II

PARTICIPATION IN PLANNED DEVELOPMENT
INFLUENCED BY GOVERNMENTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
AT LOCAL LEVEL IN RURAL AREAS

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CONTENTS

1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS[1]

The main purpose of this article is to indicate the potentials and constraints for participation in the planned development process at local level in rural areas of developing countries. At present, participation is much "en vogue" in the policies of Governments of the Third World and of international and national donors. However, confusion with regard to the concept of participation and lack of insight into its possibilities and limitations in planned development endangers an effective realization of these policies aiming, amongst other things, at participation and greater equity.

In section 3 an attempt is made to clarify the concept of participation and to arrive at a typology of participation. Attention is also given to participation as a process and the costs and benefits related to participation.

Section 4 indicates briefly the various categories, types, forms, and styles of planning and the consequences for participation when a certain type, form or style of planning is chosen in the planned development process.

In section 5 a description is given of the potentials and constraints of direct participation in the planned development process taking place via projects and detailed programmes at local level.

In section 6 some of the methods used to frustrate participation and to limit its effectiveness are mentioned.

The main conclusions are as follows:
- Participation in planned development is a necessity. It is only when the people, during the stage of implementation and operation of projects and programmes, participate in the sense of using the facilities provided by schools, health services, irrigation systems, etc., that real development takes place.
- It is most likely, but still an assumption, that people are more willing to participate during the stage of implementation, operation and maintenance of the planned development process if they

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are also given the opportunity to participate during the other
stages of planned development. In other words, more participation
at all stages of planned development at local level should lead
to greater effectiveness and relevance of this process.
- Before free participation, whether spontaneous or induced, can take
place certain prerequisites must be fulfilled.
  . People must be <u>aware</u> that the present situation is not in con-
    currence with their objectives, that it is possible to change
    the present situation and that they can and should contribute
    towards changing this situation.
  . People must be <u>convinced</u> that benefits related to the planned
    development process and their participation are greater than
    the costs.
  . People must be given a <u>chance</u> to get involved in the several
    stages of the planned development process.
- Introduction of new types of participation has consequences for the
  existing power structure of a community.
- Those at present in power will try to avoid the introduction of new
  types of participation or to minimize their effects either via so-
  cial sanctions and force or by frustrating the participation pro-
  cess by joining it, by manipulating information, by complicating
  the planned development process, etc.
- Participation not only has benefits but also costs. The social,
  social-psychological and economic costs are often overlooked.
  Those costs and the risks resulting from participation are often
  considerable for the socio-economically weaker parts of the com-
  munity.
- Participation has many different meanings. Before it is introduced
  it is important to indicate what types of participation are to be
  considered together with their costs and benefits. On the basis of
  nine criteria participation has been defined in more detail, and
  on the basis of five criteria various types of participation are
  distinguished. In this article attention is focused on the types
  of participation that range from free, direct, complete, organized,
  and limited participation to free, indirect, partial, and organized
  participation.
- The choice of types, forms and styles of planning that are to be
  used in the planned development process, has a profound influence
  on the types of participation that can be introduced and their ef-
  fectiveness. Or, vice versa, if priority is given to certain types
  of participation it limits the choice of forms and styles of plan-
  ning.

- All types of participation are wide open for manipulation by the élite (be they old, new or potential), by Government officers and by those who are instrumental in introducing participation.
- Participation based on the territorial principle (village or district councils) will in most cases strengthen the position of the local élite. This means that this type of participation will not guarantee a planned development resulting in greater socio-economic equity.
- As already indicated participation is essential for effective and relevant planned development. But its introduction as well as its maintenance is difficult. Unless there is a clear concept of the types of participation that are propagated and the costs and benefits of the various categories of participants in their specific cultural, social and economic situation, the introduction of participation can have serious dysfunctional effects especially for the weaker groups in society.

2 INTRODUCTION

This paper will try to indicate the potentials and constraints of parti-
cipation in the process of planned development.
Participation is the fashion of the last years. Developing and developed
countries as well as international agencies such as the United Nations
have made participation an important item in their development policies.
On the other hand, the literature on planning and planned development is
characterized by pessimism. We seem to live in the decade of "The crisis
of planning" (FABER, 1972). The question arises, why this renewed inter-
est in participation and could it increase the effectiveness of planned
development? Participation has its philosophical basis in the belief
that all human beings are equal. It is the central theme of philosophy
that finds its roots in the Stoa (LIPSON, 1967, p. 158). Aristotle
(POLITEIA, chapter I-II) concludes that the aspiration towards equal
treatment was one of the major objectives of many revolutions. The revo-
lutions in England (1640-1688), in America (1776-1791) and in France were
started to remove Governments in which the governed could not partici-
pate (LIPSON, 1967, p. 163). And this is still the intellectual as well
as the emotional force behind most of the revolutions of the past deca-
des in developing countries as well as behind movements for universal
suffrage, human rights and greater equity.
The equity idea is based on two hypotheses:
- everyone has the right to look after his own well-being and
- everyone has, therefore, the right to try to control everything
  outside himself that affects his own well-being.
"Quod tangit omnes ab omnibus approbetur" (let everybody approve what
affects all) (LIPSON, 1967, p. 156).
The interest in equity and participation is as old as mankind itself.
The present upsurge of interest for participation in development and its
planning has various reasons. It can be said that several "principia
media" (MANNHEIM, 1960) are emerging or re-emerging. They create a cli-
mate that favours participatory activities.

One important reason is the change in perspective, with regard to the
concept of development and the types of planning to be used in order to
generate development.

In the first years of development planning in the Third Worlds the ob-
jectives were centred on high growth rates of Gross Domestic Product.
Planning was dominated by the economic disciplines. It was hoped to

reach the objectives via centralized "top down" policies emerging from national level and concentrating on often unbalanced growth of the most productive sectors. It was a functional approach that in one of its final extreme versions could lead to an international division of labour (TINBERGEN, 1976).

At the moment, objectives are focused on the basic needs of all people and a better income and employment distribution (ILO, 1970). It is hoped that these objectives can be reached using an approach that works from the bottom upwards, paying special attention to participation of the poor (target groups), and by diminishing the scale of development and its organization (Small is beautiful, SCHUMACHER, 1974). Thus, the territorial concept becomes more important in the planned development process (FRIEDMANN, 1979).

One of the new development philosophies emerging has five concepts
1)   man as end of development;
2)   delineation of man (he is subject as well as object of development);
3)   development of collective personality;
4)   participation;
5)   self reliance (= HAQUE et al., 1977; WIGNARAJA, 1976).

To realize greater equity means a change in the power structure: "The distribution of material and non-material goods depends largely on the power structure. Consequently, effective participation in decision-making must be the basis of all approaches to meeting human needs" (FLOREZ, 1979). It is also stated in literature (U.N., 1975 p. 26) that participation in itself contributes to the development of man. It increases his self-esteem by increasing his skill of self expression and his sense of personal efficiency.

These emerging trends in developmental thinking have created a good atmosphere for an upsurge of interest for the place of participation in development.

When an effort is made to assess the potentials and constraints of participation in planned development, a clearer definition of participation is required. At present "The heated controversy over 'citizen participation', 'citizen control' and maximum feasible involvement of the poor", has been waged largely in terms of exacerbated rhetoric and misleading euphemisms (ARNSTEIN, 1971), "Participation is often endorsed unambiguously on normative grounds even if the empirical basis is not clear. A real danger is that with growing faddishness and a lot of lip service, participation could become drained of substance and its relevance to development programs disputable" (UPHOFF et al., 1979, p. 3).

In an attempt to avoid another contribution to the confusion mentioned above, this paper starts with an analysis of participation.

One may wonder why the author has chosen this subject, thus demanding the attention of his readers for a considerable amount of time.
It seems that some justification is required. The author is convinced that participation, at least in certain steps, of the planned development process is a necessity (see section 5) if this process is to result in meaningful development. On the other hand, he is surprised to see in literature and in practice how rashly the concept of participation is introduced in the planned development process. For many it seems to be a new panacea that must solve the problems that the Third Worlds have encountered so far.
If this continues it must lead to another disappointment. Participation in planned development is a much too important but also a much too dangerous concept to be treated lightly, however good the intentions may be.

The main intention of this article is to indicate the many connotations the concept of participation can have and the problems one has to face when direct participation is introduced in the planned development process at local level. Some will possibly obtain the impression that there is a tendency towards pessimism. If this is the case it is probably caused by the fear of the author that a hasty introduction of participation in some or all stages of the planned development process can do considerable harm to the improvement of the situation of millions of poor in the developing countries. But this does not alter the fact that participation in the planned development process is essential and necessary.

3 PARTICIPATION

Most literature on participation starts by stating that participation is used in a diffuse, inconsistent, rhetorical way. This is quite understandable taking into account that in its broadest sense participation means "The action or state of taking part in an activity; to come in for a full share of the benefits (WEBSTER, 1976). In sociological dictionaries it means "The participation of an individual in social groups, sometimes restricted to participation in voluntary organizations, particularly those engaged in some kind of community activity or project outside an individual's professional or occupational work" (THEODORSON, 1969). In political science "Political participation will refer to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the election of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy" (McCLOSKY, 1972). Participation is closely related to notions such as equity, power and its distribution, politics, self-fulfilment, authority, legitimacy, representation.

Participation is one of the basic human activities or social actions and is, therefore, one of the major if not the most important object of such fields of science as sociology, social psychology, political and public administrative sciences. To provide a theory of participation would mean an integration of the major part of theories dealing with participation in these sciences.

It is outside the scope of this paper to accomplish such a major feat. However, it is necessary to obtain at least some insight into the various meanings participation can have, otherwise this paper would be just another contribution to the present confusion in the field of participation and development.

In order to relate participation to the planned development process it is viewed from four different angles:

-    Participation as a social activity
-    Types of participation
-    Cost and benefit of participation
-    Participation as a process.

The discussion of participation from these four angles will be focused on those characteristics and properties of participation that are relevant to the subject of this paper; for example, participation in the planned development, also called developmental participation (UPHOFF et al., 1979, p. 3).

3.1 Participation as (social) activity

Before an individual will involve himself, at least voluntarily, in a participatory process he must be aware:
- that this present situation is not satisfactory and can or should be improved (Conscientization, FREIRE, 1972, p. 15)
- that the present situation can be changed and improved by activities of human beings (World view, KUNKEL, 1970)
- that he can or should participate in such activities
- that he can make a useful contribution (self confidence).

Next he must be convinced that the act of participation will give him some ecological, social or material benefit. Or, as WEBER says, an individual's expectations (Erwartungschangen) with regard to the establishing of (new, participatory) relationships (Beziehungen) are an important factor if such a relationship is to be established on the basis of his own free will.

Finally, the social and political context must make it possible for him to participate.

