face-to-face contact with people. People's needs, problems and aspirations to change, both physically and socially should determine the nature of projects and the feature of local plans. The poor and those "excluded" from decision-making, development benefits and from local services should be the main target group of planning and development.

4. Conclusion

Balance and dialogue might be appropriate key words and principles in the realm of planning and development. Balance should be valued and sustained between the opposing qualities. There are tensions, contradictions and conflicts in its objectives. These tensions and conflicts are the natural signs calling for change and development. The opposites are complementary and enriching each other. Balance and dialogue are the uniting forces of the opposites. Local *planning* and the *implementation* of municipal community development activities are also the complementary as well as the opposing forces of balance and dialogue in creating UNITY and the WHOLENESS of human development.

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J. J. Sterkenburg Data Systems for Regional Development Planning - Experiences in Kenya and Sri Lanka

Introduction

There is a clear tendency towards decentralization of development planning in many developing countries. Expected advantages of this decentralization are the improvement of efficiency in the planning organization, increase in community participation in the decision making process and better adjustment of policy measures and development activities to suit local circumstances. The latter factor in particular is based on the planners' detailed knowledge about the conditions, needs and development options in their areas, as well as the availability of reliable information in accessible form to the various organizations involved in planning and implementation of measures instrumental to regional development.

The objective of this paper is to assess the data needs, to describe the characteristics of possible data base systems for regional development planning, and to identify the major problems in establishing a data base. It does so by describing the situation and experiences in two regions with rather different conditions, namely Kakamega District in Kenya and Nuwara Eliya District in Sri Lanka.

Factors Influencing a Data Base for Regional Planning

Regional planning is understood here as a decentralized and integrated type of development planning which comprises elements of both economic planning and physical planning. The decentralization aspect refers to the transfer of authority to sub-national levels, the geographical units usually being administrative ones (provinces or districts). The integration aspect does not only cover the economic and physical elements, but also comprises various sectors of social, political, and environmental aspects in the development process. This development process may be defined in terms of increases in production and productivity, as well as equitable distribution and growth and the preservation of the environment for the

improvement of the quality of life of the people. This type of planning requires a reliable data base at the regional level in order to produce relevant information for planning purposes. A distinction is made between data and information. Data comprises a record of facts, whereas information refers to a specific set of processed data for planning purposes, and ultimately for a planning decision.

Therefore, no standard formula can be given for the type of data and their detailed characteristics, although certain types of information will be required for any form of planning. As such for general information one may think of basic data on natural and human resources, the organization of production employment and income situation, and the quality and accessibility of productive and community services. Yet, such a general list of categories cannot function as a proper yardstick for a data base; it merely gives a first indication of the type of data which may be included. A further specification of the data needs for a given region first requires more information about factors influencing the nature and the intensity of the planning process at the regional level. Three factors may be singled out as being of particular importance in this respect, namely (1) government policy, (2) the type of region, and (3) the quality of the planning organization.

At least two aspects of government policy influence the need for data at the regional level, namely the type of development policy with regard to the state and nature of government intervention and the degree and type of decentralization. The former determines the scope for intervention on the part of the planners and government institutions. The latter indicates to which extent there is a genuine transfer of authority and power to lower levels of administration and elected bodies, and especially how and to what degree the financial resources become available for the implementation of specific development activities. Both elements clearly appear in the na-

ture of the planning process and the type of plan document produced. By definition process planning works with less detailed data at the beginning of the intervention and expands the data base by the experience obtained in executing activities, whereas blueprint planning makes use of a more extensive data base. In addition, the type of plan influences the nature of the data base: skeleton and inception plans are less demanding than comprehensive district plans.

The type of region as a factor influencing the nature and magnitude of a data base should be understood mainly in terms of the region's complexity in the form of the variety of natural resources, population density and distribution, the differentiation in economic activities and social groups, and the degree of urbanization.

The quality of the planning organization refers to the composition of the planning unit as indicated by the types of expertise and the variety of disciplines, the level of training and the degree of experience and skills, and finally the authority transferred to this organization to undertake the coordination of sectoral activities at the regional level.

To sum up, a standard list of required data for a decentralized or district level data base cannot be produced, except for certain broad categories of information which are needed for any type of planning. The specific data needs are determined by local conditions as indicated by the nature of government policy, the type of region, and the characteristics of the planning organization. These three factors will be expanded in some detail for two regions: the Kakamega District in Kenya and the Nuwara Eliya District in Sri Lanka. In addition, the nature of the data base established for regional planning purposes is described.

Decentralized Development Planning in Kenya

Government Policy

Kenya's development policy can be typified briefly as growth-oriented with a relatively high degree of government intervention in production and marketing, in prices and wage levels, and in the allocation of resources. The policy has a pronounced urban orientation with the declining share of investment in agriculture up to the middle of the

1970s. The priority to the urban areas includes the supply of social and infrastructural facilities leading to higher real wages and incomes in the urban areas. In agriculture, the emphasis has been placed on the support of the large farms, and export crops. Implicit in this policy is the assumption of a trickle-down of the benefits of growth to all groups in society in the long run. The evidence to the contrary - as produced in the 1972 ILO report and other studies - results in a rephrasing of the policy documents, which brings little change to the actual situation. Therefore, socio-economic inequality strongly increased during the post-independence period, a phenomenon closely related to the distribution of productive resources, land in particular (House and Killick, 1983). The redistribution of part of the white settlers land and the expansion into marginal areas with the support of the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) programme has not prevented an increase in landlessness and poverty in the rural areas. Present policy emphasizes intensification of land use with priority for the traditional export crops coffee and tea, and support to the informal sector but evades a discussion about the need for a more drastic land reform. The present decentralization policy is an instrument to facilitate more detailed planning for the intensification of agriculture, and for informal sector growth in the form of Rural Trade and Production Centres (Government of Kenya, 1986).

Decentralization policy in Kenya is a rather recent phenomenon. The first decade after independence was characterized by centralization and by a shift in power to central government institutions in the national capital. From the mid-1970s onwards a gradual transfer of authority to the lower echelons of government administration may be observed.

This is evidenced by the appointment of District Development Officers (DDO), the establishment of District Development Committees (DDC) and District Executive Committees (DEC) as the bodies to set priorities at the district level, the introduction of District Development Plans for five-year periods according to standard guidelines and a number of cautious experiments with integrated rural and regional development planning supported by donor agencies - chiefly ASAL programmes in the marginal areas. (For a detailed account of the history of Kenya's decentralization policy, see (Cohen and Hook, 1986).

In 1983 a further specification of Kenya's decentralization policy is announced under the name District Focus Strategy for Rural Development. The essence of the strategy is a further transfer of power to district level government staff. The coordinator of the strategy at the district level is the District Commissioner, a political appointee, technically supported by the DDO, who as the head of the District Planning Unit (DPU) is also the secretary of the DDC and DEC. Both committees are dominated by the heads of the departments, i.e. by government appointed technical officers. The committees play a crucial role in formulating the five year district development plans and the related annual investment plans.

From 1986 onwards the planning process at the district level is supported by District Information and Documentation Centres (DIDC). The DIDC is seen as an important component of the District Planning Unit which provides essential information to the DDC, other development committees, and the heads of departments. It is considered a major source of information on development statistics, national and district plans, research reports and other types of technical information for each sector. Circulars about the type of documents to be included and about the training programme for DIDC staff reveal that the DIDC is seen at present chiefly as a reference library for district staff involved in development planning.

Kakamega District Focus Project

The Kakamega District Focus Project aims at supporting the decentralized development planning process in Kenya by assisting the Kakamega DPU in establishing a DIDC, setting up a data base for district planning, and identifying bottlenecks in the development process in the area. The experiences in the district are directed towards the design of a methodology applicable in other parts of the country. In more concrete terms the project comprises the construction of a DPU/DIDC building, the provision of equipment for the building, the training of district planning staff, and the collection of documents and data facilitating development planning in the Kakamega District.

Kakamega District, which is part of the Western province, has a size of 3250 square kilometres. It consists of a hilly zone intersected with deep river valleys in the south at an altitude of 2000 metres, and a slightly



undulating peneplain in the northern, eastern, and central parts with an altitude varying between 1000 and 1900 metres. The district has a high annual rainfall, with 1500 to 1800 mm, in the south gradually decreasing to 1000 mm in the north. The rainfall is well-distributed over the year, especially in the south, but the northern most part is noted for a marked dry season. In general rainfall and soil quality make the district qualify as a high development potential area which partly explains the high population density. With a total population of over 1.5 million and a density exceeding 350 persons per square kilometre on average, the district is one of the most densely populated parts of the country. However, densities differ strongly between the various parts of the district, and generally decrease from south to north. Differences in soils, climate and population density are associated with variations in farm size, cropping patterns and the role of livestock. Maize is the dominant food crop in all parts of the district. Maize surpluses in the northern part are transported to the south and central-west to make up for the deficits there. These deficits result from the landlessness and small farm sizes and from the cultivation of cash crops such as coffee, tea and french beans in the south and from the cultivation of sugar cane in the central and western parts. Apart from maize, dairy farming is an important source of income in the north. The district has little non-agricultural employment which also explains the low rate of urbanization.

In view of the high population density and the absence of adequate employment opportunities in the district both in agriculture and in non-agricultural activities, the Kakamega District is known for a high rate of migration which is chiefly circular in nature. No less than 20 per cent of the total population or more than 40 per cent of the active population finds employment outside the district. Nairobi, Mombasa and other urban areas in Kenya are the main destinations, but increasingly migrants go to rural areas with a high rate of commercialized agriculture and large farms to find employment to increase their incomes.

The spatial variation in farm size, type of agriculture and degree of commercialization together with the differences in participation in the labour migration system lead to a sharp differentiation in income levels and in the relative importance of income sources for individual households. And as households show a high degree of flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances in accordance with the availability of labour in the household, the situation may change quite rapidly over time.

This already puts a high demand on the information needs for planning and the related data base, but also on the skills of the planners to design realistic plans for the district's development. This demand for reliable data increases further in terms both of magnitude and complexity if the intricate pattern of community services (schools, health

facilities, water supply systems) is taken into account, together with the spatial variation in quality of the physical infrastructure required for an adequate functioning of these services.

The district data base for Kakamega

The data for development planning in the Kakamega DIDC will – in addition to the reference library also comprise a computerized data system. This data system is composed of the following five elements:

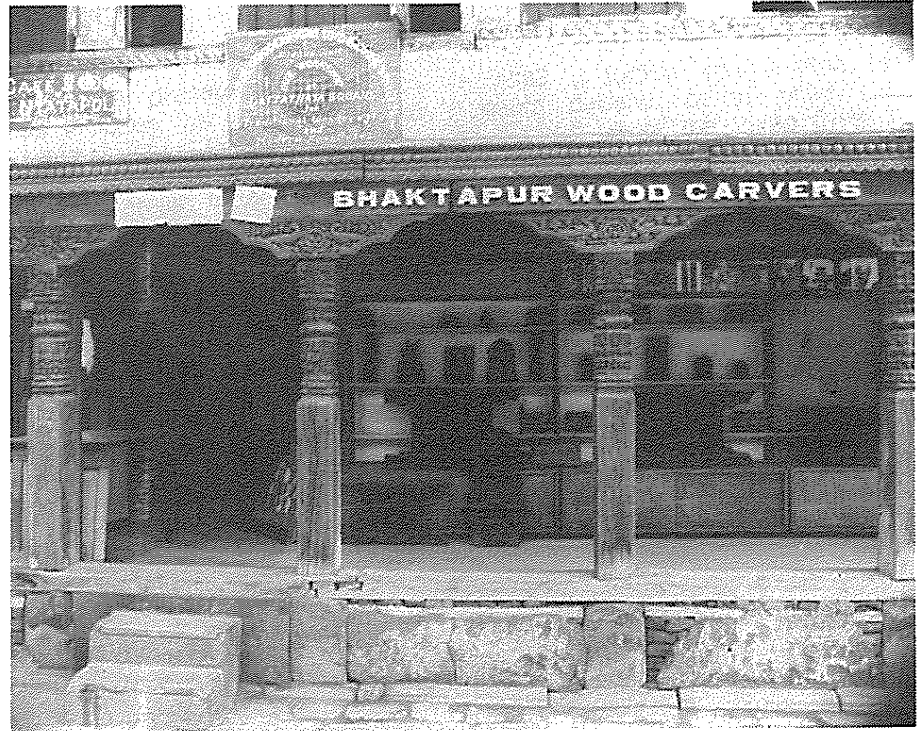
- o General data on population and resources per location: demographic and data on soils, climate and land qualities.
- o A selected data set on production in the agricultural sector again grouped per location: area under main marketed crops, number of producers and total output per location over a series of years.
- o Locational development profiles: data on households and production units (farms and non-agricultural establishments) and an inventory of on-going projects. This locational data set is to be complemented by a general description of the location, an analysis of the statistical data and an identification of major development problems in order to become a complete locational development profile. Physical infrastructure inventory: data on the main characteristics of roads, schools, health care institutions, cattle dips, water supply systems and service centre facilities grouped according to the administrative unit of the location, supplemented with maps providing the exact geographical location of the institution/facility.
- o A monitoring system for development activities: a complete overview of on-going projects/activities, relevant areas, population involved, implementing and supervising agencies, objectives, progress made, expenses incurred and obstacles removed.

The construction of the data base is pursued through a variety of methods and with reference to different geographical units. General data on population and resources are obtained chiefly from secondary sources, such as the population census, meteorological reports, and soil survey reports and maps. The sectoral data base on agriculture re-

quires field visits to the organizations involved in input supply and marketing of specific crops such as the coffee cooperatives and the tea leaf collection centres. At their offices information about the number of producers, the acreage under the crop, and the output is taken from records after testing the reliability. Locational development profiles are still in an experimental stage. Pilot surveys on households and farms in eight locations covering the variety of ecological zones of the district must lead to a format which is replicable successfully over the whole district, preferably in cooperation with the Central Bureau of Statistics. The land evaluation studies in each of the eight locations do not only focus on the provision of information on land qualities and land suitability for selected crops, but also aim to design an effective methodology for land use planning at the district level and to identify the organizations at the national level to support this element of the district planning exercise. The physical infrastructure inventory - initially designed by the Ministry of Planning and National Development as part of the preparations for the 1989-1993 district development plans - has been expanded with a certain type of data on the facilities available in the institutions and the obstacles in their functioning. For example, for the health care institutions additional information refers to the quality of the building, the availability of equipment, drugs, and the presence and quality of water supply, electricity and staff housing. The government officers at the division and local level play a crucial role in the data collection. The preparations for their contribution comprise training seminars at the divisional headquarters.

The monitoring system consists of information about the major development activities (projects and programmes), their objectives and targets, the population involved, the physical progress made at regular intervals, and the financial means made available according to source.

The geographical units used in the data base are those coinciding with the administrative areas of the district, the division and the location. These units come into a single hierarchy, as well as selected units in the development planning process. Also at the division and local levels, development committees have been set up, although little is known about their functioning as yet. Irrespective of that, the need for their participation in data collection - as



a first step in the planning process - is obvious.

The usefulness of the whole system is determined by the skills and experience of the DIDC/DPU staff to update the information regularly and to provide the departments at the district, division and local level with the required data in the desired format. This again rests upon a close cooperation between the DPU and the departments in the data collection, preferably with liaison officers in each department, and the thorough training of the DIDC staff in data collection, data analysis, and data retrieval methods. Formally, the DPU consists of a DDO, an assistant DDO, a statistical officer and a physical planning officer, together with supporting technical and administrative staff, including those attached to the DIDC. In practice, arrangements about the participation of the statistical officer and the physical planner still have to be made, and the training of DIDC staff is not only still in its initial stage but also biased towards librarian tasks with little or no attention for data collection and computer skills.