In theory, mental participation is possible by identifying oneself with groups and institutions without coming to any overt action. In this paper, participation will be looked upon as an overt act or sets of acts that can be observed and that can be of relevance in the process of planned development. In this sense, "Participation is a special form of interaction and communication which implies the sharing of power and responsibilities" (VERHAAGEN, 1979, p. 1) and benefits.

In this context attention will be given to participatory behaviour that consists of one or all of the followijg activities:
- joining gatherings of (a) group(s)
- involving oneself in discussions of a group
- involving oneself in the organizational aspects of the participatory process such as: organizing group meetings, inducing non-members to join, leading discussions, campaigning, etc.
- making available, labour, capital, facilities and mental capabilities
- taking part in the decision process by expressing opinions and/or by voting on subjects such as:
  - Objectives and targets to be achieved by the group
  - The way to achieve them (programmes)
  - The allocating of scarce resources available to the group over the various programmes (priority ranking and acceptance

       of programmes and projects)
-    .   Policies to be followed by higher echelons of the societal organization
-    .   Election of persons to represent the group in institutions and activities that can affect the group
-    .   Assessment of effectiveness, efficiency and relevance of implemented projects or programmes
- sharing the benefits resulting from projects or programmes by for instance, participating in irrigation projects, training programmes or by sharing economic benefits resulting from participation in co-operatives.

These activities have a quantitative dimension and a qualitative dimension (MÜLLER, 1978, p. 59).

"Quantitative Dimension: Kriterium der individuellen Beteiligung sind die quantifizierbaren interpersonalen Handlungen; berücksichtigt wird allein das formale partizipatorische Verhalten ohne seine inhaltliche Bestimmung.

Qualitative Dimension: Kriterium der individuellen Beteiligung ist die selbstverantwortliche Zielbestimmung und Zielverwirklichung der Partizipanden; berücksichtigt werden die gezielten Aktionen zur Durchsetzung gewünschter Effekte im Gefolge einer selbstbestimmten Mitwirkung an der Gestaltung des Socialsystemes der Partizipanden."

By analysing, in combination, the magnitude of these two dimensions it becomes possible to rank the various participants of a group in a spectrum that goes from passive followers up to active leaders.

3.2 Types of participation

In this paragraph an attempt is made to arrive at a tentative classification of the various types of participation that are possible. This classification is based on nine principles (see figure 1). It must be realized that these principles are of completely different natures.

The principles seldom exclude each other. This means it is possible, at least in most cases, to identify one and the same participatory activity with one of the types of participation following from each of the nine classification principles. In each classification principle the two extreme types of participation possible are indicated. Sometimes other relevant types of participation possible in the spectrum between these two extremes are mentioned.

In this classification exercise the classifications and classification principles as indicated by MEISTER (1969) (figure 2), MÜLLER (1978), ARNSTEIN (1971) (figure 3), and UPHOFF et al., (1979) (figure 4), and ROTHMAN (1970) (figure 5) have been included.

(I) Participation classified on the degree of voluntariness

The extreme forms of participation resulting from a classification on the basis of this principle are free and forced participation.

Free participation takes place when an individual involves himself on a voluntary basis in a specific participatory activity. Free participation can be subdivided into two subcategories:
Spontaneous participation. This takes place when an individual starts to participate on his own conviction without being influenced via extension or via persuasion by other institutions or individuals.
Induced participation takes place when a person starts to participate after he is convinced via extension programmes or other influences to voluntarily participate in a certain group activity.
It is possible to subdivide induced participation on the basis of who is inducing; viz.:
a)   the Government propagating Community Development Programmes, Cooperative Movements, Rural Development Societies, or Farmers' Associations.
b)   Voluntary agencies outside the community, for example, religious organizations, Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka.
c)   Persons living in the community or voluntary organizations based in the community.

Forced participation can take place in various ways. Here attention is given to only two types of forced participation.
Forced participation by law takes place when persons are forced or coerced via regulations or laws to participate in certain activities against their own conviction and without their consent. The degree of coercion can vary considerably. Prisoners and conscripts are forced to participate in certain activities of prison or army life. Parents are sometimes made to force their children into participation in an educational system, if there is compulsory primary education. During an epidemic of a certain disease (smallpox, cholera) people are often forced to participate in an inocculation campaign. Farmers having land in an irrigation project are sometimes forced to participate in a water use programme.

Figure 1   Classification principles and types of participation

Classification principles		Types of participation	Corresponding types or principles for classification			
			(Uphoff et al 1979)	(Muller 1978)	(Meister 1969)	(Etzioni 1968)

I	Degree of voluntariness	- Free participation
		 o spontaneous
		 o induced
			"How"	Formal
				  "
				  "
					volontée
					spontanée
					provoquée
						utilitarian org.

		- Forced participation		"	–	coercive org.
		- Customary participation	"How"	Informal	de fait	normative org.
II	Way of involvement	- Direct participation - Indirect participation	"How"		(Arnstein 1971) citizen control delegated power partnership	
III	Involvement in the planned development process	- Complete participation - Partial participation	"What"	Qualitative		
IV	Level of organization	- Organized participation - Unorganized participation	"How"			
V	Intensity of participatory activities	- Intensive participation - Extensive participation	"How"	Quantitative		
VI	Range of activities that can be influenced	- Unlimited participation - Limited participation	"What"			
VII	Degree of effectiveness	- Effective participation o complete o partial - Uneffective participation				

VIII	Who is participating	- Members of the local community
		 o Local residents
		  . organised on basis of territory
		  . organised on basis of common interest
		 o Local leaders
		- Government personnel
		- Outsiders
			"Who"			

IX	Objectives and style of participation	- Participation in locality development - Participation in social planning - Participation in social action	"What/How"	(Rothman 1970) Locality development Social planning Social action		

Figure 2.

From: MEISTER, A. : Participation, Animation et Developpement à partir
d'une étude rurale en Argentine
Editions Anthropos, Paris, 1969

Type de partici- pation	Origine de la création du groupe participationniste	Type de recru- tement	Fonction sociale du groupe
De fait	Origine dans la tra- dition : groupe d'âge, de métier, groupe familial, re- ligion, etc.	Non volon- taire, de fait	Renforcement des coutumes, de la tra- dition, des manières existantes de faire
Volontaire	Création du groupe par les participants eux-mêmes, sans re- cours à des anima- teurs extérieurs ; le groupe se donne lui- même son organisa- tion : syndicats, or- ganisations profes- sionnelles, coopérati- ves, partis politi- ques, etc.	Volontaire	Satisfaction de be- soins nouveaux, op- position au milieu, création de nou- veaux comporte- ments ; adaptation au changement so- cial et continuation du changement ou lutte contre lui
Spontanée	Création du grou- pe par les partici- pants eux-mêmes ; mais groupe fluide, fluctuant, sans or- ganisation : groupes de voisinage, cote- ries, cliques, etc.	Entière- ment volontaire	Pas de fonction so- ciale apparente ; surtout fonction la- tente de satisfaction des besoins psycho- logiques des partici- pants
Provoquée	Création du groupe par des animateurs extérieurs : projets de développement communautai- re, group work, etc.	Provoqué suscité	Fonction de change- ment social par adoption de compor- tements jugés dési- rables par les ani- mateurs extérieurs
Imposée	Création du groupe par des animateurs extérieurs ou adop- tion de normes im- pératives par les participants eux-mê- mes : différents sys- tèmes de mobilisa- tion de la main- d'œuvre, règles de distribution d'eau dans un programme d'irrigation, etc.	Obligatoire	Participation indis- pensable au fonc- tionnement du grou- pe, renforcement des normes

(page 22,23)

Participation spontanée	Participation Volontaire
Groupes de petite taille, non structurés et non organisés	Groupes de taille plus im- portante, plus ou moins or- ganisés et structurés
Participation implicite	Participation consciente
Participation non spécialisée	Participation spécialisée
La participation est une fin en elle-même et les activités concourent à cette fin (par exemple, se promener ensem- ble pour pouvoir être ensem- ble)	Les activités sont des moyens pour atteindre des fins, et la participation un moyen d'ef- fectuer les tâches du groupe
Les participants se perçoi- vent comme personnes	Les participants se perçoi- vent en fonction des rôles assignés aux positions qu'ils occupent
Peu d'autocontrôle	Autocontrôle des participants
Pas de contraintes, liberté sans restriction	Certaines contraintes et cer- taines restrictions à la liber- té des participants
Des coutumes et des rites non formalisés guident les participants	Les rites et les coutumes sont formalisés dans des rè- gles et des statuts
Pas de leader défini	Les leaders sont apparents et mis en place par une dé- légation de pouvoir

(page 24)

Figure 3

Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation
From: S.R. Arnstein, Citizen participation: Effecting community change E.S. Cahn, B.A. Passet, Praeger, London 1971

Degrees of citizen power

Citizen control
"A neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between the source of funds is the model most frequently advocated". This guarantees that "the participants or residents can govern a programme or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects and be able to negotiate the conditions under which "outsiders" may change them" (p. 86/87).

Delegated power
"At this level, the ladder has been scaled to the point where citizens hold the significant cards to assure accountability of the programme to them. To resolve differences, powerholders need to start the bargaining process rather than respond to pressure from the other end". p. 85

Partnership
"At this rung of the ladder, power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. They agree to share planning and decision-making policies through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After ground rules have been established through some form of give and take, they are not subject to unilateral change." (p.83)

Placation
"It is at this level that citizens begin to have some degree of influence thought tokenism is still apparent". This can be done by placing people in boards without making them accountable to the community. Or "allow citizens to advise or plan ad infinitum but retain for power holders the right to judge the legitancy or feasibility of the advice" (p. 79/80)

Degrees of tokenism

Consultation
"Inviting citizens' opinion, like informing them, can be a legitimate step towards their full participation. But if consulting them is not combined with other modes of participation, this rung of the ladder is still a shame since it offers no assurance that citizens concerns and ideas will be taken into account" (p. 78).

Informing
"Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options can be the most important first step towards legitimate citizen participation. However, too frequently the emphasis is placed on a one way flow of information - from officials to citizens - with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation" (p. 77)

Non partici-pation

Therapy
This is an activity that subjects citizens to clinical group therapy under a masquerade of involving them in planning. In fact one tries to remedy the disfunctional effects of a fact of participation without improving the conditions needed for participation in the future.

Manipulation
"In the name of citizen participation, people are placed on rubber stamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of educating them or engineering their support, instead of genuine citizen participation, the bottom rung of the ladder signifies the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by power holders. " (p. 74)

Figure 4

From: UPHOFF et al: Feasibility and application of rural development
participation: A state of the art paper.
Rural development Committee, Cornell University, 1979

Basic Framework for Describing and Analyzing
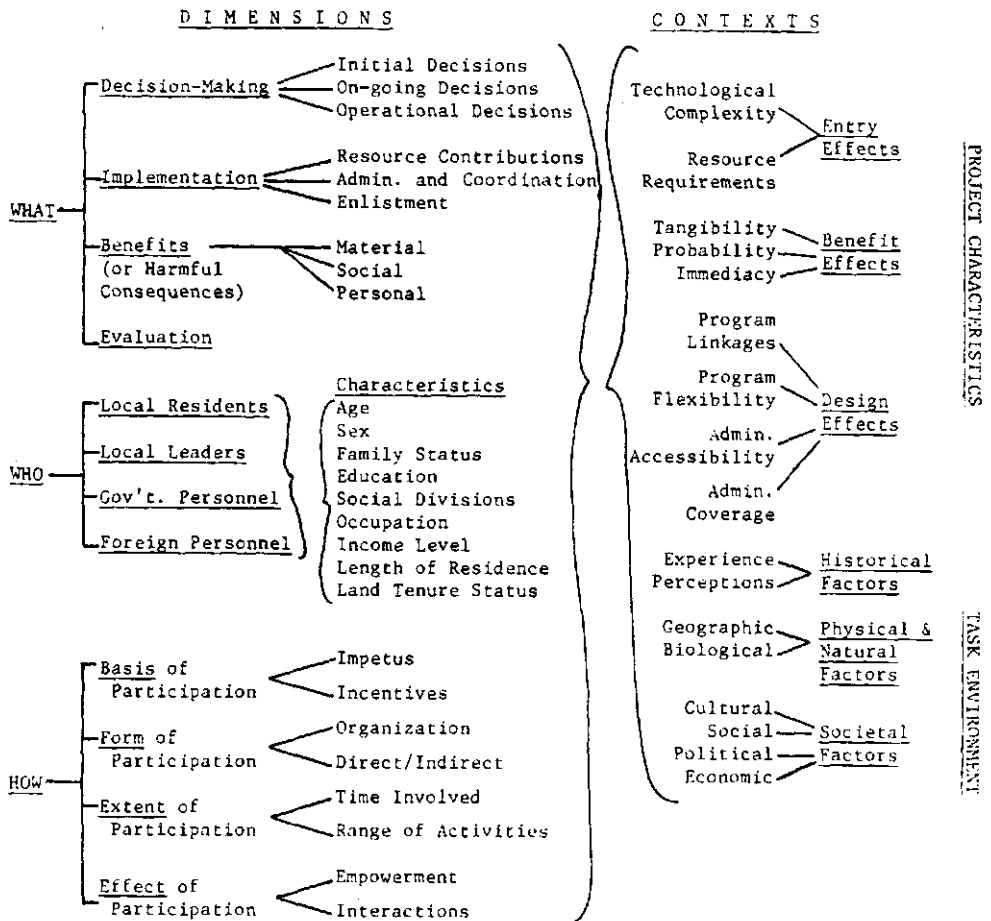Rural Development Participation

D I M E N S I O N S   C O N T E X T S

WHAT

Decision-Making
— Initial Decisions
— On-going Decisions
— Operational Decisions

Implementation
— Resource Contributions
— Admin. and Coordination
— Enlistment

Benefits
(or Harmful
Consequences)
— Material
— Social
— Personal

Evaluation

WHO

Local Residents
Local Leaders
Gov't. Personnel
Foreign Personnel

Characteristics
Age
Sex
Family Status
Education
Social Divisions
Occupation
Income Level
Length of Residence
Land Tenure Status

HOW

Basis of Participation
— Impetus
— Incentives

Form of Participation
— Organization
— Direct/Indirect

Extent of Participation
— Time Involved
— Range of Activities

Effect of Participation
— Empowerment
— Interactions

Technological Complexity
Resource Requirements
— Entry Effects

Tangibility
Probability
Immediacy
— Benefit Effects

Program Linkages
Program Flexibility
Admin. Accessibility
Admin. Coverage
— Design Effects

Experience
Perceptions
— Historical Factors

Geographic
Biological
— Physical & Natural Factors

Cultural
Social
Political
Economic
— Societal Factors

PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS

TASK ENVIRONMENT

Figure 5.

From : ROTHMAN, J.: Three models of community organization practice

In: Cox, F.M. et al (eds.): Strategies of community organization
EA Peacock Publishers, Ithaca, Illinois,1970

TABLE 1.1

THREE MODELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PRACTICE
ACCORDING TO SELECTED PRACTICE VARIABLES

	Model A (Locality Development)	Model B (Social Planning)	Model C (Social Action)
1. Goal categories of community action	Self-help; community capacity and integration (process goals)	Problem-solving with regard to substantive community problems (task goals)	Shifting of power relationships and resources; basic institutional change (task or process goals)
2. Assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions	Community eclipsed, anomie; lack of relationships and democratic problem-solving capacities: static traditional community	Substantive social problems: mental and physical health, housing, recreation	Disadvantaged populations, social injustice, deprivation, inequity
3. Basic change strategy	Broad cross section of people involved in determining and solving their own problems	Fact-gathering about problems and decisions on the most rational course of action	Crystallization of issues and organization of people to take action against enemy targets
4. Characteristic change tactics and techniques	Consensus: communication among community groups and interests; group discussion	Consensus or conflict	Conflict or contest: confrontation, direct action, negotiation
5. Salient practitioner roles	Enabler-catalyst, coordinator; teacher of problem-solving skills and ethical values	Fact-gatherer and analyst, program implementer, facilitator	Activist-advocate: agitator, broker, negotiator, partisan
6. Medium of change	Manipulation of small task-oriented groups	Manipulation of formal organizations and of data	Manipulation of mass organizations and political processes
7. Orientation toward power structure(s)	Members of power structure as collaborators in a common venture	Power structure as employers and sponsors	Power structure as external target of action: oppressors to be coerced or overturned
8. Boundary definition of the community client system or constituency	Total geographic community	Total community or community segment (including "functional" community)	Community segment
9. Assumptions regarding interests of community subparts	Common interests or reconcilable differences	Interests reconcilable or in conflict	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable: scarce resources
10. Conception of the public interest	Rationalist-unitary	Idealist-unitary	Realist-individualist
11. Conception of the client population or constituency	Citizens	Consumers	Victims
12. Conception of client role	Participants in interactional problem-solving process	Consumers or recipients	Employers, constituents, members

Forced participation resulting from socio-economic conditions
There are many situations where, in theory, one could speak of a so-
called free participation because the participant is not compelled by
law or direct force to participate. However, if he does not decide to
participate in, for instance, a specific economic activity under certain
conditions he will jeopardise his own and his family's existence. This
is the case with most small farmers, tenants or landless labourers, who
enter into client-patron relationships be it with landlords money-
lenders, middlemen or others (SCHMIDT et al., 1977. In closed traditi-
onal communities social control can be of such magnitude that people
are "forced" into participation of certain community activities.

Customary participation. Finally, hardly anybody, at least for part of
the time, is at liberty to choose his own participation pattern, due to
the fact of being born male or female, in a family of a certain class,
caste, tribe or race and in a certain area.
When this classification is compared with MEISTER's (1969, p. 22, 23,
figure 2) classificaion it becomes clear that his "participation spon-
tanée" and "volontée" coincide with voluntary participation, this is al-
so true for his "participation provoquée" with induced participation and
his "participation imposée" is the same as forced participation. Finally,
"participation de fait" is identical to customary participation. MÜLLER's
dichotomy of formal participation and informal participation coincides
respectively with free and forced participation and with customary parti-
cipation. Forced, voluntary and customary participation coincide largely
with ETZIONI's (1968, p. 35, 36) organizational principles: coercive,
utilitarian and normative. As far as UPHOFF's (1979) approach is con-
cerned this classification principle comes under his entry of "How"
(see figs. 1 and 4). It is clear that these types of participation are
not clearly distinct categories. They are points in a spectrum. In areas
with a high level of social control and/or with a great feeling for soli-
darity or loyalty it will be difficult to distinguish between induced
and forced participation. It will be difficult in certain societies not
to join in a participatory activity when one's family, friends or supe-
rior(s) have joined and are asking for one's solidarity or loyalty. It
is also evident that a new social relationship in a voluntary or induced
participatory activity can often lead to conflicts with already existing
customary or forced dyadic participation patterns. MÜLLER (1978, p. 61)
points out: "Die Beschäftigung mit formellem partizipatorischem Handeln
als Gegenstand einer dem Zielpublikum extern angebotenen Entwicklungs-
strategie darf nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass die Individuen des-

selben Zielpublikums von Anbeginn ihrer 'ersten' Sozialisation längst
in einer Vielzahl von übergreifenden lokalen Verwandtschafts- und
Zweckgruppen informell partizipieren. Sie sind z.B. seit ihrer Jugend
in Clan und Familiensegmente, Altersklassen, Nachbarschaften, Freund-
schafts- und Gemeindegruppen in religiöse Bünde und ökonomische Verbin-
dungen teilnehmend integriert."
Even when there is a shift from the customary type of participation to-
wards free participation and as a result more emphasis put on achieved
status as to ascribed status (LINTON, 1936), it still means that the new
types of relationships as induced via community development and "anima-
tion rural" can come into conflict with the already existing obligations
and loyalties. When this is the case it can become an important contri-
bution to the social cost of "free" participation.

(II) Participation classified on the basis of the way of involvement

This classification principle is well known in the political sciences
(McCLOSKY, 1972) and it results in two types of participation.

Direct participation takes place when a person himself performs a cer-
tain activity in a participatory process, such as taking part in meet-
ings, joining a discussion, providing his own labour for projects or
voting for or against a project or a candidate who will represent him
outside his own group.

Indirect participation takes place when a person delegates his partici-
patory rights, for instance taking decisions, to another person so that
the latter can represent him in participatory activities at a higher
level. Members of Rural Development Societies, Cooperatives or Farmers'
Associations elect office bearers who are expected to represent them
and to defend their interests in several participatory processes in the
development process at other institutions and levels. People elect poli-
ticians so that they can partake on their behalf in decision-making pro-
cesses at the various levels of society, be it village councils, dis-
trict councils or national assemblies.

When this classification principle is compared with the basic frame-
work for describing and analysing rural development participation (UP-
HOFF et al., 1979) it belongs to the dimension of "How".
When the two types of participation indicated above are related to the
eight rungs in participation described by ARNSTEIN (1971, figure 3), it
seems that only "citizen control" can be seen as direct participation.