To sum up, Kenya has embarked on a decentralization policy with a limited transfer of power and responsibilities to the District Commissioner and the heads of departments at the district level. The district planning process is coordinated by a single organization, namely the DPU, which functions as the technical support unit of the District Development Committee, with the DDO as the responsible officer. The

transfer of authority also includes financial aspects. The planning process is strongly connected with district development plans as blueprints, and related annual expenditure plans. Monitoring and evaluation receive increasing attention, chiefly by means of inspection tours at irregular intervals by a large number of technical officers, namely the heads of departments, under the supervision of the District Commissioner. The decentralization of planning contains a data base element in the form of a DIDC, which is primarily seen as a reference library, but at present the possibilities for a computerized data base are thoroughly explored.

Integrated Rural Development Programmes in Sri Lanka

Government Policy

Because of the stagnation in Sri Lanka's process of economic growth during the 1960s and early 1970s (on average only 1 per cent increase of the per capital income per annum), the newly elected government introduced an economic reform programme in 1977. Characteristic of this policy is a reduction of state intervention, a bigger role for the market forces in the economic process, and ample facilities to stimulate the activities of foreign enterprise. The reform programme aims at an improvement of the balance of payment, the growth of the gross national product, chiefly through the promotion of private investments, an increase of government expenditure on physical infrastructure to enhance

the efficiency of private investments. Prominent among the large-scale government projects figure the Mahaweli energy-cum-irrigation project, the urban housing programme, the improvement of the state-owned plantations, and the infrastructural facilities for the special economic zone. In this zone industrial growth is pursued through the provision of facilities to foreign firms, including tax holidays, attractive wage levels, and easy financial conditions for the repatriation of profits.

The policy leads to an accelerated growth of the economy, to an increase in exports, and to self-sufficiency in food production. However, it also causes an increasing socio-economic inequality, a growing landlessness, and a deterioration of Sri Lanka's well-known system of social and community services. In addition, the expansion of foreign-owned industry is limited and does not bring about the desired 'second Singapore' whereas - after 1983 - the violent ethnic conflict with the accompanying high expenditure for defense increased Sri Lanka's foreign debts and dependency.

Sri Lanka's new regional development policy started in 1978 with the appointment of one of a district's Members of Parliament as a District Minister charged with the task of designing a district development plan. In each district, a planning unit is established for the necessary technical and administrative assistance, under the coordination of the Ministry of Plan Implementation. A special so-called decentralized budget is made available with a standard amount per electorate for activities to be selected in close consultation with the Member of Parliament of each electorate. In 1980 development councils are introduced at various levels of administration to stimulate the local population's participation in the planning process. The most important of these, the District Development Council, receives separate financial means to carry out projects decided upon in the council meetings. Finally, from 1979 onwards Integrated Rural Development Programmes have been undertaken in a gradually expanding number of districts with technical and financial support from a wide range of donor agencies.

The objectives of the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) are phrased in general terms; they focus on the growth of pro-

duction, employment and income with special attention for low-income groups, together with an improvement of the district planning process. These general objectives allow donor agencies to specify aims and approaches in accordance with their own policy preferences. Consequently, some IRDPs follow a blueprint approach with heavy investments in physical infrastructure, whereas others are characterized by a process approach with ample attention for the improvement of employment, income and community services for the lower income groups, and a strong emphasis on local participation. In addition, in many districts separate bodies are established for management and administration of the IRDPs, leading to a dual system of decentralized regional development planning. Furthermore, coordination at the national level concentrates on contacts between individual IRDPs and sectoral ministries, and hardly so among IRDPs themselves.

It is not surprising that such a broad framework for regional development pays little attention to standardized instructions for data collection and uniform data systems.

Each IRDP operates its own procedures for problem identification, project formulation, priority setting and monitoring. It was only after an initial period of experiments that the Ministry of Planning and Implementation decided to establish a Monitoring and Evaluation Unit to streamline physical and financial monitoring, and to issue provisional policy and planning guidelines to bring some standardization in planning procedures (Sterkenburg, 1987).

Nuwara Eliya Integrated Rural Development Programme

The Nuwara Eliya IRDP is a Netherlands supported project which aims at promoting the social and economic development and improving the planning process in the Nuwara Eliya District. The emphasis is placed on the identification of and financial support to concrete activities to improve the production and living conditions of the low income population. IRDP planning is characterized by a process approach, the implementation of activities through the line departments, the pursuit of a package approach, and the spatial integration of activities which are concentrated in certain areas.

Project proposals are presented by line departments and other agencies, in various degrees supported by IRDP planning officers. These proposals differ substantially in terms of underlying information, dependent on sector, type of activity and agency involved in the implementation. In any case, the implementation of measures to improve the present situation receives priority over the collection of basic data both for the IRDP and the implementing agencies. This priority is consistent with the objectives and with the process approach adopted in Nuwara Eliya.

Nuwara Eliya District with a size of 1700 square kilometres and located in the central highlands of Sri Lanka varies in altitude between 500 and 2000 metres. This variation causes wide differences in temperatures and precipitation, so that agro-ecological conditions differ considerably from one part of the district to the other. Almost 70 per cent of the cultivable area is under tea, chiefly on state-owned estates. These estates make use of modern technology, have a relatively high output level, and a hierarchically structured labour force. The plantations have little economic relationship with the so-called village sector, which is dominated by small-size production units of different types, operating at rather low levels of technology, and chiefly working with household labour. Altitude, land type and farm size influence the cropping pattern, and in this way the mono-cropped tea estates are surrounded by a highly varied mosaic of farming systems, consisting of various combinations of irrigated rice, homestead gardening, a cash crop (tea, tobacco or vegetables) and dryland food cropping. This dual economic structure is reflected in the district population which numbers 600,000, half of them Tamils living and working on the estates, the other half being Sinhalese and living in the villages. Non-agricultural sources of employment and income are scarce, which also explains the low degree of urbanization: only 6 per cent of the population lives in relatively small urban centres which mainly have a commercial and administrative function for the surrounding rural areas. The district also has a rather low level of social and community services if compared with the national average: a limited number of improved water supply systems, many dilapidated school buildings crammed with pupils, and serious deficiencies in health facilities with regard to buildings, personnel, equipment and drugs (Sterkenburg, 1987).

The district data base in Nuwara Eliya

The process approach adopted in Nuwara Eliya gives priority to the implementation of activities addressed to the easily observable and most urgent needs for development. In addition, it is planning to combine the experiences gained in project implementation with a base line survey for the identification of poverty groups, priority areas of intervention, and geographical locations for concentrated efforts. However, implementation requires all attention and manpower, and only gradually a rather superficial monitoring exercise emerges which is carried out at irregular intervals, initially without much demonstrable impact on the selection of activities and concentration areas. Over the years the monitoring systems have been improved and record keeping changed from files via plan boards to a computerized system. In addition, the type of information collected has been standardized and regular meetings enhance the opportunities to use monitoring for the improvement of project performance. Finally, in 1987, i.e. some 7 years after the beginning of the project, a start has been made with setting up a data base, in addition, to the existing monitoring system. Factors contributing to this are the expansion of qualified personnel, the availability of a micro-computer, and the criticism featured in an evaluation report about the absence of a base line study, which hampers the assessment of the results of the project activities, and the general increase in interest in more detailed data at the coordinating ministry.

The data base which is established now at the IRDP office in Nuwara Eliya has the following characteristics. It contains four types of information, namely (1) basic data for all units of the lowest level of administration (the gramasevaka or GS division) in order to select concentration areas according to the objective criteria; (2) detailed data for project identification in selected divisions; (3) sectoral data for intervention sectors with an emphasis on physical infrastructure and community services (schools, health facilities and water supply); and (4) monitoring data for ongoing project activities. The geographical units incorporated in the system are the GS division, the Assistant Government Agent (AGA) division and the district, which reflect the three levels of administration. The data are collected in close cooperation with the line departments responsible for the

various sectors but the coordination is in the hands of the IRDP planners. In most cases joint teams per sector are formed.

The data collection exercise is a long-term process in the sense that a start is made with easily available, reliable data, gradually moving towards more complex types of information with priority for the project areas. Data relate to the rural areas only; the urban areas will be left aside for the time being.

Data collection for the village and estate sectors is undertaken separately. Although the estates area is incorporated formally into the territorial subdivision of the GS and AGA divisions, the administration of the estates is executed virtually by the estate boards. Amenities such as housing, water supply, sanitation, and health services are provided by the boards without involvement of the district administration. Furthermore, certain data do not apply to the estate sector (for example land holding per household), while information is also more readily available in the estate sector as a result of a more sophisticated and well-kept system of administration.

Data are stored in the IRDP micro computer at the IRDP office. But it is not officially assigned with the responsibility for comprehensive district planning nor for the production of an overall district plan. However, it is the best equipped office in the district for such an exercise in terms of qualified personnel, transport, equipment and financial means. It maintains intensive relations with almost all line departments and the estate boards as a result of the cooperation in project activities.

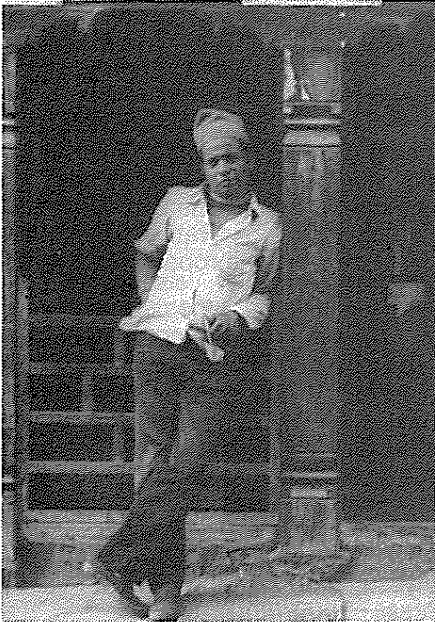
Some Common Problems in the Establishment of Data Bases

The Kakamega and Nuwara Eliya cases point at substantial differences between Kenya and Sri Lanka in development policies, and more especially in decentralization policies. The uniform process of top-down decentralization in Kenya with a strong coordinating role of the District Commissioner, the DDC and the District Planning Unit contrasts sharply with Sri Lanka's lack of uniformity among districts as a result of donor preferences and priorities, and within districts as a result of the co-existence of several development budgets with their separate planning organizations. In addition, the two districts show a sharply different economic structure.

Although an internal differentiation in farm structure in association with agro-ecological variation, a low degree of urbanization, and land shortage stimulating outmigration are common phenomena for both districts, the overriding dichotomy between village and plantation sectors in Nuwara Eliya heavily influences the district planning procedures and the nature of the data base. Finally, the objectives of the two projects are highly different: the Kakamega project is primarily geared to establishing a district information and documentation centre, the Nuwara Eliya IRDP gives priority to the planning and financial support of concrete development activities.

In spite of these differences a number of common problems can be identified in association with the experiences gained with establishing a data base in the two districts. These problems are the lack of reliable key data, the use of different subdivisions/planning areas by the various line departments, the frequent changes in basic units of administration and planning over time, the incorporation of an effective monitoring system in the data base, and the lack of experience with the establishment and use of computerized data systems.

The lack of reliable data for planning is a very common complaint, but nevertheless still valid, in spite of the frequent data collection exercises by government institutions, universities, and individual researchers. However, it is still the case that a substantial amount of information made available is not useful for development planning, that potentially useful information is made available too late and that not all useful information is made available to planners in an accessible form. Major deficiencies observed in both districts are the absence of reliable and up-to-date demographic information for basic units of administration; the absence of crucial information on production and production organization such as yields in agriculture for agro-ecological zones; main characteristics for small non-agricultural establishments, information on employment and income, and the limited reliability of information with regard to socio-economic differentiation between cause of their political sensitivity (information on land ownership; sharecropping and food stamps, are typical examples). A good example of data deficiency is shown by the Agrarian Service Centres in Sri Lanka. Here detailed records are kept about agricultural production



and yields, but simple additions prove to be incorrect and political objectives influence data in such a way that the desired annual production increases are shown by the data.

In addition to this general problem of data shortcomings which influences any type of development planning, regional planning is hampered more particularly by the lack of uniformity in the geographical units to which the data refer. Many line departments in both Kenya and Sri Lanka have their own territorial subdivision which often differs from the administrative subdivision used by the planning organizations. In the Kakemega District data on education refer to school inspector zones, those on tea production are grouped together for collection points, and those on coffee input supply and production are aggregated for cooperatives and pulperies. In addition, regular data collection on farms by the Central Bureau of Statistics is organized through clusters which have an irregular distribution over the district, do not relate to agro-ecological zones, and the results are not available below the district level. In Nuwara Eliya planners involved in establishing a data base are confronted with an even more complex pattern of territorial units. Apart from the estate-village dichotomy with individual estates crossing GS division boundaries, line departments operate widely different subdivisions for the village sector. For example, the Department of Agrarian Services subdivided the district into 22 Agrarian Service Centre areas and again into 141 cultivation officers divisions. The Department of Agriculture operates with 3 segments, 22

agricultural instructor ranges, and 59 extension officer areas. In complete contrast to these, the Ministry of Health organizes the health care system through 3 Medical Officer of Health offices, with 18 Public Health Inspector ranges and 110 Family Health Worker areas. Each line department collects and keeps data according to its specific territorial units, usually without taking account of the administrative subdivision in the district.

To complicate the work of the planners even further, this administrative subdivision is not a stable system but subject to rather frequent changes. These changes are seldom inspired by the desire and opportunities for better planning; they usually have a political motive, often in relation to an increase in employment opportunities for civil servants. In Kenya new locations are created as soon as the present ones surpass a certain population number and subdivision takes place usually along the boundaries of sub-locations. Here, the planners' problems may be solved by using the sub-location as the basic unit for data collection, whereas the location remains the lowest level planning unit. In Sri Lanka a sudden increase in the number of GS divisions occurred in 1987 as a result of the change in function of the Special Service Officers (SSO). Originally, each SSO served two GS divisions but as his duties were considered little different from the GS head, all SSOs were appointed heads and the number of GS divisions increased by one-third. In Nuwara Eliya the number of GS divisions went up from 143 to 214 whereby the relation between the old and the new territorial units is not fully clear yet.

The incorporation of a monitoring system for ongoing projects and programmes into a district data based created a few special difficulties. The essence of the monitoring exercise may be described in general as the measuring, recording, collecting, processing and communicating of information to assist project management in decision-making.

Experiences in the two districts, but especially in Sri Lanka indicate that effective monitoring of development activities implies a clear formulation of the objectives of interventions and the accompanying time and payment schedules. In addition, it requires an unambiguous delimitation of responsibilities of the various parties involved in the activities, and a

detailed description of their tasks. In the context of regional development planning, projects and programmes are highly different, usually quite numerous, and involving a large number of implementing agencies and beneficiaries. Yet, the monitoring system must be operated by the limited personnel in the planning agency and with restricted financial means. It proves especially problematic to keep the system simple and to collect the necessary data at the appropriate time intervals. Even with the reliable data at hand, regular progress meetings were often evaded due to a lack of an understandable priority for implementation and the identification of new interventions. However, the effectiveness of the monitoring system is reduced also by the socio-political factors inhibiting the acknowledgement of delays and deficiencies in implementation, and the open discussion of remedial actions.

The introduction of micro computers in developing countries is expanding enormously, and for planning purposes. However, the potential of micro computers to facilitate data storage and data use for district planning is not yet fully explored. This potential use varies from the simple storage and retrieval of data to the application of methods for analysis and prognosis, specific planning techniques such as gravity models, shift and share analysis, and the presentation of information in the form of tables, graphs, diagrams and maps. There are various factors responsible for this sub-optimal application. Among these the non-availability of appropriate softwares in developing countries, or if available, the absence of the necessary skills among planners, and the lack of knowledge of how to use the software for planning purposes, combined with the shortage of training facilities predominate.

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Einhardt Schmidt-Kallert

Planning Surveys in Rural Communities - Experiences from Ghana

When the SPRING idea was first conceived some six or seven years ago, we had a two-prong objective in mind. On the one hand we wanted to experiment with a new type of training for regional development planning for Third World countries. But training needs an orientation, a goal, before one can even start talking about curricula. In our case the common denominator was the 'planning-from-below-approach'. There was a broad consensus on this approach both among the members of the SPRING working group here in Dortmund, and our colleagues in Kumasi. The SPRING philosophy stands for planning in the grass-roots, basic needs orientation and target group orientation.