But even "citizen control" in ARNSTEIN's meaning of the term will often
take place via indirect participation. Her notions of "delegated power"
and "partnership" can be seen as sub-categories of indirect participa-
tion.
Under the heading "degrees of tokenism" ARNSTEIN brings together "placa-
tion", "consultation" and "informing".
On the basis of her description, only placation and consultation can be-
come a sort of indirect participation, provided that the persons placed
on Boards or asked to be members of consultative groups are either elec-
ted by or chosen via indications obtained from the people they are sup-
posed to represent. Informing people of their rights is in itself not a
participatory activity. At its best it could lead to some form of in-
duced participation. "Therapy" and "Manipulation" are correctly brought
together under the heading "non-participation". Still they belong, ac-
cording to ARNSTEIN, to the short ladder with eight rungs of citizens'
participation. It seems that her rather cynical description of the vari-
ous types of "participation" are mainly meant to indicate that there is
in reality very little participation in the sense as indicated previous-
ly or even in the most general way e.g. "the action or state of taking
part in an activity; to come in for a full share of the benefits"
(WEBSTER, 1976).
As already mentioned, participation is part of the power game. Those who
have the power will, at a time when the notion of participation is poli-
tically popular, and in scientific circles fashionable, do their utmost
to create an illusion that there is participation, at the same time
they will try to limit, as much as possible, the influence that could
come forward from "effective participation". (See also section 6).

(III)   Participation classified on the basis of involvement in the various
        stages of the planned development process

The classification based on this principle is related to the stages of
the planned development process to be discussed in more detail in sec-
tion 4. There are six stages. 1) formulation of goals and objectives,
2) research and inventory, 3) plan preparation, 4) acceptance of the
plan, 5) implementation, 6) evaluation.
There is complete participation when a person, directly or indirectly,
is involved in all six steps of the planned development process.

There is partial participation when a person is neither directly nor
indirectly involved in all six stages. In other words participation

in 5 or less stages of the planned development process is partial parti-
cipation. A more detailed discussion of participation in the planned
development process will follow in section 5.
Compared to the "basic framework" of UPHOFF et al., (1979) this classi-
fication principle belongs to the dimension "What".

(IV) Participation classified on the basis of the level of organization

The principle of the level of organization is identical with part of the
"How" in the "Basic framework" of UPHOFF et al., (1979).

Organized participation takes place when an organizational structure and
a set of procedures are developed or are in the process of preparation.
For instance, when a chairman has been elected, when the number of of-
fice bearers has been determined, and when a voting procedure has been
accepted by the group. The organization can be highly formalized with
printed laws and by-laws as is often the case with cooperatives or farm-
ers' associations (formal organized participation). It is also possible
that, on the basis of a consensus, a group accepts a leader and an orga-
nizational pattern indicating how and when meetings are to be held or
how certain activities, for instance the maintenance of an irrigation
canal, will take place (informal organized participation).

Unorganized participation can take place when people sometimes, on the
basis of the urgency of certain events such as a fire, a flood, or an
occasion that requires a festivity, participate in a set of activities.
This type of participation is usually of an ad hoc nature. Unorganized
participation can precede organized participation. For communities with
a participatory culture this type of participation can be a structural
characteristic.

(V) Participation classified on the basis of the intensity and frequency
     of activities

Intensive participation takes place when there is a high frequency of
participatory activities; meetings every week, regular group meetings
to perform certain activities. It is mainly measured via the quantita-
tive dimension of participation (MÜLLER, 1978).

Extensive participation takes place when there are irregular meetings or
other participatory events with long intervals.

It is a well-know fact that in organizations based on voluntary partici-
pation there are periods of intensive participation alternating with long
periods of extensive participation. If the realization of a project cap-
tures the imagination of the participants in a group, a good and active
leader, or some active members can stimulate intensive participation.
Once the project is finished or an active leader disappears, an organi-
zation or group can slip into a long period of extensive participation.
In Sri Lanka, most of the individual histories of Rural Development
Societies were characterized by a few periods of intensive participa-
tion followed by long periods of inertia (Rural Development Training
and Research Institute, 1976). Intensive or extensive participation
mainly depends on the cost and expected benefits related to the parti-
cipation process.

(VI)   Participation classified on the basis of the scope of activities
       that can be covered

One can speak of unlimited participation when all forces, controllable
by man, influencing a certain community can be controlled by and sub-
jected to the participatory activities of the members of this community.

Limited participation takes place when via participatory activities,
only part of the social, political, administrative and physical environ-
ment can be influenced via participation.

Unlimited participation can only take place in communities that live in
complete isolation. When the incorporation process (PEARSE, 1968) has
started, rural local communities are caught up in the social, admini-
strative, economic and political network controlled from urban centres
and they lose functions such as education, labour market and social wel-
fare to large functional organizations and Ministeries, etc. (SMELSER,
1962). This makes the scope of activities that can be controlled via
participatory endeavour more and more limited. As indicated in the in-
troduction of this paper, there is at present a tendency to pay more at-
tention to territory instead of function (FRIEDMANN, 1979). The appreci-
ation of small entities is increasing: "small is beautiful" (SCHUMACHER,
1974). If these tendencies are translated into firm policies of Govern-
ments, a stronger territorial base for participation can evolve. This
could stimulate popular participation, provided the pitfalls encountered
in the decade of Community Development are avoided (see also classifica-
tion principle VIII). Small and relatively closed local communities make

it possible for participatory activities to become involved in functions
essential for the community without encountering the deadly competition
of the large urban-seated and urban-biased functional oriented agencies
(LIPTON, 1977; FRIEDMANN & WEAVER, 1979). However, whether this is pos-
sible and whether there is the political will to stall the incorporation
process or even to reverse it is still open to question.

(VII) Participation classified on the basis of the effectiveness

Two extremes can be distinguished on the basis of this classification
principle.

Effective participation are those participatory activities that have
resulted in the realization of all the objectives for which the activity
of participation was undertaken.

Ineffective participation occurs when none, or only a small number, of
the objectives are realized for which the participatory activity was
started.

Effective participation, in the sense that all objectives formulated
at the start of a certain activity concerning participation are realized,
seldom happens. However, there are many examples of ineffective partici-
pation, where few or none of the initial objectives are realized. Between
these two extremes is a considerable spectrum of participatory activities
that do not realize all objectives but could be called relatively effec-
tive, compared for instance with Governmental development activities.
There are also cases where only a small number of objectives have been
realized but which were of great importance for the community. One of
the difficulties with popular participation is that the leaders of
groups, in order to stimulate their followers, formulate unrealistic
objectives (as is the case with most politicians in election campaigns).
In many instances, the participants themselves are well aware of this
and are reasonably satisfied if fifty to eighty per cent of the objec-
tives are realized. The question arises whether the effectiveness of
participatory action should be measured against the explicitly formu-
lated objectives or against the (at the beginning of a participatory
process often hidden but sometimes more realistic) expectations of
participants themselves. It is clear that the assessment of the effec-
tiveness of partipation is always subjective.

(VIII) Participation classified on the basis of those involved in partici-
        pation

The following categories of people who can take part in participation
can be distinguished (see also UPHOFF et al., 1979) "Who").

> Members of the local community
> > Local residents
> > local leaders
>
> Government personnel
> > Resident in the community
> > Non-residents
>
> Outsiders
> > Resident in the community
> > Non-residents
>
> The elected representatives of the community

The members of the various categories can be organized (induced partici-
pation) or can organize themselves on the basis of two principles.
-    Territory (heterogeneous as far as interests are concerned)
-    Target groups (homogeneous as far as certain interests are
     concerned).
In the developing countries, the organization of participation on the
basis of the territorial principle is well-known. Village councils,
district councils, farmers' organizations, rural development societies
or committees are all organizations based on territory. This way of or-
ganizing participation in a direct or indirect way can be reasonably
effective. However, when one of the objectives in a development strategy
is to decrease inequity then the territorial approach of organizing par-
ticipation has considerable disadvantages.
One of the major pitfalls into which community development has fallen
is the assumption that the pleasant and idyllic looking villages were
homogenous social and economic entities. BERREMAN (1969, p. 399) in 1967
was already indicating that: "In Srikanda (India) a fundamental problem
which is manifest, directly or indirectly, in much of the resistance to
community development is that of social stratification, especially caste
organization, with the concomitant-traditional, rigid and marked differ-
ential access which various caste groups have to social, economic and
other advantages. This has become a problem with reference to the demo-
cratic, equalitarian stand of the Government of India, the agency spon-
soring the development programme".

In nearly all rural communities in developing countries there are social
stratification systems (which may not be so rigid or so deeply steeped
in the cultural and religious beliefs of the society as in India) that
are very effectively entrenched and quite capable of either destroying
or infiltrating programmes aiming at participation and equity. Participa-
tory activities require a considerable amount of time of those involved.
This is even more so for those who have to fulfil executive positions.
These positions require certain capabilities but above all a considerable
investment of time (see also participation as an activity). Normally, it
is only the elite of a community who can offer the required capabilities
and can afford this investment.
When one realizes that participation is aiming at a new distribution of
power it is clear that the local elite are quite willing to invest in
the process of participation in order to protect their present power
base. When those who nearly always have a vested interest in the present
system of inequity are most likely to become the leaders of a participa-
tory process, it is clear what the outcome will be as far as greater
equity is concerned. One could, on the basis of the assumption made
above, state the hypothesis that participation based on a territorial
basis in societies with a well-established socio-economic stratification
will lead in most cases to a stabilization of the present inequity pat-
tern or could even lead to greater inequity.
Another problem related to participation based on the territorial prin-
ciple arises when the concepts "areas of interest" and "areas of compe-
tence" are compared (FAO, 1955; VAN DUSSELDORP, 1971). The "area of in-
terest" is a small geographical entity in which there are many face-to-
face relations. Everybody knows everybody else and people are interested
in most of the activities that take place in this area because of their
direct influence on their own situation. The "area of competence" is an
area that contains enough people to guarantee the efficient functioning
of certain services (school, hospital, irrigation system). It is a func-
tional area.

As result of urban bias by administrators and mental urbanization in
rural areas (CONSTANDSE, 1960), there is a tendency to require a higher
quality of services in the rural areas. In most cases this means that a
greater number of people per service are required for it to function ef-
ficiently. In rural areas this leads to a greater size of the "area of
competence".

Governments nearly always choose the "area of competence" as the area best
qualified for the organization of participation at "local" level. Clear
examples are the village councils created in Sri Lanka and it is reflect-
ed again in the proposals made by the Committee on Panchayati Raj Insti-
tutions in India with regard to participation in development at various
levels (Government of India, 1978). This same problem was indicated in
the discussion on the classification principle of limited and unlimited
participation and it plays an important role in the debate as to whether
territory or function should dominate in planned development (FRIEDMANN
and WEAVER, 1979).

It seems that the "area of interest" from a sociological point of view
is the most viable area for organizing participation in planned develop-
ment. But by choosing this area, it limits the scope of participation,
unless considerable changes are made in existing administrative and po-
litical structures and in the technology used in providing services.

The recognition that participation based on the territorial principle
can hamper the realization of greater equity has led to a new approach
with regard to the introduction of patterns of participation. This new
approach focuses on the participation of individuals of the same socio-
economic position and interests (e.g. homogenous groups), the so-called
target group approach. The small farmers groups' approach of the Bangkok
office of FAO (FAO, 1978) is an interesting example. It is possible that
such an approach has interesting results, provided sufficient attention
is given to the socio-political context and that it is not introduced
or implemented in isolation. However, when such programmes are intro-
duced on a large scale one must realize that the struggle for power will
be of great importance.

(IX) Styles of participation

ROTHMAN (1970, figure 5) distinguishes three models of community organi-
zation practice. In these three models there is a difference in the ob-
jectives pursued and in the style of participation.

Locality development. This model of community organization practice is
identical to community development and aims at involving the people in
their own development. One of its goals is to stimulate participation
(process goal) and by doing this to generate social energy that can lead
to self help activities. It tries to involve all members of a community

and has an integrative function.

Social planning. Here the Administration has formulated certain goals and objectives concerning housing, physical health, etc. (task goals). The main purpose of involving the people is to gear the programmes as much as possible to the felt needs and to make the programmes more effective. Participation in social planning can often be characterized by ARNSTEIN's informing or placation. However, it is possible that participation develops into partnership or delegated power.

Social action. The main purpose of this type of participation is to shift the power relationships and the access to resources. The main focus is on a segment of the community (deprived people). As in locality development, the propagation of participation among a target group is one of the important objectives. Social action is closely related to innovative planning (FRIEDMANN, 1973).
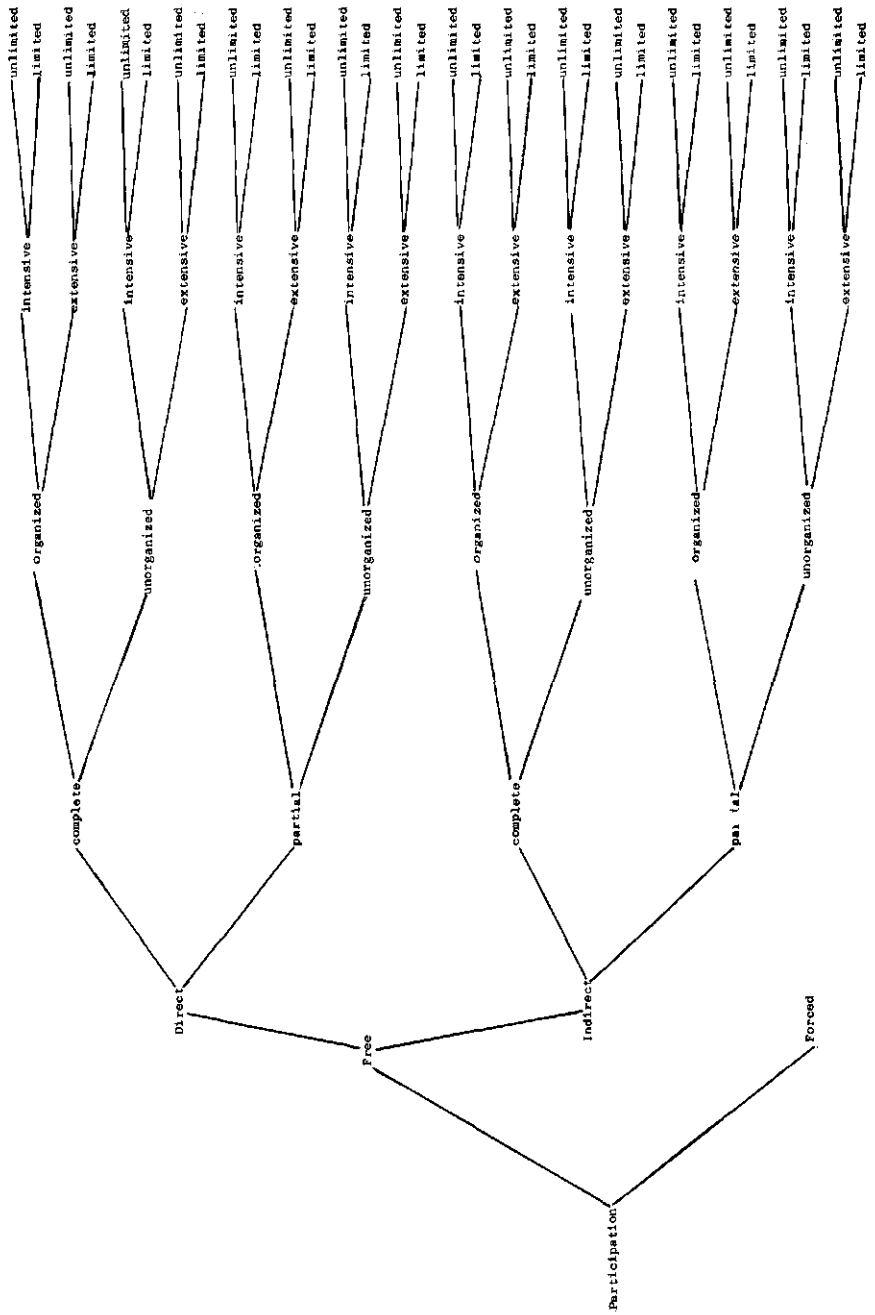Whereas locality development and social planning aim at participation that conforms to existing structures, social action aims at basic institutional change.

A tentative classification tree of types of participation
So far in this article, participation has been classified on the basis of nine principles. It is possible to distinguish even more principles on the basis of which participation can be classified. In this case those principles have been selected that are of relevance for "developmental" participation mainly at local level. The various classifications do not exclude each other; on the contrary, it is possible to use them in conjunction with one another. What happens when the various classification principles are combined is indicated in a tentative classification tree (fig. 6). Here, only five of the nine classification principles are used; only the branch of free participation is elaborated and only the extremes of the classification spectrum following from each classification principle are indicated.
When all participation types possible on the basis of the nine classification principles are brought together, this would lead to thousands of participation types which would be very impractical. First of all, some of the participation types are in reality non-existent, such as unlimited participation, and some combinations of participation types lead to theoretical constructions that are impossible in reality. It is difficult for instance to visualize indirect, complete, unorganized and intensive participation in reality.

Figure 6. A tentative classification tree of types of free participation.

This attempt to come to some classification makes it clear that there is
a tremendous variation in the way participation can take place. By saying
that there is participation is just saying that there is a human society.
When participation is analysed or proposed one has to be much more speci-
fic about the type of participation one has in mind.
For the purpose of this paper, attention will mainly be focused on free
participation with its variations that takes place in rural societies,
and which is of relevance for the planned development process at local
level as far as this affects rural areas. The types of participation that
will be considered in section 5 will therefore range from free, direct,
complete, organized, intensive, limited participation to free, indirect,
partial, organized, extensive and limited participation.

3.3   Benefits and costs of participation

Introduction or extension of organized voluntary participation in a de-
velopment process that aims at greater equity will result in a change in
the social network and the power structure.
Too often are the benefits of participation brought forward without a
clear assessment of, or insight into the costs involved. This lack of a
thorough analysis of costs and benefits is one of the reasons why ef-
forts to introduce participation fail, or are only effective for a li-
mited period of time. Those involved in organized participation have to
adopt new social roles; these can come into conflict with existing roles
in the present social network, resulting in social and physiological
costs (for instance, temporary loss of security or the acceptance of
greater responsibility in community affairs). For the poor and, there-
fore, weaker groups in a community, the risk absorption capacity in a
material economic as well as in a social sense, is very limited. It can
be expected that they will only involve themselves in a participatory
activity when they are convinced that there is a positive outcome for
them as far as the costs and benefits are concerned. See also the re-
inforcing and aversive stimuli for action in KUNKEL (1970).
Those with a greater risk capacity are more likely to take a chance.
In figure 7, a tentative inventory is made of benefits and costs for
various categories of those who become involved in new participatory
activities directed towards development.
This figure clearly shows that participation, even when it involves a
specific concern of one category of participants, can have benefits as
well as costs. For instance, participation can diminish the power range
of leaders and the elite (cost), but on the other hand there is also a

chance that their power base is strengthened by obtaining a stronger
legitimacy vis-a-vis their followers or dependants.
How certain costs and benefits are assessed depends on a whole range of
social and physiological variables (State variables, KUNKEL, 1970). It
is even possible that what in one culture is felt to be a cost becomes
a benefit or vice versa. It is clear that what is a cost for the leaders
and the elite is, in many cases, a benefit for the weaker groups in the
community.

The various items indicated in figure 7 can only be seen as a kind of
check list. How the costs and benefits items are going to influence the
decisions of the people in the various categories, involving themselves
in a specific type of participation, can differ from situation to situ-
ation and from person to person. So far attention has only been paid
to the costs and benefits of participation for persons or categories of
persons. But what are the costs and benefits for society in general?
The economic and social council of the U.N. assess this as follows: "In
conclusion, there would appear to be much to gain and little to loose
from involving the people directly in the development decision-making
process, provided the institutional context is favourable to implement-
ing this requisite of structural reform" (UN, 1975, p. 28).
In theory this conclusion seems right. However, taking into account the
often weak institutional context of many developing countries, it is in
reality much too optimistic. There are societal cost items that can make
participation a very costly affair for a community, especially for its
socio-economically weaker parts.
a)   Participation may increase the level of conflicts. There is always
      a chance that conflicts resulting from the introduction of parti-
      cipation get out of hand and can even result in some kind of revo-
      lution. This does not mean that revolutions have to be avoided at
      all costs; however, very little is known of the social cost-benefit
      analysis of revolutions, for instance ten to twenty years after they
      have succeeded, let alone when they are lost.
b)   Participation can delay the development process. When this process
      has to be geared to the interests of the whole society it can mean
      that more time is needed before the sometimes desperate position of
      the poorest groups in society can be improved.
In conclusion, participation in the development process can often improve
the quality of its performance but it is questionable whether participa-
tion is always an essential prerequisite for a more human development,
when all costs and benefits are taken into account. It is therefore nec-

Figure 7.   Costs and benefits of participation as assessed for several levels in society. (Based on summary of the United Nations paper.: Popular participation in decision-making for development, New York, 1975. The costs and benefit items indicated in this document   are marked with the pages where they are mentioned   or the initials U.N. Costs and benefits added by the author are marked with the initials vD.)