Thus our second objective: We wanted to put this very philosophy into practice. The structure of our training programme is a reflection of this two-prong objective: The first year in Dortmund is structured along the stages of the planning process or in other words: It simulates the planning process. The second year in Kumasi is more than simulation, it is the "real thing".

The whole programme in Kumasi is organised around the Development Workshop, where the students and their tutors interact with the local community in the collection of data, the analysis of development planning problems and planning strategies. During field visits the students are confronted with the people's real life problems. Whatever the students do during community interfaces or in the course of their informal interaction with the people, is action oriented, leads to intervention, seeks to change existing conditions. If everything remains unchanged after the departure of the SPRING team from the target district, we have not fulfilled our mission.

I read in the programme to this conference:
"Facing the facts, the theme of the SPRING-FORUM 1988, intends to identify realistic approaches to regional development planning. The SPRING-FORUM offers the oppor-

tunity to present, exchange and discuss new experiences on these issues."

If this is the intention of our gathering today, we have to start by taking stock of our own experiences in SPRING. After more than four years of operation of the SPRING programme we need more than the exchange of rhetoric about our good intentions. It is about time to take a critical look at what has been achieved so far. Have we been able to put the grass-roots philosophy successfully into practice?

This, I admit, is a very broad question, and I shall not attempt to give a comprehensive answer. The organisers of this conference have asked me to contribute a paper to the workshop on methods, thus I shall confine my considerations to the discussion of some experiences with planning surveys.

Between early 1986 and September 1988 I was DAAD visiting lecturer at the Department of Planning, UST Kumasi. I was one of the workshop tutors and I accompanied the students on their numerous field trips to the target districts Afram Plains and South Kwahu respectively. This exposure afforded me the unique opportunity to gain an insight into rural problems in that part of Ghana and to see the SPRING approach put into practice.

The planning-from-below approach is a comparatively new paradigm. A shift in paradigm, a new approach inevitably necessitates a different choice of methods. Planning at the national level (which was essentially planning-from-above in most African countries) had its own sets of methods, which became obsolete, once the emphasis shifted from 'hard facts' and statistical indicators to 'dialogue' and interaction with the people.

When the old tools have become useless, the planner has to pack a new tool kit. But how to make a good choice among all the methods the discipline has in store for the development planner? What is an

appropriate method, which method is inappropriate, out of place in the rural context, and should be discarded?

There are two extremes which must be avoided: The slavery of the sample survey on the one hand and participatory observation, as practised by the anthropologist, on the other hand.

Penetration of the conventional questionnaire survey usually shallow, it tends to lose sight of the wholeness of life experiences and the time dimension because it dissolves the individual into a set of variables that can be tabulated. Eventhough the method has its merits, it can never be the sole means of field investigation in the context of a grass-roots approach.

To be sure, most planning tasks cannot do without a minimum of hard data that can be statistically manipulated. But one has to bear in mind that the researchers who carries out a sample survey 'administrators' his questionnaire or interview schedule, he does not enter into a 'dialogue' with his respondents. The questionnaire survey cannot be organised as a learning process, since the tool of field investigation, the questionnaire or interview schedule, cannot be revised or amended until the last respondent in the sample has been interviewed. Another serious shortcoming of the method is its inability to portray the meaning people assign to the facts that are being recorded. The sample survey - one might conclude - is not a must for every field study. It is only one out a variety of possible research tools. The development planner has to make a judicious choice where and when to use this particular one.

Today many 'progressive' development planners advocate the use of field methods from the anthropologist's tool kit, especially participatory observation. No doubt, we can learn many a lesson from anthropologists. But I should also like to voice a warning: Having freed ourselves from the slavery of the sample survey, why should we willingly accept the chains of another master-tool, which purports to be the only appropriate method for the grass-roots man? To me it is even doubtful, whether participatory observation in the strict sense of the word has a place in district development planning. For it requires the total immersion of the researcher into the community under study and depends on ample observation time,

often a year or more in a single community. None of these conditions can be met by the development planner. Planners do not have the time for this type of unhurried field investigation, they are always under time pressure, and the ultimate purpose of their work is to come out with implementable planning proposals. Neither does the other requirement, the one of 'total immersion' conform with the role of the development planner, who remains an outsider throughout the planning process. He needs to win the confidence of the local people, he is viewed as the catalyst, the local people are conceived as the actors. But it is essential for the planner to keep national planning goals in mind while interacting with the local people.

'Rapid Rural Appraisal' (RRA), has been suggested by some scholars as the most appropriate method for rural development planning. But RRA itself is a mixture of useful social science and planning methods. There can be no ready-made tool kit for the barefoot planner, applicable everywhere in the Third World and to any planning job. Every planner has to make his own choice of methods that are appropriate in a given situation and for the task at hand.

So all I can do here is to relate our experiences in the Afram Plains and South Kwahu. I can describe some of the methods we used and discuss some of the problems we encountered. Before I turn to the details, I have to address one general limitation. We talk a lot about planning as a dialogue but one should not lose sight of the fact in the context of Third World countries this dialogue is invariably initiated by the planner, not by the people. What is more: It is the planner who dictates the

terms of the dialogue, who prescribes a code for the interface. Only he who accepts this code, is able to take part in the dialogue. Once the planner has chosen a certain method of field investigation, the people have no option but to comply with his method. Otherwise they would opt out of the whole planning process.

This problem is particularly pronounced in Africa. For planning is not an indigenous African art. Planning is essentially a European way of dealing with one's own future. Today we witness a resurgence of subsistence in rural Africa, and this is not confined to the economic sphere alone. It is equally true of the ideological superstructure. In the villages the traditional world view is still largely intact. This encompasses animistic tendencies which attribute a soul to natural objects and which believe in supernatural interference in the affairs of the society. This is also quite evident from the role the ancestors play in the society present day activities. The dividing line between the living and the dead, between the divine and the human is blurred. Conscious planning of one's own future and of the future of the community is alien to the animistic world view. Planning presupposes a secular world view.

We cannot even be sure whether planners and the local people speak the same language and share the same concepts. If the local people are conceived as the actors, the planner as the catalyst, then everything depends on communication. Unless there is an intimate understanding between the actor and his catalyst, the whole purpose of the exercise is defeated.

Let us now look at the experiences with a few methods which we used in the course of our development

workshops in South Kwahu and Afram Plains Districts in Ghana. I shall highlight three methods which we employed during different stages of the planning process:

- (1) *A household survey which we carried out to establish socio-economic stratification in the study area and to identify target groups for our planning exercise.*
- (2) *A community interface in a number of remote settlements of South Kwahu District which was intended to establish community goals for the planning process.*
- (3) *A community interface, in which our students presented simplified goal scenarios for the future development of the area.*

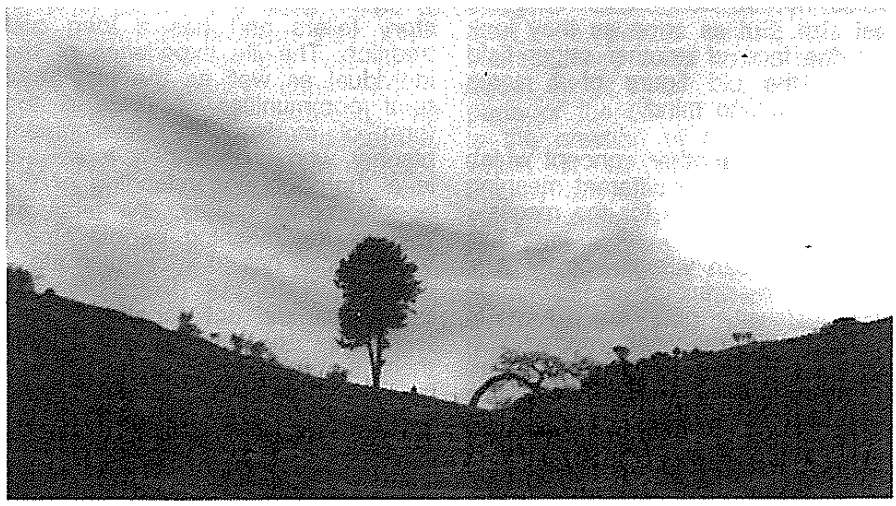
The Household Survey

Household surveys were carried out as part of the development workshop in all three years of operation of the SPRING programme. I advised the students of the 1986/87 and 1987/88 academic years on sampling and design of their interview schedule and supervised their field work. I advised them to frame as many open-ended questions as possible, in order to encourage the people to talk freely and to gain a better understanding of the nature of rural problems. The basic enumeration unit for our census was the household in the West African definition of the term, i.e. a group of kin or affines which eats from the same cooking pot. The group may or may not live under the same roof, and may or may not cultivate the same land, but is commonly based on at least one conjugal unit. One member of every household, preferably the head of household, was interviewed.

The following problems were encountered in the process:

1. The use of the household as the basic unit of enumeration poses the first problem. This came to light, when our students attempted to administer questions of the household budget type. They realised that almost invariably the aggregated expenditure by far exceeded the household income. Obviously the respondents had been unable to give accurate information on the various sources of income for all household members.

In a similar context Polly Hill (1985, P.35) has rightly pointed out "that the householder, from whom investigators are usually instructed to



obtain all the information required, may have little or no knowledge of the day-to-day activities of other household members, notably those of wives in polygynous West Africa... People may attach so much importance to privacy that intrusive questions, even by their husbands, will inevitably result in lying, so that the husband is obliged to guess."

If heads of households know so relatively little about economic activities of other household members, is it then a wise decision to use the household as the basic unit of enumeration in a socio-economic survey? If certain members of rural farm households are close to being 'individual economic entities', would it then be more appropriate to do a population census with the individual as the basic unit of enumeration? The answer is not a straightforward as one would expect at first sight. Even though Ghanaian women enjoy a high degree of economic autonomy, the household still exists as a common unit of reproduction. People eat from the same pot and (in most cases) sleep under the same roof. Some of the rural communities in our study area were evacuated and resettled in the aftermath of the creation of Volta Lake. Resettlement itself was a grand exercise in social engineering, in social change from above. Among other things, resettlement introduced the western concept of household. Resettlement was not concerned with the intricate internal structure of households. The resettlement officers, in their day-to-day dealings with the local people, used to address heads of household but certainly not 'economically autonomous women'.

The reality that can be observed in the resettlement towns today (and in the Afram Plains at large for that matter) is a complex one. The traditional African concept of household does survive, but rural society has also changed from pre-evacuation days. Households as the basic economic units constituting rural society are part of that reality. Thus - one may conclude - a household survey is not completely out of place. But one ought to be aware of the limitations. Surveys of the household budget type will not yield any meaningful results.

2. Development planners are always keen on quantifiable information on farm sizes, crop yields, production levels etc. Rural people do measure certain items, but they need to measure fewer things than planners would wish them to record in

quantifiable terms. Usually they have a fairly good knowledge of current market prices for their produce, they know also the quantities of produce which they sold after the last farming season. But they do not normally measure the total yield. They have some broad idea about the harvest, whether it was good or poor and whether they have enough food themselves. But usually bags are expensive and in short supply, so people do not store their beans and maize in bags. In such circumstances there is no way for the investigator to make a reasonably accurate estimate of the total yield of a farmer (or a farm household).

The same applies to acreages. Most farmers - with the exception of some rich commercial farmers - do not know the size of their holding. They know the number of plots and the location of their various 'farms', but they can tell neither individual nor aggregated acreages.

Most of our respondents, however, pretended to know more than they actually knew. This is due to, what Robert Chambers has called the 'diplomatic bias' in household surveys. The interviewee wants to please the inquisitive student who has taken all the trouble to travel to his remote village. So most villagers gave some figures, just to satisfy our hunger for data. For example most of the residents of the resettlement townships gave 3 acres as the total acreage of their holding. There is a simple explanation for this: When the resettlements were first created, every farm household was allocated 3 acres of farm land by the authorities. The people still remember the figure, although most of them have returned to shifting cultivation and work no longer the land that was given to them 22 years ago. Their current farm size may be quite different, but they would not be able to estimate the real size. But as soon as they look into the face of another eager field worker the old figure of 3 acres comes back to mind.

3. Income is another concept which appears to have a different meaning for the villager than for the researcher.

In West African village society it is a common practice to exchange 'gifts'. Usually gifts are given in exchange for services rendered in the past or in anticipation of future services. Gifts either in kind or in cash form an important factor of the survival economy. But most people refuse to recognise 'gifts' as part of their income.

On one occasion we interviewed an old man in one of the resettlement towns on Volta Lake. Our respondent was a renowned traditional healer in the area. In his youth he had suffered from polio. He was now a cripple and unable to do any physical work. We asked him about his income from his occupation as a healer. He refused to give any figure. He only received 'gifts' from the people. He insisted, his only source of income was from farming. This in spite of the fact that quite clearly he himself was physically unfit to do any farm work. In addition, his social status in his village community rested entirely on his ability to heal diseases. But he did not regard healing as a source of income.

As mentioned above, the purpose of our household survey had been to establish the share of subsistence production, to draw the poverty line and to identify target groups. But in order to do so, researcher and respondents must share the same concepts on such essential matters as household or income. Since this is not the case, the identification of target groups is an extremely difficult, if not impossible task.

4. I would like to add a fourth lesson we learnt from the household surveys. Our respondents tried to be as brief as possible in their answers. Open ended questions were not grasped as an opportunity to tell a story. Most respondents politely answered our questions in a sentence or two, at times they did not say more than two words. As a matter of fact, especially the elderly, whose life experience could have been a tremendous contribution to our understanding of the rural problems, felt ill at ease with the whole interview situation and tried to rush through the interview.

Why was this so? Africa is full of story tellers and has a long oral tradition. The life experience of the individual as well as the history of rural communities survives in the form of stories. The development planner who is genuinely interested in a thorough understanding of the people's own history, the facts as well as the meaning people attach to the facts, has to know their stories. Much to our disappointment, the people did not accept the interview as an opportunity to tell us their stories. Maybe they sensed how the questionnaire technique dissolves life experience into a set of data, often without meaning in the context of the wholeness of life experience.

Some of our respondents started to talk after the formal interview, then they related their side of the story (as opposed to our version which had manifested itself in our interview schedule). During these spontaneous sessions, a lot of valuable information came to light. But most of our students and field assistants, unprepared for this sudden outbreak of lively narration, closed their notebooks and did not record anything on paper. Some of our translators did not even bother to translate the people's stories from the vernacular into English.

Indigenous technical knowledge can only be tapped if the respondent is prepared to listen to stories. To quote but one example: The people in the lake shore communities gave us some very enlightening account of climatic changes in their area which no climatologist had been able to advance.

The Community Interface on Goals

In order to establish community goals and objectives for the planning process, we organised community interfaces in a number of remote settlements of South Kwahu District. We invited the entire adult population to attend the meeting and to actively participate and contribute. In order to steer the discussion more effectively, we used the GOPP method (Goal Oriented Project Planning, which is widely practised by GTZ and other German aid organisations). Obviously the method, which is essentially a planning tool developed for the use by a panel of experts, had to be adapted to suit conditions in a largely illiterate community. However, the first step – the identification of the most acutely felt problem, the so-called core-problem – was carried out as in any other GOPP workshop. Cards were given to everybody attending the meeting, and all participants were asked to write down the problem they considered to rank as the core problem. Subsequently cause-and-effect-relationships between the various problems were discussed. On this basis our students attempted to establish the community's problem tree after their return to Kumasi. It was, however, not possible to build the problem tree during the community interface.

The application of GOPP to a non-literate community would merit a detailed appraisal in its own right. It should suffice here to return to our earlier question whether we as the planners speak the same language

as the people. Two speakers of our GOPP experience are of interest here:

1. Again one might note that a GOPP workshop is exactly the opposite of the African art of story telling. To squeeze a long story of life-long struggle against adverse ecological conditions into a single word that can be written on a card must appear unnatural to the villager. Even more so, if he himself is unable to write and had to ask a teacher or another literate person to write the word down for him. But the people played our game. Reluctantly and after long deliberations they agreed to use our cards. Then the students collected the cards and tallied them: 15 people had written the word 'hunger', 12 had written 'low agricultural production' followed by a host of other problems, such as poor sources of water supply and chieftaincy disputes. The students quickly aggregated the totals and told the crowd that the overwhelming majority had identified 'poor agricultural production' as the core problem of the community.