Benefits	Costs
A National leaders	
1. Participation can eliminate popular resistance to decisions (p.11)	1. Participation can lead to curtailment of power of leaders (p.15)
2. Participation can increase the legitimacy of authority (p.15)	2. As a result of participation the level of conflict in a society may increase (p.16)
3. Participation can increase the speed of implementation (vD)	3. As a result of participation decisions are forced less on the basis of technical criteria
4. Via participation benefits of projects can be more directed towards the "felt needs" of the population. (vD)	than on basis of misinformation and prejudices of the masses (p.18)
5. Via participation it is possible to mobilize more resources (vD)	4. Participation can delay (due to internal conflicts) the decision process concerning
6. Via participation it is possible to decrease the level of conflict (vD)	projects and programmes of importance for staying in office for political leaders (vD)
B Planners and administrators	
1. Participation can facilitate collecting of information for planning purposes (p.15)	1. As a result of participation information processing becomes more complex (p.21)
2. Participation can result in more information about present behavioural patterns	2. Participation requires an effort on the part of planners to present alternatives in such
and likely information (p.15)	a way that compromises can be made (planning becomes partly a political excersise) (p.21)
3. Participation enables planners to ascertain what people desire (p.20)	3. As a result of participation decision time is lengthened (p.23)
4. Participation can give more information on available resources (such as willingness	4. Participation can make it more difficult to ensure uniform quality and provide central
regarding self-help projects) (p.20)	services (UN)
5. Participation can help planners to plan more ambitiously and at the same time more	5. When participation lengthens the planning process and creates conflicts at various levels
realistically (UN)	planners will lose influence by their superiors (vD)
6. When plans prepared in a participatory way they can be implemented quickly, planner	6. Participation can decrease the power position based on experience (vD)
will obtain merit by their superiors.(vD)	7. Participation used by planners and administrators can bring them in conflict with
7. Participation can increase the power position of planners and administrators versus	politicians (vD)
politicians (vD)	
C Local administrators of enterprises and government agencies	
1. Participation can increase productivity (p.23)	1. Participation increases decision time (p.23)
2. Participation can improve levels of information for management (p.23)	2. Participation can lead to relative loss of personnel power and status (p.23)
3. Participation can reduce negative conflicts (UN)	3. Participation can lead to conflicts in their areas of competence (vD)
4. Participation can strengthen the legitimacy for action (vD)	4. Due to C1 and C3 they lose confidence of their superiors (vD)
5. Due to C1 participation can increase confidence of superiors in local administrators(vD)	
D Local elites (vD)	
1. Participation can channel existing conflicts at the local level and therefore	1. Participation will diminish their power (UN)
stabilize their position (UN)	2. Participation costs time to attend meetings, to vote and to inform oneself about issues(UN)
2. By obtaining position of leadership in participatory organisations they obtain	
another means to safeguard their power base (vD)	
E Individual citizens	
1. Participation has educational effects such as:	1. Participation costs time to attend meetings, to vote and to inform oneself about issues
o improved skill of self expression	(p.26)
o a sense of effectiveness to action and solving of problems	2. Participation requires to accept a greater responsibility. This is often psychologically
o an increased sense of personal efficiency (p.26)	costly in case of conflict (p.27)
2. Due to E1 an urge for a relative level of self reliance can be created that mobilises	3. As an elaboration of D2 participation can lead to role conflicts in certain societies
social energy that can result in a better way of life in the community of the	and can lead to diminishing of relative levels of security due to loosening of certain
individual citizen (vD)	types of relationships (client - patron) (vD)
3. Participation can lead to a better distribution of power among citizens (vD)	
4. Participation can lead to a better distribution of effects of development among citizens (vD)	
5. Participation can give the participating citizens more status and power (UN)	

essary that a (social) cost-benefit analysis is made before a certain
type of participation is introduced.
It must be realized, however, that the introduction of new types of par-
ticipation will always affect the existing power structure. This is not
always the result of a careful analysis of the costs and benefits re-
sulting from the introduction of a new type of participation for the
majority of the population. Participation is often forced on those in
power via strikes or revolution (Poland, Guatemala) or is withdrawn by
military force (Bolivia).

3.4 Participation as a process

This paper focuses on developmental participation, often an induced type
of participation. BEAL sees developmental participation as a normative
social process that" ... in essence depends on efficiently finding, mobi-
lizing, combining, and organizing resources" (BEAL, 1964, p. 241).
When participation is induced, for example when outside system forces
are, at least partly, responsible for new phenomena in the community or
are reviving old phenomena this can be indicated as exogenous change
(PARSONS, 1961). The main characteristic of this process is that a new
network of social relationships has to be established. This network
should create the social framework for action aiming at the realization
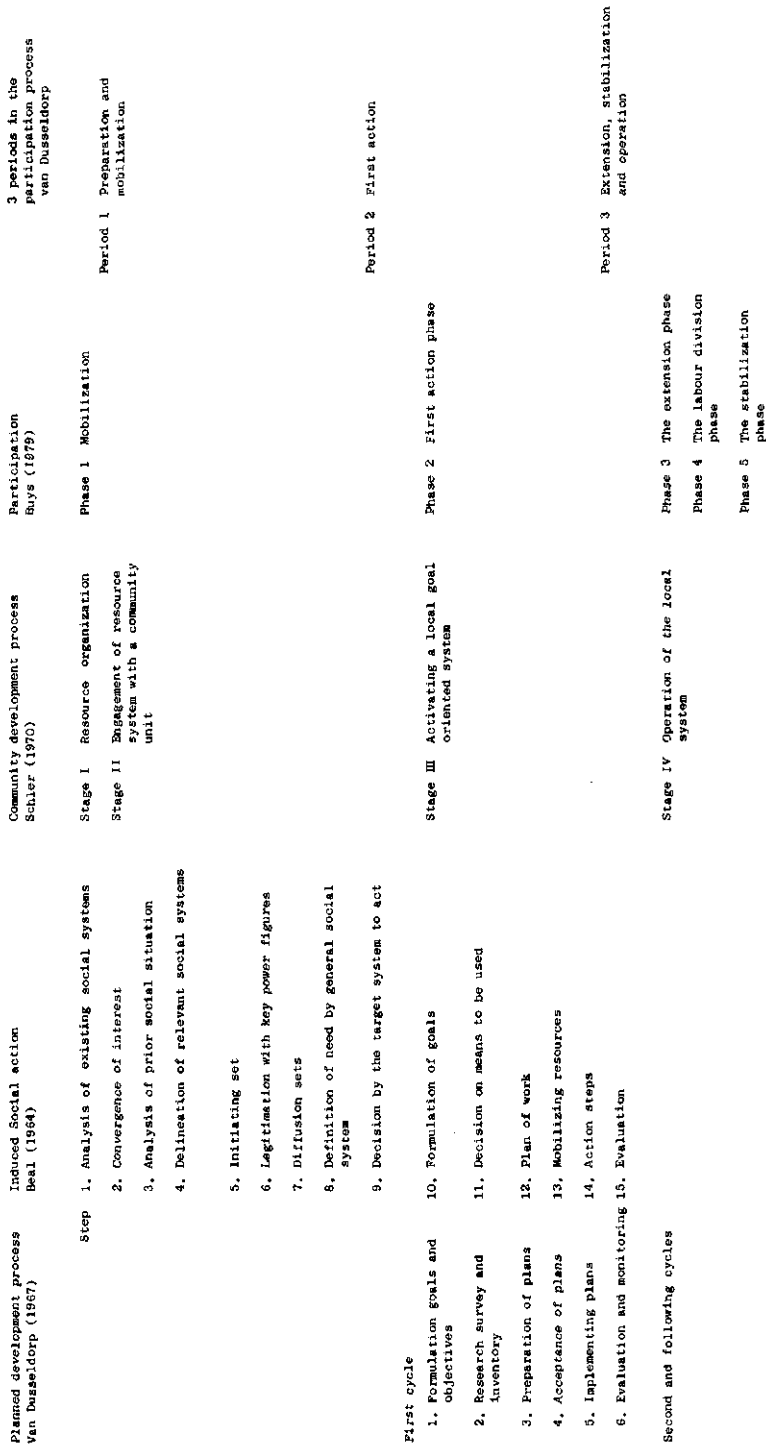of specific objectives.
In the process of creating and activating such networks several steps
can be distinguished.
BEAL (1964) indicates 15 steps, SCHLER (1970) groups in three models of
the community development process the various activities into four stages,
BUYS (1979) distinguishes five phases in the participation process, HUIZER
(1976), HAQUE et al (1977) and WIGNARAJA (1976) indicate only the overall
conditions favourable for obtaining the participation of the population
and do not arrive at a generalization as to how this process develops
via steps or stages.
The various descriptions of the participation process and its steps and
stages (figure 8) make it clear that they concern different styles of
participation. BEAL and SCHLER's description is what ROTHMAN (1970)
calls locality development of community development. Considerable atten-
tion is given during the preparation period to the integration of activ-
ities of target systems into the need of the general society system
(BEAL, 1964) or to the organization of the resource system (the outside
change agent, who is often part of the Administration) to create room
and support for participatory movements. Both are using the harmony

Figure 8   Review of steps in the organization of the participation process and its relation to planned development.

Planned development process Van Dusseldorp (1967)	Induced Social action Beal (1964)	Community development process Schler (1970)	Participation Buys (1979)	3 periods in the participation process van Dusseldorp
	Step 1. Analysis of existing social systems	Stage I Resource organization	Phase 1 Mobilization	Period 1 Preparation and mobilization
	2. Convergence of interest	Stage II Engagement of resource system with a community unit		
	3. Analysis of prior social situation			
	4. Delineation of relevant social systems			
	5. Initiating set			
	6. Legitimation with key power figures			
	7. Diffusion sets			
	8. Definition of need by general social system			Period 2 First action
	9. Decision by the target system to act			
First cycle				
1. Formulation goals and objectives	10. Formulation of goals	Stage III Activating a local goal oriented system	Phase 2 First action phase	
2. Research survey and inventory	11. Decision on means to be used			
3. Preparation of plans	12. Plan of work			
4. Acceptance of plans	13. Mobilizing resources			
5. Implementing plans	14. Action steps			Period 3 Extension, stabilization and operation
6. Evaluation and monitoring	15. Evaluation			
Second and following cycles		Stage IV Operation of the local system	Phase 3 The extension phase	
			Phase 4 The labour division phase	
			Phase 5 The stabilization phase	

model or gradualism (LANDSBERGER, 1970) with the underlying assumption
"that basically all different interests at community and regional level
could be developed simultaneously and harmoniously" (HUIZER, 1976,
p. 245).
HUIZER (1976), HAQUE (1977) and WIGNARAJA (1976) describe the partici-
pation style that ROTHMAN (1970) calls social action which is closely
related to the conflict model or radicalism.
BUYS' description includes both styles of participation.
It should be realized that the two styles of participation indicated in
the harmony and conflict model are ideal types (WEBER). In several forms
of participation, elements of the two models are combined. It is possi-
ble to group the various steps and stages into three periods. First the
period of preparation and mobilization, second the first action period,
third the period of extending, stabilizing and operating of the partic-
ipatory activities and their organization and maintenance.
In the first period the type of activities to be undertaken in order to
generate participation will differ depending on the style of partici-
pation that is pursued.
The preparation and mobilization period can take a considerable amount
of time in both styles of participation. One problem with the community
development style of participation is that because of the way Govern-
ment organizations are working, through regulations, procedures and pro-
motion of officers, the officers are often forced to show quick results
(KRISNASWAMI, 1977). The literature gives many examples of village
workers who could not wait until the local community was convinced and
willing to participate and so started with projects themselves. By doing
this they delayed and endangered the participation of people in develop-
ment.
Once participation is obtained and the community has decided to act, be
it via the harmony model (community development) or the conflict model
(social action), it seems that more or less the same steps and stages
have to be followed.
As developmental participation is always started in order to achieve
specific objectives, it can be expected that in the first action-phase
the six steps of the planned development process will take place be it
for the construction of an irrigation canal or for the occupation of
land of landlords.
BUYS (1979) mentions several problems participatory organizations have
to face when they start to expand. Labour division will quickly result
in indirect participation. This institutionalizing of the group can lead
to strong personalities coming into command who are not willing to re-

linguish their position of power.

The introduction of power distance reduction mechanisms can avoid such a situation. However, it seems that the "Iron law of oligarchy" described by MICHELS (1915) is difficult to avoid.

This becomes clear by looking for instance at the pattern and age struc-ture of leadership in communist parties in Russia, Cuba or Vietnam. Peas-ant movements and organizations often flounder after initial success in the third period of the participation process as LANDSBERGER and HEWITT (1970) point out in their article "Ten sources of weakness and cleavage in Latin American peasant movements". Also, participation in democratic countries of the so-called "Free World" leaves much to be desired. It would seem that the "Welfare State" does not create a favourable climate for sustained direct and complete participation. It is not only diffi-cult to generate a participation process, it is even more precarious to keep it going, especially when it is successful and when, after some time, it involves large numbers of people.

4 PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

Planned development takes place when man deliberately tries to use the means available to him in such a way that the present situation and processes that brought this situation into being are changed thus bringing about a new situation that is in conformity with his aims and goals.

4.1 Planned development as a process

The planned development process consists of six overlapping and inter-related stages. These stages are (see also figure 9):
I   Formulation of goals, objectives and targets
II   Research, survey and inventory
III Preparation of plans
IV   Accepting plans
V   Implementation, operation and maintenance
VI   Evaluation

Planned development is characterized by the planning activity that consists of the formulation of programmes of actions that will change the present situation in such a way that it resembles a situation as indicated by given goals or objectives. An important part of planning is to allocate scarce resources so that as much as possible of the initially formulated goals and objectives will be realized when the designed programmes of action are implemented with the means available. Planning is a general human activity just as participation. It is therefore necessary to make more explicit what category, type, form or style of planning is under consideration.

4.2 Categories of planning (VAN DUSSELDORP, 1967)

Planning activities can be classified by making a distinction between:
-    The planning subject, e.g. the person, group or persons or institutions performing planning activities.
-    The planning object, e.g. the persons, group of persons, areas or items on which the planning activity is focused.
On the basis of a characterization of the planning subject it is possible to distinguish three categories of planning.
Individual planning takes place when an individual makes plans and allocates his resources to programmes of action directed towards the realization of his goals or objectives. This is an everyday activity performed by all human beings.

Private_group_planning takes place when private institutions, or a per-
son or group of persons commissioned by these institutions, prepares
programmes for action to change situations by influencing processes in
order to realize their objectives. Such planning is done for instance
by private businesses (from the grocer's family around the corner to
multinationals) or by private non-profit organizations.
Government_planning takes place when the Governments, or parts of their
organization or agencies commissioned by them, make plans in order to
realize goals and objectives formulated by groups of persons under
their jurisdiction.
In this paper, attention is focused on the possibility of participation
in the planned development process influenced by Government planning.

4.3   Types of Government planning

By subdividing the planning object it becomes possible to distinguish
several types of Government planning.
The first division is based on territory.
National_planning takes place when plans are made that include the whole
nation.
Regional_planning takes place when plans are made for certain areas
within a country, for instance, states, provinces, districts. In large
countries there can be several layers of regional planning (macro, meso,
micro).
Local_planning takes place when plans are made for areas covered by a
village or a small group of villages or hamlets.
These types of planning can be called "horizontal planning" because they
focus on a certain level of society. At all levels all aspects (social,
economic, physical) of the planning object should be taken into account
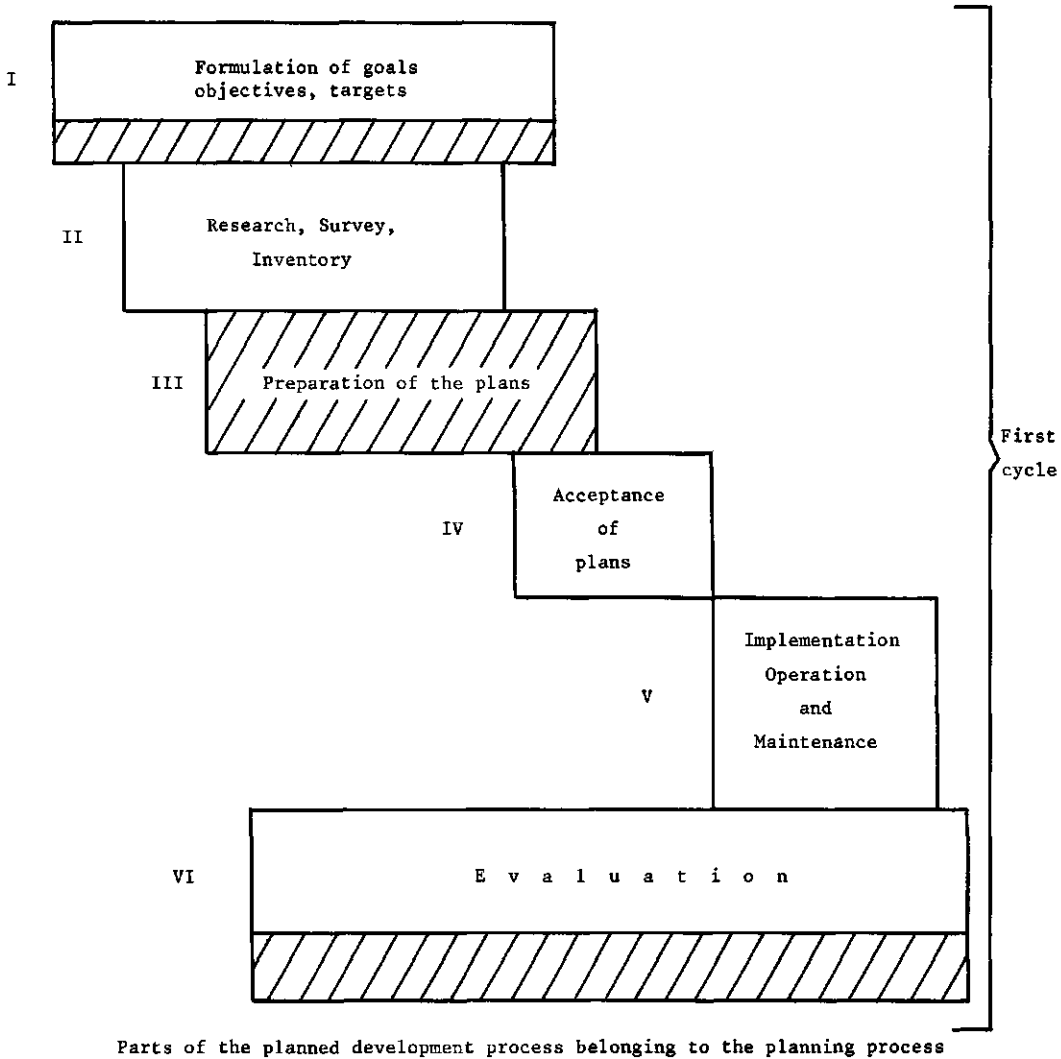("comprehensive planning").

The second division is based on a specific set of activities.
Governments provide services, such as educational and health facilities,
physical infrastructure and security, for the planning object.
The Administration is in most countries divided into Ministries and
Departments. The planning performed by such agencies focused on a spe-
cific type of activity is called sector_planning. This type of planning
can also be called "vertical planning" as it covers activities taking
place at local, regional and national level.

Figure 9.

THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

I   Formulation of goals
     objectives, targets

II   Research, Survey,
     Inventory

III Preparation of the plans

IV   Acceptance
     of
     plans

V   Implementation
     Operation
     and
     Maintenance

VI   E v a l u a t i o n

First cycle

Parts of the planned development process belonging to the planning process

Cycle 2, 3, etc. follow the same process indicated in cycle 1

The third division is based on how detailed the planning activities
are and whether the possibility of immediate implementation exists.
National, regional and sector plans (strategic plans) and local plans
(tactical plans) only indicate via which projects and detailed programmes
(operational plans) certain objectives can be reached and they estimate
and allocate the means necessary for their implementation.

Only operational plans such as projects or detailed programmes will be
detailed enough for immediate implementation leading finally to actual
development. All the other types of planning are preparation for general
frameworks for a certain type of planned development but their "imple-
mentation" is in most cases the preparation of plans of a "lower" order.

Of the four definitions of projects mentioned by SOHM (1978), the follow-
ing is chosen, "an aggregate of activities that have a definite limita-
tion and a pre-determined amount of resources and that are directed to-
wards the attainment of precisely defined quantified objectives". But
this definition still leaves room for confusion. A project can indicate
a plan for an irrigation dam and its canals for 400000 ha that will
take 30 to 40 years to implement (for instance the Euphrates dam project)
and that has all the characteristics, provided it is planned and imple-
mented in a comprehensive way, of a regional plan. A project can also be
the building of a school or a minor irrigation or drainage canal. In the
context of this paper projects all have characteristics of the defini-
tion indicated above but are made for implementation at local or sub-
local level.

In this glossary of evaluation terms, SOHM (1978) indicates several def-
initions of the term programme. For the purpose of this paper the follow-
ing definition is chosen: "An organized aggregate of services, activi-
ties and development projects directed towards the attainment of defi-
nite objectives. A programme should ideally include the precise objec-
tives, targets, methods, manpower, physical facilities, financial re-
sources, time and their interrelationships required for the implemen-
tation of such service, activity and development projects and for the
aggregate of these services, activities and projects of which the pro-
gramme is constituted, as well as output indicators for the evaluation
of efficieny and effectiveness".
But even this definition can indicate national or even world-wide pro-
grammes as well as detailed or sub-programmes operating at regional or
local level. In the context of this paper our attention will be focus-

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ed on detailed_or_sub-programmes, the implementation of which takes place
at the local or sub-local level.