So in the process of aggregation the word 'hunger' had been eliminated. As if the word was obscene. Or too emotional. Or maybe non-existent in the planner's dictionary. People are emotional, have to be emotional, when their physical survival is at stake. Planners on the other hand are at a loss when they are confronted with emotions. Their craft is a rational one. When a person says, he is hungry, the planner has to keep quiet. But once 'low agricultural production' has been identified as the core problem, planners start to talk about rural strategies.

2. Our community interface was conducted in the context of district development planning. But whenever our moderators tried to draw the villagers' attention to the district level, the people tended to lose interest. They could not be bothered about things which happen in other parts of the district, which after all is the creation of the government, which is viewed as an outside agency anyway. The post-colonial state is seen as an outside agency just as much as the colonial state came from outside. As a benevolent agency, at its best, which responds to the felt needs of the people. The people in remote villages do not consider themselves as part of the society at large, they do not even identify with the much smaller district, they rather identify with their own (subsistence) community.

The Goal Scenarios

When we had gone a step further in the planning process, we developed goal scenarios for our target district. In the academic year 1986/88 the students presented only one goal scenario in our community interfaces to the villagers. In Somei, an inaccessible village in the Afram Plains they took great pains to explain all the details of the scenario to the people and they were looking forward to a lively discussion. But the discussion was to be a short one.

After two or three statements or so the chief summed up the discussion by stating "We endorse everything you have said." Were the villagers so easy to please or was our presentation of no interest to them? We did not know.

So in the following academic year I suggested to the students to present alternative goal scenarios in the villages. Maybe alternative approaches would have the potential to spark off a more lively discussion and bring out controversial issues. This time the students presented three different scenarios. The first one was 'basic needs oriented', the second one was 'production oriented' and the third one represented a blend of the two former ones. It was called 'balanced development'.

This time we witnessed very lively discussions. But most of the speakers did not talk about the alternatives in their totality, they preferred to recommend individual aspect for action. So in the end our students decided to take a vote on the people's preferred scenario and development strategy. There was an overwhelming majority for the 'balanced development' version. In explaining their preference, many speakers said all three scenarios were excellent, and they wanted to combine the best of all proposals.

I am afraid the result of this vote is not indicative of the real aspirations of the people. I don't think the 'balanced development' strategy is more in line with the people's real needs than the basic needs approach. The vote is indicative of something different: The African's inclination towards compromise.

Africa has her own traditions of democracy and consensus. But consensus is a more important virtue than the discussion of alternative courses of action. Here again does the African world view differ from the planner's approach to dealing with the future?

Ninan John Poozhikalail

Training Community Agents in India

Objectives and Scope

All plans, whether developed at the grass-roots level or handed down from a centralized system, have to be executed and put into action at the local level. The regional development personnel not only play a major role, but are rather the key components for execution and action. Needless to say, the quality of the implementation and the results achieved will directly depend on the skills of the personnel. The objective of this paper is to bring out a module for training of regional development personnel, in the context of Indian experience.

Methodology

The training as contained in the training module has two phases:

- o a phase of imparting information about regional development plans and programmes for the government financial institutions (banks) and other agencies,
- o a phase of personality development and leadership training.

Tools and Procedures

Lectures, case studies, role play, psychodrama, group discussions, films and games are some of the tools that will be used in the module. The trainees should be given a good insight into the regional development policy, schemes and programmes of the government, banks and voluntary agencies.

In India, the government has many programmes for regional development. The 20 point programme is an important charter for development. Other special programmes in the area of regional development are:

- o special live-stock production programmes,
- o drought prone area programmes,
- o desert development programmes,
- o national development programmes,
- o rural landless employment guarantee programmes,

- o industry, services and business components,
- o training of rural youth for self-employment,
- o programmes for women and children, and
- o rural banking and agricultural credit and marketing programmes.

Apart from the above programmes covered by integrated rural development, there are a whole lot of sectoral programmes namely, education, environment and forests, health, social welfare, transport and communication, agriculture, irrigation, energy and housing.

The trainees should be given an insight into problem analysis, plan formulation, plan implementation and evaluation using a method similar to the one suggested by (Dias D. Hiran, and B.W.E. Wichramanayaka 1983):

- o problem analysis should be taught with the help of a problem tree. The trainee should develop the objective tree and study the feasibility of formulating programmes to solve the problems.
- o Plan formulation is training the trainee to scout for all the resources (money, men and materials) available with the agencies (government, banks, voluntary, local and self-help) and to formulate a plan for the region or utilize an existing plan or programme.
- o Plan implementation and evaluation including monitoring with the help of the logframe should be exercised.

To carry out the above activities of acquiring knowledge in regional development, developing strategies and solving problems requires many skills. Regional development personnel have not generally been endowed with most of the skills required. It is assumed here that personnel are not just born with the required skills, but that anyone can be trained and developed in a given

situation. Those born gifted are in reality a culmination of family tradition, social environment and education. Some of the qualities and skills required by the regional development personnel are listed in Table 1.

With the help of games, the trainees will have an opportunity for reflection and self-examination so as to bring about a change in their individual personalities which have to be geared to meet the challenges of leadership. It is generally felt that most leadership qualities are necessary only for industrial or business managers and not for regional development personnel. It is due to this reason that results in regional development are not in keeping with the targets and large sums of money spent. Personnel at the regional level could be trained, using a few simple games to acquire all the skills needed to make regional development a success. Different games may be used:

- o The game of listening and recapitulating is necessary for the gathering of information to understand the problems of the region and also in getting a feedback.
- o The game of listening and recapitulating in relay is very important to see that wrong information and distorted instructions are not passed on.

When the trainees have specialised in the art of listening, then one can move on to another skill, namely the art of interviewing. According to (Dorothy Molyneux and Vera W. Lane, 1982), interviews are often described as fulfilling one or more of the following goals: information getting, information giving, expression and exploration of feelings, problem solving, planning for future action.

The game of interviewing helps to learn to formulate the right questions so that the interviewee will not get tired, lose patience and cease to cooperate. The game of reading emotions is important in order to develop the capacity to read non-verbal communication for a correct assessment of the situation. The game of theatre role playing may be useful in getting the right perspective of the situation.

One must now consider verbal communication. This is of great importance in Third World countries, where most communication is done verbally. One of the reasons is that a large proportion of the population

in Third World countries is illiterate (in India about 60%). The trainees must, therefore, develop the skill of public speaking to be able to deliver convincing talks to keep the programme active. In the game of group discussion, the skills of democratic participation are strengthened and the capacity to chair a meeting and guide a discussion to a fruitful conclusion is important in developing cooperation among the members. The game of observation is very important for counter checking other sources of information and data.

So far, this paper has been on the trainees as individuals. Now one must look at them as members of a team, as members of a target group, as one who will have to work for a group and be able to carry the group along with him. This needs a totally different personality – a personality that reflects sharing, cooperation, solving conflicts and leadership. One can take up these skills and see how they can be developed and strengthened.

Working with groups, from within and without, is an important task.

There are a variety of groups that one has to be familiar to work with – primary groups, secondary groups, formal groups, informal groups, families, organizations, institutions, interest groups, self-help groups and the community.

According to (John Adair, 1986), a group has most of the following characteristics: a definable membership, common background, group consciousness, a sense of shared purpose and common tasks, goals or interest, interdependence of the members, interaction within the group, work in an unitary manner, cohesiveness and communication.

Yet all these groups are made up of individuals who have other tasks and functions that are very different from each other. When these roles are interacting in a group in various degrees, one can imagine the group tension, the power struggle, the flow of forces and the undercurrents.

These reactions come from the different personalities of the members of the group acting as aggressor, blocker, recognition seeker, self-confessor, playboy, dominator, help seeker, special interest pleader. To keep all these members in the right perspective, and to get the group to function at its optimum requires good leadership qualities and skills. A good leader will certainly need these skills to keep the ship from sinking. He should be able to perform the following roles as: encourager, initiator, contributor, energiser, harmoniser, compromiser, information seeker, information giver, opinion seeker, opinion giver, gate-keeper, coordinator, orienter, standard setter, evaluator, critic, group observer, commentator and follower.

The regional development personnel ought to know what to say, when and how to say it, and likewise what to do, when and how to do it. This will go a long way in solving the three main problems of groups, namely competition, conflict, and non-cooperation. Competition is good to bring out higher efficiency, but it is desirable only when there is cooperation. Conflict is a familiar problem which should be recognized early and solved. One has to learn to face it and overcome it.

Edward de Bono (1987) gives a list of why people disagree and thus create conflicts. They are:

- o the mood the people are in,
- o the context of the situation,
- o the limited view of the groups involved,

Table 1: Planning and Implementation of Programmes and the Skills Necessary for the Rural Development Personnel

planning programmes implementing programmes	skills needed
understand the existing situation 1a	information gathering, listening, observation, interview 1b
identify problems, potentials, talents 2a	same as above, problem tree, potentials 2b
determine the objectives 3a	same as 1b, objective tree 3b
identify how the objectives can be achieved 4a	survey of resources, outside and local finances, self-help, same as 1b 4b
identify project or programme 5a	team formation, manage the group-dynamics- cooperation, conflict, competition-, develop confidence 5b
identify priorities, choose programme accordingly 6a	impartial balanced thinking, communication, feedback 6b
time schedule of the programme 7a	team work, pragmatism 7b
identify links between programmes 8a	team work, solving conflicts, communication, feedback 8b
programme implementation strategy 9a	team work, solving conflicts, mobilise self-help groups 9b
time sequencing and formulation of programme 10a	team work, mobilisation of the whole community, diffusion of ideas, cooperation 10b
implementation of programme 11a	develop cooperation of outside agencies, government, peoples participation 11b
monitor implementation 12a	same as 1b, review data, information, feedback 12b
adjustments if necessary 13a	team work, solving conflicts 13b
examine results, evaluate, compare with objectives 14a	building community for more development programmes, self reliance, team spirit 14b
take up new programme 15a	building community support, develop self-confidence 15b

source: Ninan John 1988.

- o the local logic that makes sense to the local scene but is no way correct,
- o the individual logic,
- o differences of universe (a universe is a set of circumstances and rules of action which determine how things behave in a particular environment),
- o lack of information,
- o having a part of the picture (not a full picture but one leading to distortions),
- o lack of experience,
- o wrong predictions, and
- o wrong perceptions.

Sometimes the regional development personnel has the opportunity to form its own team, but usually it is inherited from someone or it is just available. When one has no option but to take over a team then one has to work hard to build up the group and the individuals in it.

The following games will be useful to build up team work:

- o the game of squares is based on the principle of realizing the needs of others by observation and offering what is necessary to them if it is available. One will be ineffective if one is insensitive to see the needs of others.
- o the game of putting the puzzle together brings out the cooperation within the group, the leadership pattern and the development of strategy,

- o the game of 'basketing the ball' or 'ring toss' show that life situations are never always smooth. There are situations of competition, conflict and tough resistance.

The trainees have to be trained to be strong to fight these social pressures. One should learn to keep a cool head and develop strategies to overcome a problem.

The objective of the game is to show that the success of the teams depends on keeping their tempers under control and developing a good strategy in times of conflict. It is a good game to reveal the confidence, the overconfidence, the unrealistic assessment of one's ability and the poor estimation of one's capacity.

The game of leading the blind shows that when one can instill confidence then the people will follow. If not, they will rebel. It is important to see how one can build confidence in others.

Last but not least, the regional development personnel should be good at negotiations. This skill has to be developed by the trainees through the game of negotiation.

The basic structure of the training programme can be modified to meet the varying needs and demands of the different levels of personnel in regional development

Through all these games the capacity and the personality of the regional development personnel can be built up to make him capable and equip him to meet the high demands of the type of work he has to do in regional development.

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Die TRIALOG Jahresversammlung wird am 21./22. Oktober 1989 in Darmstadt stattfinden. Wie gewohnt wird das Treffen mit einem eintägigen Fachseminar gekoppelt, dessen Thema diesmal

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Financial Administration and Management at the District Level in Ghana

I. Introduction

Recent works on strengthening local level planning in developing countries have commonly focussed on people's participation and local political empowerment. These objectives are to be realized through a decomposition of governmental-system structures (GSS) and by centering development at the level of locality. The advantages accruing from organizing development at the local level are now more readily perceived and would seem also widely accepted as waves of development initiatives rising from below roll over many developing countries.

But in emphasizing self-reliant development role of localities questions relating to requisite ability for financial planning and management of development have received only peripheral attention. Although it is clear that effective local development cannot be accomplished without adequate funds and their efficient allocation and that this competence is not equally strong among local bodies. For documented experiences in developing countries indicate glaring weakness in revenue and expenditure administration of local bodies for effective programme implementation.

The paper explores this theme further. Budgetary data is used to analyse the financial administration and planning behaviour of a selected local unit in Ghana. As might be expected, the analysis shows that the local body faces financial difficulties arising from several factors including its own management practices.

While the breadth of coverage has been limited to a single body, there are reasons to believe that the problems are not unique to it. The results warn against postponing any action that might improve the capability of local bodies for financial budgeting, planning and implementation management of development. Some key issues needed to be addressed by such action are identified and changes to be sought out.

II. Perspectives and necessity of local fiscal capacity (LFC) enhancement

One primary objective of local units of government in a developing country is access creation for life improvement at the level of locality. A means to realizing this objective is the financing and administering of development projects as far as possible on self-reliance basis. Progress along this line is likely to depend upon a number of factors including the fiscal capacity of local bodies. Several factors can be thought of as constituting local fiscal capacity for development. At the simplest level one can identify three major variables:

- o System of financial administration and management of the central government;
- o expenditure responsibilities, financial resources and powers allocated to a local body; and
- o local financial administration and management behaviour.

These component variables may be conceptualized as being both multifaceted and interlinked. But for the purpose of this paper, attention is focussed on the third factor, namely local financial administration and management behaviour. This is a factor over which local units of government in some developing countries, such as Ghana, have at least some control and which ultimately determines the success of development projects at the local level.

There are several reasons for singling out this factor for consideration in any developing country. While there are scores of development problems the most pressing and most fundamental of the difficulties is a lack of adequate funds with which to finance and manage self-improvement initiatives at the level of locality. The central government continues to be the primary funding source for local development activities. However, recent central decisions regarding allocation of funds to local bodies, as in the case of Ghana, indicate the pos-

sibility that many local development projects will be without sufficient money to complete, operate and maintain them. Although foreign sources of funding have been significant in implementing some of these projects, these sources are also limited. Besides, they are highly sensitive to national and international political and economic climates quite outside the influence of any locality. To expect these sources to increase substantially in the immediate future is probably unrealistic.

Furthermore, in much of Africa the governments have become increasingly involved in what one might describe as crisis containment and management of the larger economy. As a result, local communities and service users are gradually being asked or expected to shoulder increasing responsibilities for local service delivery. The general trend which is perceptible in many countries is that either by choice or by necessity the central state is withdrawing from localities as financial burdens are shifting from central to local levels or budgets. Consider, for example, Ghana where local government are now required to meet about 50% of the salaries of their staff, in addition to expenditure for their development responsibilities.

It would, therefore, seem reasonable to rely more and more upon the fiscal efforts of each local body and the resources that can be generated from within a locality at the minimum level to meet recurrent costs of operation and maintaining basic local public services. Yet a cursory examination of local jurisdictions in these countries suggests that their current financial situations and management practices may constitute a constraint to this objective of contributing to capital formation at the local level.

For a local body to contribute to capital formation, as usually measured in economic terms, it must be involved in three interconnected processes namely, financial resource mobilization, allocation and utilization management. Each of these fiscal processes defines respectively, the capacity of a local body to raise, distribute and apply funds in accordance with development objectives and priorities of a locality. Together they may be regarded as key factors that determine a local body's potential ability for the funding and implementation of local public services and infrastructural programmes. The budget stands as the main instrument for operationalizing these processes.

Any such attempt to evaluate the financial administration and management behaviour of a local body in the context of development must revolve around these processes and, in fact, the budget. Let it be said, of course, that these factors are no more important than the nature of central-local financial relations and processes including expenditure responsibilities assigned to a local body, revenue bases which a local body is legally permitted to exploit, the powers it has both to perform the functions and to manage the resources. These factors constitute the "environment" of financial administration and management behaviour of a local body. They are, however, outside the scope of this paper.

In the following budgetary example data from Atebubu District Council is analysed as a case illustration. Atebubu District is located in the Brong-Ahafo region of Ghana and lies within the Ghana portion of the Middle belt of West Africa. The District is noted for the cultivation of food crops including yams, cassava, guineacorn, maize and groundnuts. Because of its access to the Volta Lake, fishing is also an important economic base of the District.

III. Atebubu district: an illustration

Structure and Level of Revenues

It is useful in analyzing the revenues of a local body to distinguish between funds mobilized directly by the local unit itself, termed own-source revenues, and those resources mobilized through the efforts of a higher or parallel level body over which the local body has no control. Two types of resources can be considered as constituting this latter flow of funds. These are grants made directly by central government or through it, and revenues collected by the central government or other institutions but shared with the local body within whose jurisdiction the funds have been collected. In Ghana local bodies receive direct grants from the centre but they have yet to benefit from shared-revenues with the centre. The only recorded shared-revenue source in Atebubu District is stool land which legally belongs to traditional rulers i.e. chiefs.

Table 1 shows financial resources of the District Council. In column 1 the relative contribution of the revenue bases to total revenue is presented and column 2 indicates revenue administration performance in terms of each revenue instrument.

As shown in the table, grants are received by the District. For the financial year 1987 the District recorded Cedis 527.9 thousand as the total grant revenue received. Mat-ching Fund constituted an integral part of the direct grant and 12% of the total grant revenue. But this Grant is earmarked for specific uses: local constructional works, including rehabilitation of schools, roads, street lights, construction of markets and sanitation works. Since these grants are meant for development purposes, they constitute a part of central government's development budget. The relative importance of grant revenue in the overall revenue structure of the District is quite little, only 3%.

On the other hand own-source revenues accounted for 97% of total current revenues (including grant revenue) during the period. Rates and Precepts constitute the single most important revenue base contributing about Cedis 10.2 million or 57% of total District revenue. A levy on farm produce accounted for Cedis 6.8 million or 67% of this amount, while revenue from Basic Rate was Cedis 4.8 million or 31%. Overall, non-tax own source revenue instruments appeared to yield more funds than own-source tax revenue instruments being respec-

Table 1: Atebubu District Council: Financial Revenues and Relative Contribution by Source

Revenue Source	Contribution of Source as percent of total	Actual Receipt as Percent of Estimate
1. Own-source revenues		
Rates and Precepts	57.0	57.5
Property Rate	3.9	53.6
Fees	24.3	93.1
Licences	6.1	33.0
Interest on Investments	0.0	0.0
Rent from		
Council Properties	0.04	16.2
Trading Services	4.9	94.5
Miscellaneous	0.8	172.5
Total Own-source Revenues	97.0	60.9
2. Shared Revenues		
Stool lands	0.0	0.0
3. Grants		
Specific Grants	3.0	--
Total District Revenue	100.0	

Source: Atebubu District Council Financial Year 1987 Trial Balance

tively 76.5% and 23.5% For the accounting period under consideration, the District received no shared-revenue from Stool Lands.

There is no historical data to consider the extent to which total own-source revenues have grown over the years. For only if revenues grow more rapidly than do prices and population can real per capita spending increase. But one cannot ignore the effect of inflationary pressures on price levels in the country judging from consumer price index. It is when the effect of inflation is factored into the District's revenues, that one can obtain a true picture of the total purchasing power of resources that have been mobilized by the District Council locally. In the absence of concrete data on these factors, one can only make conjectures. But it is clear that local bodies require revenue bases that are buoyant from which there is continuous flow of funds that can be used for a variety of needs most especially in financing the recurrent costs of operating and maintaining local public facilities.

While one might hope that flows of direct grants would increase total District revenue, there seems to be an explicit Government policy not to provide a greater flow of grants to local bodies generally, partly as a result of its own budgetary constraints and partly based on the assumption that local bodies are capable of generating enough funds from own-sources to finance their operations.

Examination of revenue budget estimates and actual recoveries of Atebubu District Council reveal that this capacity is seriously constrained. Table 1 column 2 gives some ideas on the discrepancy between the two which reflects the revenue-raising capacity of the District. Overall revenue generation efficiency rate is about 61%. Performance by each revenue instrument indicates that only in the Unspecified Receipts category more than the revenue anticipated was collected. Performance level in respect of Fees and Trading Activities were also above 90% However, performance levels of revenue bases, namely Basic and Property taxes and Precepts, with potential high yields, tended to be relatively low. For example, Basic rate was expected to produce Cedis 4.8 million, but only 66% of this amount was realized. Levy on farm produce constituted the most significant revenue base estimated to yield Cedis 12.5 million. But the actual recovery rate was 54%.

These variances would arise mainly from three sources: estimation procedures, discretionary changes in rate imposed, and revenue collection effort. From the data available it is difficult to determine revenue estimation procedures adopted by the Council's financial management staff. As a result one cannot easily establish whether or not the anticipated revenues were overestimated. But it is likely that the estimates were based on a percentage increase or decrease of the immediate year's collection and according to the experience of the Budget Officers. Granting that this was the case and that local and national economic conditions were also taken into account it is reasonable to make at least a "benefit of the doubt" statement that the revenue estimates were "realistic".

In regard to tax rates, there is no indication that within FY 1987 discretionary changes, especially a decrease in the legal amount imposed. This could not therefore account for the large discrepancy between expected revenues and actual recoveries. Revenue collection efficiency remains a possible candidate that may account for the variation. Revenue collection is defined here as the amount of funds collected and actually deposited in the Council's treasury.

Viewed in the context of the poor revenue yield of, for example, the Basic Rate instrument either of two factors could be linked: taxpayer delinquency on ineffective tax collection strategy. Both can also occur simultaneously. In any case, they have similar effect on total revenues and indicate weakness in revenue administration of the District. In the case of levy on farm produce, it must be noted that revenue yield is based partly on the volume and assessed value of produce entering usually the local markets. Revenue derived from this source would depend largely on current market prices, the quality of assessment, and above all the level of probity of the assessor/collector.

On the whole the level of revenue collection performance is not particularly encouraging as the analyses indicate. Given this situation, it is unrealistic to expect that the District Council is able to perform the extremely long list of expenditure responsibilities assigned to it. It is however useful to examine the expenditure activities of the District bearing in mind that only an in-depth study might ascertain the effectiveness of its pending.

Structure and Level of Expenditure

Table 2 constructed from the budget of the District shows how revenues mobilized were used.

From the way the expenditures are accounted for, a thorough analysis of the District's spending pattern is impossible. This is because the accounts are presented on basis of the object of spending such as personal emoluments, transport and travelling etc. A reconstruction of a distribution of this spending based on the type of service provided is also difficult. For these reasons it makes sense only to examine consolidated expenditure as given according to the object of spending. Together current expenditures constitute about 81% of total District expenditure and 41% of this cost is due to salaries and wages of the staff, while 14% is accounted for by travelling expenses. Local constructional works consumed only 18.7% of total District expenditure. Although one cannot determine from the available budgetary data whether the grant revenue has been used for the purposes specified, there is reason to believe that it was used to subsidize expenditure on constructional works. This belief is based on close correspondence between objects of expenditure specified under the grant and list of constructional works undertaken by the District. For these constructional works which included school buildings, public toilets and markets a little more than Cedis 3.4 million was expended. Thus the grant revenue only subsidized these expenditures by 15%.

Table 2: Atebubu District Council: Budgetary Expenditures and Relative Composition (in percent distribution)

Expenditure Category	Category as Percent of total Expenditure	Actual Expenditure as Percent of Estimate
Personal Emoluments	41.3	86.6
Travelling and Transport	14.3	98.8
General Expenditure	6.2	107.2
Maintenance, Repairs and Renewals	7.6	30.2
Other Current Expenditure	11.4	47.7
Constructional Works	18.7	55.8
Plant, Equipment and Vehicles	0.4	8.8
Other Capital Expenditure	0.1	1.2
Total District Expenditure	100.0	63.5

Source: Derived from Atebubu District Council FY 1987 Trial Balance

Examination of planned and actual expenditures reveal closeness between the two, in respect of salaries and travelling costs; overspending in the General Expenditure category; and cutbacks in capital and maintenance expenditures. Cutbacks in respect of the latter categories are not surprising. It is often the case that when revenue shortfall occurs planned expenditures for investment and for materials and supplies are forgone in favour of administrative regulations distinguish between obligatory and discretionary areas of spending and require that discretionary spending be reduced first if revenues are inadequate. Salaries, travelling expenses and other personal allowance in this case are considered obligatory.

The excess expenditure in the General category is particularly striking. A close examination of items in this category reveals that about 25% is accounted for by bank charges. Estimated expenditure on Bank charges was Cedis 283.8 thousand, but actual spending increased to about 142%. There is no information on why these charges were incurred, but it is reasonable to think that they were expenses due to overdrawing probably to pay salaries and to meet other recurrent expenditures. This might be the effect of requirement that local bodies meet 50% of staff salaries. If revenue administration and expenditure management capacity of local bodies is not improved, this could be a serious constraint of basic local public services.

Revenue - Expenditure Gap and Implication

In Table 3 an attempt has been made to provide an overall picture of the District's financial operations and management.

The closing balance at the end of FY 1986 shows a surplus of Cedis 4.8 million, while in FY 1987 a deficit closing balance of Cedis 1.1 million was recorded.

While there is no data on FY 1986 revenue level the relatively large accumulated closing balance suggests that such unspent balances would arise if projects are unduly delayed such that budgeted funds are not used by the end of the fiscal year. Unless these funds are productively invested they constitute a drain on the overall development efforts of the District. This is more so if no Bank interest is earned on such money.

On the other hand, the recorded deficit balance in FY 1987 could arise from a number of factors. First when revenue projections substantially overstate recoveries and are not corrected overtime for these inaccuracies in the light of actual performance. Second, when expenditures are not properly controlled or managed leading to overspending. Third, some expenditures could be regarded as ineffective or relatively unproductive in the context of development, thus raising the issue of how expenditure purposes are determined and prioritized. The fourth factor is when revenue administration is weak.

The crucial questions arise from the case illustration and the aggregate financial data analyzed above:

- o How can local own-source revenues be increased without imposing heavy tax burdens on the community and also without depressing local economic activities?
- o How can expenditures be controlled without jeopardizing development; or how may expenditures be properly linked to development needs of a locality?

It is apparent from the budgetary data analyzed that several issues need to be addressed if involvement

Table 3: Atebubu District Council Consolidated Revenue-Expenditure Account 1987

	(in thousand Cedis)
I. Budgetary Revenues	
1. Own-source Revenues	
1.1 Tax	4,058.3
1.2 Nontax	13,211.9
2. Total Own-source Revenues (1.1 + 1.2)	17,270.2
3. Special Grants	527.9
4. Total District Revenues (2 + 3)	17,798.1
II. Budgetary Expenditures	
1. Current Expenditure	14,833.2
2. Capital Expenditure	3,513.4
3. Total District Expenditure (1 + 2)	18,346.6
III. Overall Deficit/Surplus	
1. I.2 minus II.3	- 1,076.4
2. I.4 minus II.3	- 548.5
3. Accumulated Surplus FY 1986	4,825.2
4. Net Surplus FY 1987	3,748.8

Source: Constructed from Atebubu District Council Revenue and Expenditure Account 1987

by local bodies in the financial administration and management of development is to be improved. There is little doubt that improved revenue administration, budgeting, record keeping, planning and management skills are needed at the local level.

IV. Key issues and Conclusion

Among the issues identified are:

- o Revenue administration and cash management,
- o allocation of funds across functions and activities,
- o budget design and skills.

Revenue Administration and Cash Management

Evidence from the case study shows that the District should have generated more revenues from own-sources. But this has not been the case, at least to the extent anticipated by the financial planners.

The main problem has been with tax recoveries resulting partly from poorly organized tax administration and partly from tax payment default. Effective revenue administration depends on identification of potential taxpayers, correct assessment of payment liabilities or rates and collection procedures. These key elements vary according to the type of revenue base. It is apparent that the District had difficulties in all of these areas.

Besides, it is a fact that no one in any country enjoys paying taxes, fees or charges. But compliance is likely to improve when the payer sees a clear linkage between payment and the benefits derived. Available evidence of the degree of access by the local communities to basic local public services such as good drinking water, roads etc. in the District underscores the lack of correspondence between tax payment and benefits derived. Although this correspondence is essential if increased revenues are to be mobilized.

As a problem of cash management consider also the relatively large accumulated closing balance in FY 1986. This was definitely a drain to the entire development efforts of the District. Apparently excess fund balances do not yield interest earning for the District. This situation requires a serious review. In addition any technical training in financial administration designed for the local bodies should include consideration of cash management techniques.

Allocation of Funds across Functions and Activities

Any linkage between revenue collection, willingness to pay, and benefits derived would be reflected in how funds are allocated among functions and activities. This should also be an indication of the needs and priorities of the communities. One important means of ensuring this linkage is through integration of budgeting and planning activities at the level of the district or locality. Of particular interest is the concept of budgeting as a methodology for establishing development objectives and priorities and for plan implementation management. This concern leads to a discussion on the relationship between budgeting and planning and how the two processes could be coordinated.

In simple terms, planning entails formulation of operational goals, called objectives; establishment of priorities; allocation of resources among various functions and activities; setting of targets to be achieved over a given period of time; and formulation of tactical measures required to move towards targets set.

In the public sector, budgeting constitutes an important instrument for plan implementation. For the reason that it is the only formal process for mobilizing, allocating, and using resources for public sector programmes. Considered in this context planning and budgeting are essentially complementary processes for the realization of development goals. Together they constitute continuous and recurring processes for the implementation of a development strategy.

Despite this close link between planning and budgeting, in practice, the degree of integration has often been very weak and inadequate. Several factors tend to promote and even sustain this divergence. Among these are differences in role, perspective, time horizon and scope of planning and budgeting.

Role:

Essentially planning plays an advisory role and its effect depends largely on the political support it enjoys and the prestige that the agency commands. Budgeting activity is, on the other hand, operational in nature in the sense of mobilization and allocation of financial resources. By this power of the fisc and also being historically older, it commands more influence in the public action domain.



Perspective and Time horizon:

Planning is a future-oriented activity and naturally it takes a longer-term view of development. Besides, it assumes greater rationality in the conduct of economic activities. In contrast, budgeting operates "in-the-now". As a result it is able to cope with short-term situations and articulate political realities of the moment.

Scope:

It is not uncommon for planning activity to cover the public sector and to include policies that seek to promote and/or regulate activities in the private sector. But budgeting is basically confined to activities in the public domain.

These differences have in a large measure contributed to the lack of or inadequate coordination and integration of planning and budgeting functions at the level of locality. In reality, this should not have been so, for both measures for realizing development goals. How then may the two processes be integrated in local development efforts?

Integration of Planning and Budgeting

One basic requirement for the integration of the two processes is a clear definition of development goals, objectives and priorities by local political leaders, in the case of Ghana, the District Assembly, and a clear understanding of these by both planners and budget officers operating at the district level. Once this

understanding is reached the next basic step is the translation of the medium-term development plan targets into annual programmes and projects.

A detailed annual plan which presents specific programmes, projects and activities together with resource mobilization policies, certainly provides a good framework for budgeting. Thus by designing a synthetic operational development strategy that incorporates local public investment and current expenditures, planning and budgeting activities could be interfaced.

However, the effectiveness of such a strategy will depend on the quality of planning and budgeting and especially if the approach also embodies monitoring of performance and evaluation of results. Conceptually, then the budgeting process should correspond to the planning process. That is, budgeting should be an effective tool for formulating goals, mobilizing and allocating resources, implementing policies, programmes and projects, reviewing and revising as well as monitoring performance. Viewed in this way a budget becomes an action plan.

It is clear that existing budgetary process in the Atebubu District and in fact any other district in the country is short of the role described above. As a result certain budgetary reforms may be called for. These may include improvement in budget design, budgetary procedures, accounting skills, and me-

thodology for monitoring and evaluating performance.

Budget Design and Accounting Skills

It has been noted that in terms of its proper role, a budget may be described as a "Plan in Action". It is a means by which allocation of manpower, materials, and money resources required for the performance of various activities are made. Accounting is the process by which the financial transactions of an operating entity are documented, categorized, and recorded for the purposes of providing relevant information in the conduct of planned activities. Viewed from that angle, accounting in the context of administering and managing district level development is basically a vehicle for measurement and for the collection and reporting of financial information that reflect the propriety of transactions and give evidence of accountability in the use of public resources and assets.

Proper book-keeping or record of all receipts and expenditures, maintenance of records that reflect all financial transactions of application of resources, and classification of data in a way that provides useful information for control and efficient management of operations are therefore essential requirements in the process of public accounting for local development. Budgeting and accounting cannot in this respect be separated. Information generated by budgeting and accounting is an essential input into evaluation and

performance auditing of programmes and be designed to serve the goals and objectives of planned development.

The system of financial budget design followed by the case study District is the traditional Line-Item Budgeting System (LIBS). This system of budgeting is designed primarily for the purposes of satisfying the needs of administrative control of funds and political accountability rather than an instrument for plan implementation. Its emphasis are objects of expenditure, which indicate the manner in which funds are to be allocated. Common spending categories are salaries, travel expenses, equipment and supplies. This is often supplemented by a detail listing of all established posts and approved levels of remuneration.

In the format the traditional budget document often lacks adequate information on expenditure programmes, their purposes, costs and outputs and achievements which these inputs are finance. For that reason, it is less useful for making good allocative decisions and its link with planning is often weak. The issue is, how may this link be strengthened?

Programme and Performance Budgeting (PPB) Considered

Programme and Performance Budgeting (PPB) is considered here in the context of financial budgeting. Financial budgeting is performed, in the government sector, mainly at the level of implementation where there is a matching of available funds with needs covering usually only a period of one year. For this reason annual development plans would confine with its time horizon.

Some problems of traditional Line-Item Budgeting System viewed in the context of plan implementation have already been mentioned. One of the issues is that, it is "inputs-oriented" in the sense that it emphasizes primarily employment of personnel, procurement of materials and supplies, and acquisition of equipment, but not achievement of results or accomplishments.

In order to correct this limitation Performance Budgeting (PB) could be added to serve as a means of measuring achievements. This implies quantification the outputs of a local entity. The outputs are generally in the form of services. As a result units of measuring performance will vary according to the type of ser-

vice a local body delivers. Three categories of measures can generally be identified from the relevant literature. These are:

- o Physical units of work volume, as for example, the number of pit latrines or markets constructed in a given area or district.
- o Units of work results. This measure relates to beneficiaries of the number of direct clientele served.
- o Units of work accomplishments. This category of measurement touches upon achievement of programme goals or objectives, as for example, by how much literacy level of a community has been raised with an adult education programme.

Thus measurement of performance could be presented in physical units of accomplishments or descriptively in the form of performance ratios. By this approach line-item budgeting could be made "inputs-oriented" as well.

Another issue noted was that the traditional Line-Item Budgeting System adopted by the District was "expenditure control-oriented" as it emphasized mainly how the money spent could be checked and controlled rather than how the various composite units of the District Organization perform. To correct this deficiency, Programme Budgeting (PB) could be added to provide a management perspective for presenting the expenditure budget estimates, controlling, and monitoring performance during implementation, and periodically evaluating the performance. This process of Programme Budgeting could make line-itemisation budgeting "management-oriented".

The third problem is that expenditure estimation in line-item budgeting is commonly made on the basis of mainly past expenditures without relating these to the future needs of the spending centres. In this case PPB could be employed. For, the process determines budget estimates not only in terms of previous year's expenditure levels, but also by comparing these with anticipated needs of the various activity areas or units. This makes the budget both "backward-looking" and "forward-looking".

From the above description of PPB, it would appear clear that it does not seek to replace Line-Item budgeting, but rather to improve it.

For what is required in this area in any developing country is not just a reform, but also greater realism. Realism implies an objective assessment of strengths and weaknesses of the existing system and of constraints which a completely different and relatively complex system would face in an environment where relevant skills are severely deficient. Besides, budget innovation is not only a matter of introducing new methodologies, but perhaps of more importance is the changing of attitudes and behaviours particularly of those who will operate the system and/or utilize the data supplied. Correct diagnosis of problems, good ordering of priorities, and informed selection of approach are all aspects of the realism required.

Conclusion

While limited in scope, the case example would seem to throw some light on the implications for plan implementation of a system of revenue-expenditure administration through the instrument of financial budgeting. The analyses allowed some key issues with wider applicability and relevance to be identified and discussed. Overall, there appear to be areas where significant improvements can be made with financial management training and policy directions.

But the most important challenge appears to be the construction and institutionalization of consultative bridges which offer opportunities of interfacing planning and budgeting processes. One of such bridges could be tied to the design of the district budget.

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Bücher

Architektur

David De Long, BRUCE GOFF: TOWARDS ABSOLUTE ARCHITECTURE. 388 Seiten, ISBN 0-262-04097-2, The MIT Press, Cambridge, M.A. 1988. Bezug in Europa: MIT Press, 126 Buckingham Palace Rd. GB-London AW1W 9SD, \$ 67.50.

Der exzentrische amerikanische Architekt Bruce Goff, ein Schüler von Frank Lloyd Wright, hat gezeigt, daß man mit Stein, Stahl und Beton auch durchaus phantasievoll bauen kann, was die meisten seiner heutigen Kollegen nicht nur in den USA zu übersehen scheinen. Deshalb ist diese gewissenhaft zusammengestellte Biographie vielleicht besonders für Architekten in jenen Ländern eine lehrreiche Lektüre, wo das Vorbild des "american way of life" eher undifferenziert imitiert wird. Aber auch für stilistisch emanzipierte Kollegen in Europa und anderswo ist diese Publikation bemerkenswert, da sie viele bisher unveröffentlichte Werke des Meisters in Schrift und Bild dokumentiert.

(Kosta Mathéy)

Habitat

Einhard Schmidt-Kallert, ZUM BEISPIEL SLUMS. Süd-Nord Reihe No 24, ISBN 3-88977-190-4, Lamuv Verlag Göttingen, 1989. DM 7.80.

Die kleinen Süd-Nord-Bücher eignen sich dazu, völlig fachfremden Lesern einen ersten Einblick in Teilaspekte der Entwicklungs-länderproblematik zu ermöglichen. Einhard Schmidt-Kallert hat zum Thema der Wohnungsversorgung kurze, aber bezeichnende Textstellen aus relevanten Publikationen zusammengestellt. Damit wird in erster Linie einmal das harte Leben in den Armutsvierteln der Entwicklungsländer beschrieben. Darüberhinaus ist es den Verfassern jedoch auch gelungen, die wichtigsten Thesen der Selbsthilfediskussion in der Wohnungsbaupolitik anschaulich zusammenzufassen, was vielen umfangreicheren Publikationen trotz höher gestecktem Anspruch nicht gelingt.

(Kosta Mathéy)

Stadtentwicklung

Jürgen Friedrichs (Hrsg.), SOZIOLOGISCHE STÄDTFORSCHUNG. Sonderheft der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Bd. 29. 440 Seiten, ISBN 3-531-12022-0, Westdeutscher Verlag Opladen, 1988. DM 58,-.

Obwohl eine der ältesten Zweige soziologischer Forschung, ist die Stadtsoziologie eine in vielen Entwicklungsländern junge, wenn nicht sogar gänzlich unbekannte Disziplin. Auch einige sozialistische Staaten glaubten lange, ohne dieses Wissensgebiet auskommen zu können. Daher beziehen sich die meisten der maßgeblichen Forschungen auf die westlichen Industrieländer, was auch dieser Band bestätigt. Die zwanzig Aufsätze hauptsächlich deutscher Soziologen wie Dengschadt, Friedrichs, Häusermann &

Siebel, Herlyn, Schäfers, Strubelt u.a.m. reichen von einführenden Tendenzanalysen über empirische Studien bis zu methodischen Abhandlungen. Als zeittypische Problematiken fallen dabei fortschreitende Individualisierung, 'Gentrification', der Einfluß moderner Technologien auf Form und Funktion der Stadt, ethnisch-kulturelle Gegensätze (insbesondere in türkisch-deutschen Vergleich) ins Auge. Die Tatsache, daß alle Beiträge in deutsch abgefaßt sind, erleichtert die Verwendung der Texte im Unterricht - wenn auch leider die Möglichkeiten graphischer Kommunikation übersehen wurden, und zumindest in der methodischen Abhandlung quantitative Aspekte (und deren mathematische Auswertung) qualitative Fragestellungen in den Hintergrund drängen. Dennoch stellt das Buch für Stadtplaner und Soziologen eine aktuelle und empfehlenswerte Lektüre dar.

(Kosta Mathéy)

Gesellschaft und Politik

THIRD WORLD GUIDE 89/90. 625 Seiten. Editora Tercer Mundo, Montevideo. ISBN 950-99264-0-X / 3-88977-191-2. Bezug in der BRD: Lamuv Verlag, Düstere Straße 3, 34 Göttingen, DM 30,-.

Seit 1979, (und seit 1985 in englisch) wird der "Dritte-Welt-Führer" veröffentlicht. Etwa ein Viertel des Umfangs ist Aufsätzen zu aktuellen Themen gewidmet, wie diese Jahr u.a. Auslandsschulden, AIDS, Internationale Organisationen, während der Rest ausführliche Länderberichte und -Statistiken zu den Staaten der Welt, und nicht nur der sog. Dritten, enthält. Als aktueller Almanach wird sich der Band zumindest bei allen Institutionen, die sich mit internationalen Fragen beschäftigen, bewähren. Es bleibt ein Geheimnis, wie es dem Verlag möglich war, eine so gute, umfangreiche und reich bebilderte Dokumentation (inclusive einer ausklappbaren Weltkarte) zu einem derart günstigen Preis herzustellen.

(Kosta Mathéy)

Technologie

Yusuf Gürcinar, BEITRÄGE ZUR MILDERUNG DES WOHNUNGSPROBLEMS IN DER TÜRKEI. Bauök-Papiere 52, ISBN 3-926603-20-8. Stuttgart 1988. Bestelladresse: Institut für Baukonstruktion, Universität Stuttgart, Keplerstraße 11. DM 14,- plus Versandkosten.

In seiner hier veröffentlichten Dissertation mit dem Untertitel: "für Selbstbau geeignete Bauweisen unter Berücksichtigung der lokalen Ressourcen" konzentriert sich der Autor hauptsächlich auf die technischen Aspekte des Bauens in Zentralanatolien. Ins Türkische übersetzt, könnten die große Teile der Arbeit eine nützliche Baukonstruktions- und Entwurfslehre für einheimische Architekten abgeben. Eingestreut in die Arbeit finden sich jedoch - wohl eher als vermeintliche Pflichtübung für die Promotion - auch andere Aspekte, wie die Bauaufnahme von drei beispielhaften Wohnhäusern, aktuelle Kreditbestimmungen, Berechnungen der für Selbstbau verfügbaren Zeit einer türkischen Arbeiterfamilie, historische Abhandlungen zur Urbanisierung in der Türkei, die für eine Veröffentlichung gründlicher behandelt werden sollten - sofern in dem zuvor genannten Kontext nicht überhaupt auf sie verzichtet werden kann. Auch wäre es im Jahre 1988 angezeigt, die unkommentierte Übernahme von Neufert-Mindestgrundrissen - noch dazu für das Kulturfeld der Türkei - infrage zu stellen. Dennoch, bezogen auf den genannten geographischen Raum findet sich wahrscheinlich kein zweites Buch, das so viele nützliche Informationen sowohl für Entwerfer wie für Selberbauer zugänglich macht.

(Kosta Mathéy)

Bureau International de Travail. TUILES EN FIBROMORTIER. Procédé de production et pose en toiture. ISBN 92-2-206407-0, 153 Seiten, 1988. Genf. Bezug: Internationales Arbeitsamt, Hohenzollerstraße 21, 53 Bonn 2. 15 Sfr.

In den vergangenen Jahren ist die Technologie der Naturfaserplatten als Dacheindeckungsmaterial in bemerkenswerter Weise weiterentwickelt worden, sodaß die sog. FCR-Ziegeln (Fibre Zement Roofing) heute eine realistische Alternative zum Weiblochdach in Entwicklungsländern anzusehen ist. Der vorliegende Band enthält alle technischen Informationen die zum Aufbau einer Produktionslinie für FCR Ziegeln erforderlich sind, wie benötigte Qualitäten der einzelnen Zuschlagstoffe, erforderliche Maschinen, Produktionsabläufe, Einrichtung der Werkstätten, Kalkulationsbeispiele. Bibliographie und eine Liste von Kontaktadressen in aller Welt komplettieren den Band, der eine wertvolle Ergänzung zu der bisher fast ausschließlich in Englisch publizierten Literatur zum Thema darstellt.

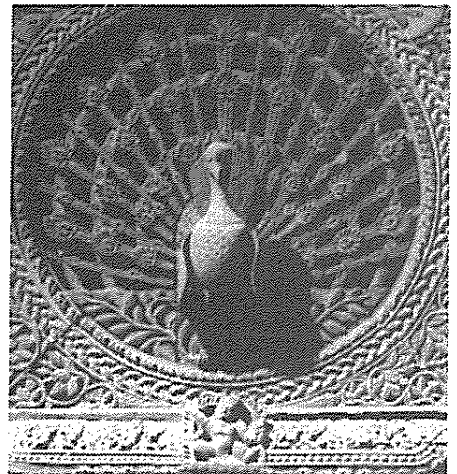
(K. Mathéy)

C.A. Brebbia (Ed.), STRUCTURAL REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE OF HISTORICAL BUILDINGS, 622 Seiten, ISBN 3-7643-2302-7, Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel, 1988. DM 298,-.

Es gibt eine Reihe von Entwicklungsländern, die noch über relativ unberührte historische Stadtzentren oder archäologische Schätze verfügen (vergl. TRIALOG Heft 8). Leider fehlen gerade in diesen Ländern Mittel und Expertise um dem fortschreitenden Verfall durch Alter und Umweltschäden Einhalt zu gebieten, und bereits eingetretene Schäden instandzusetzen. Während die Beschaffung der Mittel eher eine internationale politische Frage ist, können zumindest die technischen Erfahrungen zum Nutzen der lokalen Ingenieure und Handwerker ausgetauscht und ausgewertet werden.

In dieser Hinsicht ist die Veröffentlichung von Vorträgen einer Konferenz über Erhalt und Reparatur von historischen Bauwerken, die im April 1989 in Florenz abgehalten wurde. Insgesamt enthält das Buch 57 ausgewählte und überarbeitete Originalbeiträge, und die Geschwindigkeit der Veröffentlichung ist bemerkenswert. Allerdings wurden die Papers nicht noch einmal einheitlich gesetzt sondern nur verkleinert reproduziert, und auch ein Register fehlt. Ungeachtet der hohen Qualität vieler der enthaltenen Beiträge ist bei einer solchen bescheidenen Ausstattung der hohe Preis der Publikation nicht nur schmerzlich, da selbst für Institutionen in Entwicklungsländern unbezahlbar, sondern auch unverstänlich. Für nahezu 300 DM hätte es auch möglich sein sollen, aus dem vorhanden Material ein systematisch aufgebautes - und sicher noch fehlendes - Lehr- und Handbuch zu dem Thema zu produzieren.

(Kosta Mathéy)



United Nations (ed.), Popular Participation in Selected Upgrading Programmes in Urban Areas, New York 1986, 62 S., sales no. E.86.IV.8 (Bezug: UN, Sales Section, New York, N.Y. 10017).

Die Ergebnisse einer Studie von Upgrading Projekten in Brasilien, Peru, Kolumbien, Bolivien, Kenya, Senegal, Zambia, Indien, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Philippinen und Mozambique werden hier vorgestellt. Eingangs wird „Partizipation“ definiert, gefolgt von einer Übersicht über die Methoden der Formulierung partizipatorischer Projekte. Der Hauptteil der Studie besteht aus Empfehlungen, wie „communities“ (Nachbarschaften) bei der Durchführung von Upgrading beteiligt werden können und wie diese Partizipation stimuliert werden kann. Spezielle Betonung wird auf die Qualifikation der Planer bezüglich „social engineering“ gelegt. Es handelt sich um die Stimulierung von Partizipation, um den Umgang mit (in)formellen Nachbarschaftsführern, der Auswahl von Projektpersonal und Nicht-Regierungspartnerorganisationen. Deutlich wird in der Studie vor allem viel Euphorie gegenüber den Möglichkeiten der Selbstorganisation, der Betroffenenbeteiligung am Entscheidungs- und Planungsprozeß gewarnt, doch trotz allem wird Partizipation in sämtlichen Projektphasen für möglich gehalten. Die Formel lautet, je mehr Partizipation, desto größere Effizienz der Upgrading Programme, und das gilt bekannterweise auch für andere Entwicklungsaktivitäten.

Florian Steinberg

Fuchs, R.J., Jones, G.W., Pernia, F.M. (eds.), Urbanization and Urban Policies in Pacific Asia, 1988, 370 S., US \$ 36. (Bezug: Westview Press, 5500 Central Ave., Boulders, Co 80301, USA).

Das Buch ist Resultat einer Konferenz von 1985 in Honolulu, welche eine Reihe von Themen städtischer Entwicklung behandelte, sowohl in marktwirtschaftlichen wie in „sozialistischen“ Ländern.

Zu den Hauptfragen zählt die immer wiederkehrende Frage, ob das Stadtwachstum kontrolliert werden kann, welche makroökonomischen Politiken die Urbanisierung beeinflussen können, und welche „urban management“-Strategien erfolgreich waren, all das unter dem Blickwinkel, ob Politiker auch die Bedeutung dieser Politiken/Strategien verstehen. Sämtliche Kapitel des Buches fragen nach den städtischen/Urbanisierungspolitiken, die effektiv sind, doch es wird auch klar gemacht, daß städtische Entwicklungspolitik nur funktionieren kann, wenn ökonomische Programme diese Politiken unterstützen. Die Mehrzahl der Beiträge ist makroökonomisch und regional orientiert, die Zielgruppe der Konferenz/des Buches ist hauptsächlich unter den Regionalplanern und „Bevölkerungswissenschaftlern“ zu suchen. Die Beiträge über städtischen Management bieten entweder die — mehr oder weniger — offizielle Meinung der Weltbank oder glorifizieren das Modell „Singapore/Hongkong“, während die kurzen Beschreibungen der nationalen Stadtentwicklungs- und -wohnungspolitik in Indonesien und China oberflächlich bleiben.

Florian Steinberg

Bernd Ciecior: Habitat und Technikos, Elemente des Wohnungsbaus und der Technologie in Venezuela. 1988 im Verlag Breitenbach Publishers, Saarbrücken/ Fort Lauderdale, 240 S., ISBN 3-88156-406-3.

Der Autor liefert einen konzeptionellen und empirisch überprüften Beitrag zur Frage der optimalen Technologiewahl im Niedrigkostenwohnungsbau in der Dritten Welt. Die Analyse traditioneller wie moderner Formen des Wohnungsbaus unter entwicklungspolitischen wie architektonischen Aspekten führt zur Frage der Bedeutung der Technologie in der Entwicklungsstrategie — ob eigener oder fremder Herkunft —, zu Problemen und Chancen des Technologietransfers wie der Effizienz von Hoch- und Niedrigtechnologie und schließlich der jeweils adäquaten Wohnungspolitik unter der Prämisse optimaler Bauproduktion.

Der daraus abgeleitete Kriterienkatalog für eine „angemessene Technologie“ wird an der Realität zweier gegensätzlicher Wohnbaustrategien auf seine Aussagefähigkeit hin überprüft — der einer „high technology“ und der einer „low technology“ angesichts der gleichen Bauaufgabe. Erstmals werden hierbei verschiedene „Generationen“ von „appropriate technology“ diskutiert. Die Fokussierung auf die Spezifika der alternativen Technologie-Optionen und die Synopse ihrer Charakteristika begründet die Folgerun-

gen und Hinweise zur weiteren Optimierung der Wirksamkeit von Wohnungsbaumaßnahmen, unter dem Ziel der Verbesserung der Wohnungslage der unteren Einkommensgruppen.

Sandhu, R., Sandler, J. (Hg.), The Tech and Tools Book, A Guide To Technologies Women are Using Worldwide, London 1986, 176 S. (Bezug: IT Publications, 9 King St., London WC2E 8HW).

Dieses Buch resultiert aus der Zusammenarbeit der Intermediate Technology Development Group und dem International Women's Tribune Centre. Die Mehrheit der hier vorgestellten Technologiebeispiele wurden auf dem „Tech and Tools: An Appropriate Technology Event for Women at Forum 85, Nairobi“ vorgestellt und die Herausgeber haben diese Beispiele gesammelt und übersichtlich aufbereitet. Es gibt pro Beispiel jeweils eine Kurzbeschreibung und Klassifizierung (Kosten, Nutzen, Bauweisen, Energiebedarf, Hauptzweck, Unterhalt) der Anwendbarkeit und eine Beurteilung der Stärken und Schwächen der Beispiele. Das deutliche Motto des Buches: „If it is not appropriate for women, it is not appropriate.“

Als Technologiebereiche werden vorgestellt: Landwirtschaft, Kommunikation, Energie, Nahrungsmittelproduktion, Gesundheit und „sanitation“ sowie einkommenschaffende Aktivitäten. Der Bausektor kommt dabei reichlich kurz und auch die „sanitation“ Beispiele sind bei weitem keine „Übersicht“ vorhandener Technologien.

Im Anhang des Buches: Kontakte zu Donor Org., anderen Appropriate Technology-Gruppen und den speziellen Medien.

Florian Steinberg

Schminck, M., Bruce, J., Kohn, M. (eds.), Learning about Women and Urban Services in Latin America and the Caribbean, A Report on the Women, Low-income Households and Urban Services Projekt of the Population Council, New York 1986, 276 S. (plus Anhang). (Bezug: The Population Council, 1 Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, New York 10017).

Dieses Buch ist Ergebnis eines von US AID geförderten Forschungsprojektes, an dem auch die International Center for Research on Women, the Equity Policy Center, the Development Planning Unit of Univ. College London mitgewirkt haben. Das Buch gliedert sich in 3 Teile: Die Einführung mit allgemeinen Beiträgen zur Kommischen Position der Frau in Latin-Amerika, die Erläuterungen des Forschungsprojekts und ein Ausbildungskurs für frauenorientierte Planung; der Hauptteil mit Fallbeispielen aus den Bereichen „Wohnung und Umwelt“, „Lebensmittelversorgung“ und „Zugang zu Dienstleistungen“; schließlich im Anhang Projekt-Informationen und Details zum Forschungsprojekt.

Der Hauptbeitrag dieses Buches liegt in den Fallbeispielen, welche kritisch die Möglichkeiten/Grenzen von Frauen-Selbsthilfe im Wohnungsbau untersuchen. Die hier dargestellten Erfahrungen (inklusive dem bekannten Beispiel der Frauenbrigade aus Kingston) belegen nicht nur die Wichtigkeit von frauenorientierten Projekten, sondern machen teilweise auch klar, daß „autonome“/basisorientierte Nachbarschafts- und Sozialentwicklung am besten durch die Mobilisierung der Frauen wirksam werden kann. Und das ist wohl eine nicht unbedeutende entwicklungspolitische Schlußfolgerung!

Florian Steinberg

WEDC (Hg.), Water and Urban Services in Asia and The Pacific, Proceedings of the 14th WEDC Conference, Kuala Lumpur 11—15 April 1988, 158 S. (Bezug: Water Engineering and Development Centre, Loughborough University of Technology, Leicestershire LE 11 3TU, U.K.).

Insgesamt 36 Konferenzbeiträge zu den Themenfeldern Wasserversorgung, Abwasserbehandlung, Umweltverschmutzung, Community/Sanitation/Wasserversorgung, Wohnungsvorsorgung/Straßenbau und andere Infrastruktur werden hier abgedruckt. Die Themenbreite des Bandes spiegelt den weitgefächerten Arbeitsbereich des WEDC wieder, die Beiträge sind in der Regel mehr kurze (!) „Werkberichte“ als volle Artikel, doch das macht diesen billig produzierten Konferenzband ausgesprochen informativ, zumal auch die Ergebnisse der diversen Diskussionsgruppen gut zusammengefaßt wurden.

Florian Steinberg

Hall, N., Thatching: A handbook, IT Publications, London 1988, 47p. (Bezug, IT Publ., 103/105 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4HH).

Dies ist ein sehr gut und prägnant geschriebenes, sehr anschauliches Handbuch über Reet- und Strohdächer. Es präsentiert das Material als einen modernen Baustoff, der — wenn auch seit Jahrhunderten schon im Hausbau benutzt — auch für heutige Anforderungen, besonders für ökologisches Bauen geeignet ist. Die Eigenschaften des Baumaterials, seine Verwendung in verschiedenen konstruktiven Situationen, die notwendigen Arbeitsgeräte, verschiedene Dachdeckungsarten sowie Pflege/Unterhalt und Reparatur werden in sehr praxisnaher Weise erläutert, mit der Angabe diverser Details. Das Buch ist ein Billigprodukt der IT Publications und die Preispolitik der Ausgabe hat es wohl leider nicht erlaubt auch internationale Beispiele von Reet-/Strohdächern beizufügen. Dies wäre eigentlich das einzige, was dieses „Plädoyer“ für einen traditionellen Baustoff noch überzeugender hätte machen können.

Florian Steinberg

Leserbrief

Herewith I would like to send you a brief comment regarding TRIALOG 20, the article by Medhat M. Hassan on Egypt. I think it is rather a misconception of this author to speak just like this about the need to stimulate the private investment through housing coops and formal bank credit, through direct subsidies and cheap construction technologies. It seems to have slipped his attention that Egypt is the remarkable case where ca. 80% of all new housing stock is generated through informal land subdivision and informal multi-storey ownership and rental apartment buildings. It is almost totally financed through private savings, without any subsidies and it depends on simple construction technologies. It is in a way

appalling to see how much the author is oriented toward the rather unimportant public housing-sector and how ignorant he is about this most developed but still informal-housing sector!

I would suggest to the TRIALOG editors to think about a system of subject comments before articles are printed. As a further reading I can recommend my paper on „Informeller Wohnungsbau in Kairo: Eine (Teil-)Lösung des Wohnungsproblems, in: Augel, C. Hillen, P., Ramalho, L. (eds.), Die Verplante Wohnmisere, Saarbrücken 1986, pp. 181—192.

With best regards,
Florian Steinberg

Deutsche Kurzfassungen

BERND JENSSEN Planung als Dialog

Wie kann die gesellschaftliche Gestaltungswirkung der Regionalplanung erhöht; ein gesellschaftlicher Konsens zur regionalen Entwicklung formuliert werden, sind die zentralen Fragen der Aufsätze.

Auch wenn die Ansätze der regionalen Entwicklungsplanung in den letzten Jahren grundlegend revidiert wurden; der Einzelne nicht mehr passives Objekt sondern aktives Subjekt innerhalb der Planung ist, dominieren normative Setzungen. Gesellschaftspolitische Ambitionen versperren den Zugang zur gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit. Planung und Durchführung sind voneinander getrennt und technokratische Pläne spiegeln die Lösung komplexer Probleme vor.

Als Ausweg wird die Einrichtung einer Regionalen Plattform vorgeschlagen, an der wichtige regionale Akteure teilnehmen, sich austauschen, Interessen benennen und Entwicklungsvorschläge unterbreiten, die in späteren Planungsphasen auf ihre Realisierbarkeit analysiert werden. Gerade in der Initiierung des Dialoges, in der Kommunikation von Interessengruppen liegen entscheidende Möglichkeiten, gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeiten einzufangen

und einen Konsens zur regionalen Entwicklung zu formulieren.

Die Aufgaben des Planers als Moderator sind nicht einfach. Auf der einen Seite wird er teilweise gegen den Widerstand zentraler Instanzen ein Klima schaffen, in dem sich Innovationen und Kreativität entfalten. Auf der anderen Seite sind Entwicklungsvorschläge zu systematisieren, in Rahmenbedingungen einzuordnen und Gruppen und Verhandlungsprozesse zu steuern. In vielen Fällen ist sogar die Gesprächsbereitschaft und Artikulationsfähigkeit zu stimulieren.

Vom Planer als Moderator wird erwartet, daß er Gespräche vorbereitet, initiiert und steuert, Konflikte löst, sich sensibel in die Situation von Akteuren einfüßt, ohne den Blick für Gesamtzusammenhänge zu verlieren. Gleichzeitig ist er Fachmann in der Anwendung von Methoden und Techniken der Regionalplanung und erhält so die Möglichkeit, Planung stärker in die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit einzubinden, ohne den Anspruch auf Veränderung aufzugeben.

MANORIS V. MESHACK Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Eine Fallstudie aus Tanzania

Der Distrikt ist in der Hierarchie afrikanischer Verwaltungen eine wichtige Ebene, weil dörfliche Siedlungen administrativ zusammengefaßt werden, die staatliche Verwaltung sich direkt mit den lokalen Gegebenheiten auseinandersetzen muß und lokale Ressourcen mobilisiert werden. Die wesentliche Stärke der Distriktplanung liegt jedoch darin, daß die lokale Bevölkerung direkt in die Planung eingebunden wird.

Den Vorteilen der administrativen Verankerung stehen jedoch eine Reihe von Problemen gegenüber. Am Beispiel von Mpwapwa werden die ökologischen, ökonomischen und finanziellen, politischen, administrativen und technischen Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Entwicklungsplanung im Distrikt beschrieben die durch nationale und externe Rahmenbedingungen erheblich eingeeengt werden. Die politische Dominanz bürokratischer Eliten und deren Konsumbedürfnis hat trotz aller Reformbemühungen bisher eine effektive Förderung der Landwirtschaft und des Kleingewerbes auf dem Land verhindert.

EMMANUEL K.A. TAMAKLOE Die Aussichten und Probleme, in Ghana regionale Entwicklungsplanung als Dialog einzuführen

Ghana hat, wie auch andere Länder Afrikas, in der Vergangenheit immer wieder die Absicht gehabt, politische und administrative Macht zu dezentralisieren, um der Bevölkerung mehr Möglichkeiten einzuräumen, an regionalpolitischen Entscheidungsprozessen zu partizipieren. Dabei hat sich gezeigt, daß der bestehende institutionelle Rahmen, das gesetzliche Instrumentarium und die traditionelle Art der Entscheidungsfindung in der Regel die Zentralisierung eher noch fördern als zugunsten der lokalen Ebene abbauen.

Nun hat die Regierung des Landes einen neuen Anlauf unternommen, Planungsbefugnisse und Planungsaktivitäten auf die lokale Ebene zu verlagern. Sie hat dazu 110 Distrikte geschaffen, Distriktversammlungen eingeführt und diese mit erheblichen Entscheidungsbefugnissen ausgestattet.

Die Maßnahmen zur Dezentralisierung der Planung in Ghana werden in dem Beitrag ausführlich beschrieben und daraufhin bewertet, ob sie auf der lokalen Ebene tatsächlich den Dialog in Gang setzen, der es der lokalen Bevölkerung ermöglicht, an Planungsentscheidungen zu partizipieren.

Auf der Grundlage der Auswertung einer populären Tageszeitung, und von Interviews in einem ausgewählten Distrikt des Landes werden die Chancen und Probleme der neuen Dezentralisierungspolitik eingeschätzt. Dabei zeigt sich insbesondere, daß die lokale Bevölkerung über die Ziele und Absichten dieser Politik, und auch über ihre neuen Rechte, nur unzureichend informiert ist, auch daß sie sehr skeptisch ist, ob damit bestehende lokale Probleme und



Konflikte aus der Welt geschafft werden können.

Der Beitrag endet mit einigen Empfehlungen zur strukturellen Verbesserung der regionalen Entwicklungsplanung im Rahmen der nationalen Dezentralisierungspolitik.

JOSE' MANUEL HENRIQUES Regionalplanung als Dialog – Erfahrungen aus Portugal

Die endogene Regionalplanung hebt die Trennung zwischen Subjekt und Objekt, Planenden und Beplanten auf, um nachhaltig territoriale Ressourcen zu mobilisieren. Das kann aber nur erreicht werden, wenn neue wissenschaftliche Ansätze entwickelt werden, die naturwissenschaftliche

und geisteswissenschaftliche Aspekte kombinieren.

Der Dialog bezieht sich auf die Kommunikation zwischen sozialen Gruppen mit unterschiedlichen materiellen Interessen, Rationalitäten, kollektiven Normen und Wissen. Damit wird Planung im Kern als Aushandlungsstrategie begriffen. Dialog bedeutet Verständigung zwischen Akademikern und Nichtakademikern und soll territoriale Verhaltensmuster aufdecken. Aus Portugal wird über den freiwilligen Zusammenschluß von Gemeindeverwaltungen zu einer gemeinsamen Interessenvertretung, über wachsende örtliche Initiativen und Selbstorganisation und über die zunehmende informationelle Vernetzung berichtet, um Ansätze kommunikativer Planung zu illustrieren.

INGRID SCHWOERER Auf der Suche nach dem dem Planungsdialog – Zwei Fallbeispiele aus Brasilien

In einer ländlichen Region im Nordosten Brasiliens werden die Schwierigkeiten kommunikativer Planungs- und Entscheidungsprozesse in einer von extremen Disparitäten gekennzeichneten Situation aufgezeigt. Den großen Erwartungen nach der Demokratisierung stehen nun Enttäuschungen gegenüber, die aus der langen Geschichte extrem ungleichgewichtiger Entwicklungen in ökonomischer, sozialer, rechtlicher und räumlicher Hinsicht erwachsen.

Ein ländliches Wegebauprogramm und ein Seminar zur lokalen Ent-

Veranstaltungen

22.8.—24.8.1989, Hong Kong. Computers in Urban Planning Conference. Infos: Centre for Urban Studies, University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong.

17.9.—20.9.1989, Bristol, UK. Seventh Urban Change and Conflict Conference. International Sociological Association, University of Bristol. Infos: Martin Boddy and Ray Forrest, School of Advanced Urban Studies, Rodney Lodge, Grange Road, Bristol BS8 4EA, UK.

20.9.—22.9.1989, Belfast, N. Ireland. Development Studies Association Annual Conference. Infos: Renee Prendergast, Department of Economics, The Queens University of Belfast, Belfast, BT7 1NN, N. Ireland.

25.9.—30.9.1989, Moscow, USSR. Self-Government and Social Production in the Urban Environment and at the Enterprise, International Sociological Association, Moscow. Infos: Edmond Pretecellle, Centre de Sociologie Urbaine, IRESO-CNRS, 59—61 Rue Pouchet, 75849 Paris Cedex 17, France.

25.9.—27.9.1989, London, UK. Conference „Cities and People: Can we plan the future?“. Infos: Dr. Sheila Meikle, Cities and People Conference, Development Planning Unit, 9 Endsleigh Gardens, London WC1H 0ED, UK.

30.9.—9.10.1989, Umbria, Italien. Fair of practical utopias. Water: sewage, resource, marvel. Municipality of Città di Castello.

1.10.—5.10.1989, Paris, France. INTA/AIVN 13th Annual Conference. Urban strategy and economic development. Infos: INTA/AIVN Head Office, 26 rue Emeriau, 75015 Paris, France.

2.10.—6.10.1989, L'Isle d'Abeau, France. Intensive Course: the production of compressed earth blocks. Infos: Ecole d'Architecture de Grenoble — CRATERE, Mme. Marina Trappeniers, 10 galerie des Baladins, 38100 Grenoble, France.

8.—10.10.1989, Barcelona, Spanien. Technologies alternatives de développement. Info: Associació Vida Sana, Clot 39, E—0802 Barcelona.

9.10.—10.10.1989, London, UK. International Seminar: Rail Mass Transit for Developing Countries. Infos: Conference Office, Institution of Civil Engineers, 1—7 Great George Street, London SW1P 3AA, UK.

23.10.—27.10.1989, Oporto, Portugal. IAHS World Congress on Housing. Infos: Professor Vitor Abrantes, Faculdade de Engenharia, Gabinete de Construções Cívicas, Rua dos Bragas, 4099 Porto Codex, Portugal —or— Professor Oktay Ural, Civil Engineering Department, Florida International University, Miami, FL 33199, USA.

Nov. 1989, L'Isle d'Abeau, France. Intensive Course: preservation of the earthen architectural heritage. Infos: Ecole d'Architecture de Grenoble — CRATERE, Mme Marina Trappeniers, 10 galerie des Baladins, 38100 Grenoble, France.

9.11.—12.11.1989, Tempe, Arizona. Third International Interdisciplinary Conference on Built Form and Cultural Research. Infos: E. Scaneli, Director, University Conference Services, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85287-1811, USA.

28.11.—2.12.1989, Havana, Cuba. 6th Scientific Conference on Engineering and Architecture. Infos: José Antonio Echeverría, Higher Polytechnic Institute, Havana, Cuba.

1990, Madrid, Spain. World Congress of Sociology. Infos: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Friedrichs, University of Hamburg, Forschungsstelle Vergl. Stadtforschung, Troplowitzstr. 7, D—2000 Hamburg 54, FRG.

3.1.—6.1.1990, Glasgow, UK. Annual Conference. Urban Regeneration and Regional Development, Geographical Information Systems. Infos: Andrew Gibb or John Briggs, Department of Geography & Topographic Science, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ, UK.

22.1.—26.1.1990, Quito, Ecuador. Coloquio „Ciudad Andina“. Infos: Coloquio Ciudad Andina, Federación Mundial de Ciudades Unidas, 2 rue de Logelbach, 75017 Paris, Francia.

18.—24.3.1990, Berlin. TRIALOG-Kongress: Sustainable Habitat on an Urbanized Planet? Siehe Anzeige in diesem Heft.

Apr. 1990, Aberdeen, UK. Conference: Pastoral economies in Africa and long-term responses to drought. Infos: Dr. Jeffrey Stone, Aberdeen University African Studies Group, L10 Link Block, Taylor Building, King's College, Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland.

25.4.—29.4.1990, Malta. Conference: Small Islands Development. Commonwealth Geographical Bureau. Infos: Professor David Drakakis-Smith or Dr. D.G. Lockhart, Department of Geography, University of Keele, Keele, Staffordshire ST5 5BG, England.

3.—6.7.1990, Paris, France. International Housing Conference: Housing Debates — Urban challenges. Workshops: Housing Policies, Housing Tenure, Changes in Lifestyle, Residential Mobility, Production, Metropolitan Areas, Safety/Insecurity, Rehabilitation. Fee: 180 ECU/200 US\$. Abstracts to: IHRC/CILOG, 64 rue de la Fédération, F—75015, Paris, Fax 33-1-46 47 32 78.

8.7.—12.7.1990, Ankara, Turkey. IAPS Conference, International Association for the study of People and their Physical Research Unit, Kingston Polytechnic, Knights Park, Kingston upon Thames, Surrey KT1 2QJ, England.

Sep. 1990, Sao Paulo, Brasil. Codatu V (5th Conference on Urban Transport in Developing Countries). Infos: Association CODATU, 23—25, av. F. Roosevelt, 75775 Paris cedex 16, France.

3.9.—6.9.1990, Rotterdam, NL. Energy-Moisture-Climate, Conference, (call for papers). Infos: G. de Vries, Bowcentrum P.O.Box 299, NL—3000AG Rotterdam.

Shanghai, China. International Comparative Human Settlements Conference, Tongji University. Infos: T. John Kim, International Programs, 324 Coble Hall, University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois 61820, USA.

wicklung illustrieren planerische Demokratisierungsversuche. Der erste Fall zeigt die Schwierigkeit der Abstimmung zwischen bürokratischen professionellen Erfordernissen und realen örtlichen Bedingungen. Im zweiten Beispiel werden aus dem Versuch, zur regionalen Auseinandersetzung über Entwicklungsprioritäten Schlußfolgerungen gezogen.

Offen bleibt die Frage, inwieweit im ländlichen Raum der Entwicklungs-länder Wissen über soziale und politische Verhältnisse besser für eine kommunikative Planung unter zeitlichen Restriktionen genutzt werden können.

PAUL CHAMNIERN Taoismus in der Gemeinde – Entwicklungsplanung in Thailand

Historisch bewegt sich die lokale Verwaltung in Thailand zwischen den Polen zentralistischer Kontrolle und lokaler Autonomie. Gegenwärtig wird auf der städtischen Ebene die Entwicklungsplanung eingeführt. Sie ist eine realistische Strategie, um eine einheitliche und gleichgewichtige Entwicklung sowohl "von oben" als auch "von unten" zu fördern – und damit einen Entwicklungsdialog zu ermöglichen. Die taoistische Herangehensweise stellt einen geeigneten Weg zum Dialog dar, indem sie das Gegensätzliche, das durch YING und YANG symbolisiert wird, zusammenfaßt und ausgleicht. Damit steht sie im Gegensatz zu westlichen Ideen, die das einzig objektivierbare Absolute und Perfekte suchen. Im Taoismus wird dahingegen die Komplementarität und gegenseitige Transformation von Gegensätzlichem betont. Für die gemeindliche Entwicklungsplanung heißt dies, sich widersprechende Tendenzen und Kräfte, wie z.B. zwischen Kontrolle und Autonomie, zwischen bürokratischer Effizienz und langwieriger Bevölkerungsbeteiligung, zu akzeptieren und Widersprüche zu integrieren. Im taoistischen Ausgleich wird die gegenseitige Befruchtung durch Gegensätze akzeptiert, die Suche nach Einheit und Harmonie in der lokalen Entwicklungspolitik fortgesetzt.

J.J. STERKENBURG Datensysteme für die Regional- planung – Erfahrungen aus Kenya und Sri Lanka

Durch Dezentralisierung soll in vielen Ländern die Planungsorganisation effizienter gestaltet werden. Dabei spielt auch die Verfügbarkeit von verlässlichen und leicht zugänglichen

Informationen für die verschiedenen Organisationen, die auf regionaler Ebene planen und implementieren, eine wichtige Rolle. Der Bedarf an Daten und Datensystemen kann nicht standardisiert für alle Regionen und Distrikte aufgelistet werden. Er hängt von der jeweiligen regionalen Entwicklungspolitik der Regierung, dem Gebietstyp und der Art der Planungsorganisation ab. Am Beispiel von zwei Regionen in Kenya (Kakamega) und Sri Lanka (Nuwara Eliya) werden diese Faktoren erläutert. Trotz der unterschiedlichen Entwicklungssituation treten in der Erstellung einer regionalen Datenbasis gemeinsame Probleme auf, wie die mangelnde Zuverlässigkeit von Schlüssel-daten, die ständig veränderten Abgrenzungen der Erhebungsräume und die mangelnde Erfahrung der Planer in der Pflege von Datensystemen. Monitoring und der Einsatz von Kleincomputern stellen neue Anforderungen an das Planungspersonal.

EINHARDT SCHMIDT – KALLERT Bestandsnahmen in ländlichen Gemeinden. Erfahrungen aus Ghana

"Planung von unten" kann als gemeinsamer Nenner der SPRING-Philosophie angeführt werden, die im Studiengang nicht nur theoretisch vermittelt, sondern im zweiten Ausbildungsjahr in Ghana auch in Feldstudien erprobt wird. Studentische Erhebungen in den Afa Plains und South Kwahu illustrieren die Schwierigkeiten, adäquate Methoden zu finden, die sich zwischen zwei Extremen, der Stichproben-erhebung und der teilnehmenden Beobachtung, bewegen. Befragungen führen meist zur Datenverwaltung und nicht zum Dialog und gemeinsamen Lernprozeß. Teilnehmende Beobachtung aus dem Handwerkskasten der Ethnologen erfordert dahingegen ein Zeitbudget, über das Planer in der Regel nicht verfügen. Mit dem Methodenmix des "Rapid Rural Appraisal" wird versucht, unter Zeitrestriktionen einen schnellen Einblick in die lokale Problemstellung zur erlangen.

Planungsprozesse werden in der Regel vom Planer, nicht von den Gemeinschaften initiiert, der damit auch die Spielregeln der Kommunikation diktiert. Eine Haushaltsbefragung, gemeinsame Veranstaltungen mit der Bevölkerung zur Bestimmung ihrer gemeindlichen Entwicklungsziele und der Auswahl alternativer Entwicklungswege zeigen die Schwierigkeiten einer der Planungsphilosophie angepaßten Vorgehensweise.

NINAN JOHN POOZHICALAIL Zur Ausbildung von Entwicklungsagenten in Indien

Alle Pläne, ob direkt an den Grass-wurzeln erstellt oder von zentraler Stelle diktiert, sind vor Ort in Handlungen umzusetzen. In diesem Beitrag wird ein Programm zur Schulung von Planern 'vor Ort' entwickelt.

Es behandelt die Vermittlung von Fachkenntnissen und Fertigkeiten und die Förderung von Führungseigenschaften. Neben dem Wissen über regionale und sektorale Institutionen, deren Pläne und Programme, sollen die Methoden der Problemanalyse, Planformulierung und Umsetzung eingeübt werden. Unter Zuhilfenahme von Spielen und Übungen werden Persönlichkeitsaspekte gefördert, die für die erfolgreiche Tätigkeit als Entwicklungsagent unerlässlich sind, wie Zuhören, Wiederholen, Zusammenfassen, Befragen – Eigenschaften, die es ermöglichen, Kommunikations- und Meinungsbildungsprozesse in Gruppen anzuleiten. Diese allgemeinen Führungseigenschaften können durch Spiele eingeübt werden, die bisher vor allem im 'management training' erprobt wurden, aber auch die beruflichen Fähigkeiten von regionalen "Entwicklungsagenten" verbessern.

JONAS Y. KOKOR Finanzverwaltung und Management auf der Distriktebene in Ghana

Während in vielen Entwicklungsländern die Bedeutung der örtlichen Planungsebene nicht mehr umstritten ist und institutionelle Umstrukturierungen zur Stärkung unterer Verwaltungsebenen üblich sind, wurde bisher der Finanz- und Haushaltsplanung auf dieser Ebene wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Und dies, obwohl klar ist, daß erfolgreiche Entwicklung nicht ohne entsprechende Mittel und effiziente Verteilung möglich ist. Erfahrungsberichte aus vielen Entwicklungsländern zeigen die Schwächen in der Einnahme- und Ausgabenverwaltung lokaler Behörden und der finanziellen Abwicklung von Entwicklungsprogrammen. Die Untersuchung einer Distriktverwaltung in Ghana zur Haushaltsaufstellung und Planungs-umsetzung zeigt, daß die finanziellen Schwierigkeiten auch durch eigene Managementfehler verursacht werden. Die Fähigkeit der unteren Verwaltungsebenen, die Verantwortung für Planung und Implementierungsaufgaben zu übernehmen, muß auch in Hinsicht auf die Haushaltsführung dringend verbessert werden.

TRIALOG

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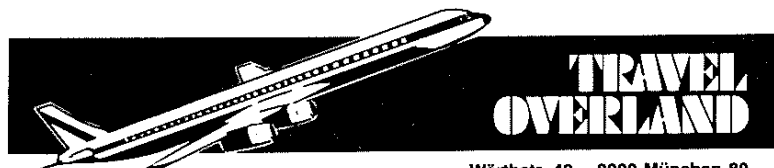
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