The types of Government planning indicated above are interrelated with
each other. The pattern of their relationship is indicated in figure 10.
The content of the various relationships depends on the forms or styles
of planning practised in a given socio-political situation. When, during
planning, all relevant relations between the various types of planning
are recognized and filled in, one can speak of "integrated planning".

4.4 Forms and styles of planning

The possibility and the functionality of participation in the planned
development process that is steered by Government planning depend very
much on the way this Government planning is organized and practised.
VAN HOUTEN (1974) distinguishes in his classification of planning activ-
ities 25 different forms. Here, 8 forms based on 3 classification cri-
teria are indicated.
Based on organizational characteristics
     Centralized planning
     Decentralized planning
Based on the character of objectives
     Indicative planning
     Imperative planning
     Task-oriented prognoses
Based on the way objectives are chosen
     Planning using objectives obtained via extrapolation
     Planning using objectives chosen by the elite
     Planning using objectives chosen via a democratic process
FRIEDMANN (1967, 1973), indicates two forms of planning and four plan-
ning styles:
     Allocative planning
          Command planning
          Policies planning
          Corporate planning
     Innovative planning
SAGASTI (1973) discussing scientific and technological planning, mentions
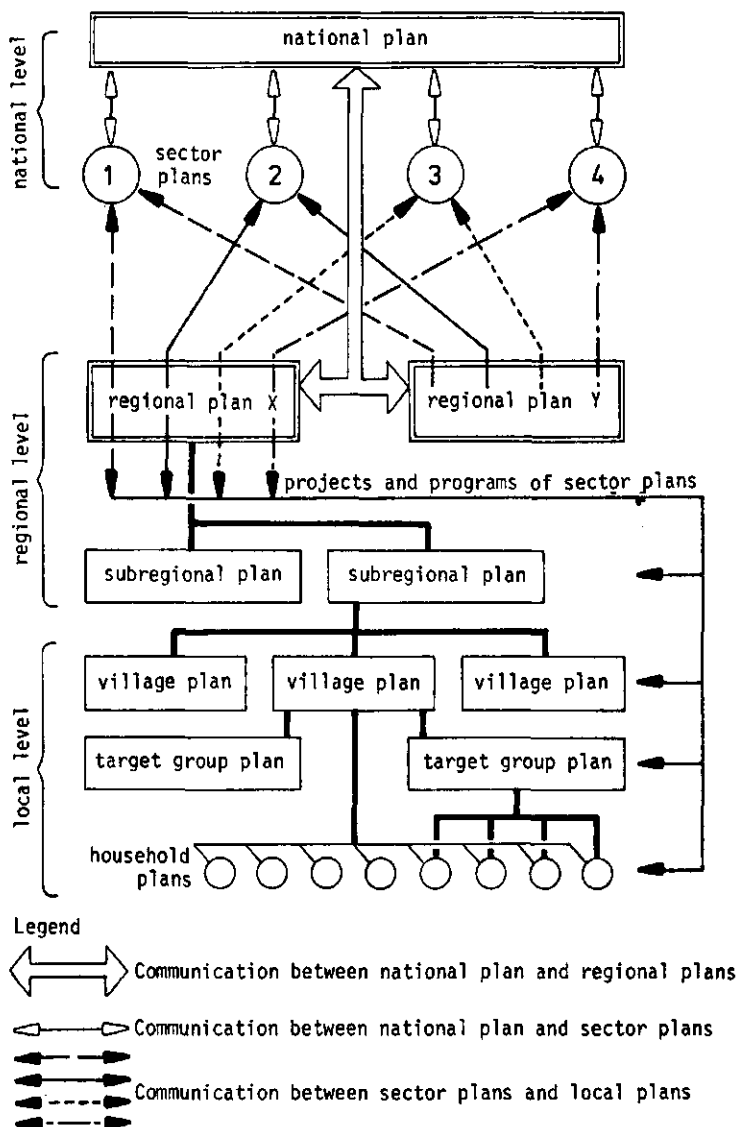5 forms of planning:
     Continuous planning
     Participative planning
     Integrated planning

Figure 10.
RELATIONS BETWEEN TYPES OF GOVERNMENT PLANNING.

Van Staveren and Van Dusseldorp ed.: Framework for regional planning in developing countries. ILRI Wageningen 1980.

Coordinated planning
Experimental and adaptive planning

The various forms of planning indicated by these authors overlap each
other in several cases. It also seems for instance that within the
framework of one form of planning (e.g. allocative planning) innovative
planning is also possible or vice versa. It is likely for instance that
at various levels of planning different styles of planning will take
place. For example, policies planning at national level, a combination
of policies and corporate planning at regional level and, at local level,
participant planning.
It is to be expected that the style of planning in a Ministry of Defence
or Public Works will have the tendency to be "top down" command planning
while in a Ministry for Social Welfare the styles of policies and/or
corporate planning will dominate with room for planning from below. This
means that in one Government administration involved in planned develop-
ment a certain mixture of planning forms and planning styles can be ex-
pected.
Before one can conclude whether or not the introduction of participation
can be functional and effective it is necessary to analyse the form or
style of planning that takes place. Or, vice versa, if one thinks that
a certain type of participation should be introduced, one then has to
choose for a type, form and style of planning that makes this type of
participation possible and effective. In planned development at local
level, realized via the preparation and implementation of projects and
detailed programme plans, direct and complete participation can play an
important role, provided the form and style of planning is decentral-
ized, indicative and innovative. Planned development taking place via
sector, regional or national plans only provides room for indirect and
incomplete participation and the influence on planned development of
these types of participation can become limited when the form and
style is that of centralized, imperative, command planning.

5 PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AT LOCAL LEVEL

5.1 Selected entrances and limitations of the analysis

In the foregoing sections an attempt was made a) to make a classification
of the various types of participation b) to distinguish categories, types,
forms and styles of Government planning.

In order to keep the discussion of the potentials and constraints of
participation in the planned development process within certain limits
it is necessary to choose a limited number of the types of participation
and types and styles of planning discussed in sections 3 and 4.

Attention will then mainly be focused on:
a) The types of participation that range from free, direct, complete,
    organized, intensive, limited participation to free, indirect, par-
    tial, organized, extensive, limited participation.
b) The types of Government planning defined as local level planning
    and project and detailed programme planning.
c) The style of Government planning indicated as planning from below
    or participant planning.

It is assumed that with this choice the most favourable conditions for
participation are available. Whatever other choice is made will increase
the constraints for participation and diminish the influence of partici-
pation on the planned development process.
Whenever examples are mentioned either from literature or from the per-
sonal experience of the individual authors, they are limited to planned
development taking place in rural areas.

Here follows an assesment of the potentials and constraints of partic-
ipation in the six stages of the planned development process, e.g.
I. Formulation of goals, objectives and targets, II. Research, survey
and inventory, III. Preparation of plans, IV. Accepting plans, V. Im-
plementation, operation and maintenance, VI. Evaluation.

5.2 Formulation of goals, objectives and targets (Stage I)

Planned development is goal-oriented, its aim is to realize certain ob-
jectives and targets. To formulate these goals, objectives and targets
is a crucial first step in the planned development process. The analysis

will not focus on the philosophical problems concerned with the formulation of objectives such as the infinity and changeable character of human objectives (TENBRUCK, 1971; VAN DUSSELDORP, 1975). Here, the problem of differences between the objectives of man will be given attention. The final aim of mankind is to obtain a certain degree of happiness. What happiness means differs from person to person and for each person it will differ in time. On many occasions even one and the same person will have, at a specific moment in time, conflicting objectives.

In nearly every group of persons involved in direct participation in a developmental activity, there are differences between their objectives. In villages with a certain socio-economic stratification these differences are often of such a nature that it will cost a considerable number of discussions (cost of participation) before a consensus is reached and on several objectives a consensus will never be reached. These differences are becoming most evident at local level because here objectives have to be specific. It is not possible to create a deceiving consensus by formulating generalized objectives, such as the welfare of the people, as is often done at national level. Another reason why differences are not easy to overcome is that at local level most people are able to assess the outcome of projects and detailed programmes and can compare this with their own objectives. This problem can be partly avoided by organizing participation in homogeneous groups, for example, groups that have more or less the same objectives. In the modern literature this type of group is equivalent to "target groups" (BELL, 1974). In the community development era they were called "special interest groups" (BATTEN, 1957).

One example is the small farmer groups approach (FAO, 1978). But even within groups of small farmers, fishermen or farm labourers there are different objectives depending on character, age, family situation and differences in social or economic position (though they may look minimal to the outsider). There is not only the problem of conflicting objectives, but also the problem of setting priorities among the objectives on which there is consensus in a group. This will be discussed during the stage when plans are prepared.

When direct or indirect participation takes place in the formulation of objectives it is often the first but also the last participatory activity in the planning process. This can lead to a situation where only a list of desired objectives are formulated without indicating potential inconsistencies or priorities. This was, for instance, the case in Malaysia when the Red Book was introduced to contain the District Rural Development plan (TUN RAZAK, 1966; VAN DUSSELDORP, 1971). Almost the same

situation was observed in the Matara District in Sri Lanka (15 years later) when Rural Development Societies were asked to prepare village development plans (VAN DUSSELDORP, 1980).

In both cases these "plans" were long lists of objectives and projects. On the one hand it is an interesting way of obtaining insight into the "felt needs" at local level even when there is a chance that these "plans" do not reflect all the visions of a certain rural community in a balanced way. On the other hand such an exercise can have dysfunctional effects. By involving the people in formulating their objectives, without indi- cating the limitations of Government resources or the direction of devel- opment the Government has in mind, one creates expectations that cannot be fulfilled afterwards. This can lead to disappointments at local level, it can diminish the interest in participation and harms the legitimacy of the Government in the eyes of the local people.

When objectives need to be formulated for national, regional or sector plans, direct participation becomes practically impossible. Here, in- direct participation is the only possible way to influence development "steered" by the Government. As already mentioned, conflicts between objectives are often temporarily avoided by aggregating them into more abstract goals like welfare for everybody; but these conflicts will emerge again when goals are deaggregated in lower levels of planning. Another problem is that the nature of objectives often changes in the aggregation and deaggregation processes. Politicans and administrators have the tendency to have their own views introduced during this pro- cess. This often results in situations where Government actions do not coincide with what the people wanted even when the processes of aggre- gation and deaggregation were supervised via indirect participation (VAN DUSSELDORP, 1975).

5.3 Research, survey and inventory (Stage II)

In most research or inventory activities for the process of planned de- velopment at local level the population is the research object and not the research subject. They participate as passive informants providing information to the research team. They are seldom confronted with the final analysis or diagnosis of their own situation as made by the re- searchers. Not having the same insight into their own situation as the planners who are making plans on the basis of this diagnosis, it is not surprising that many plans do not receive the same amount of interest that planners are often expecting. "Community participation calls for information and organization, for committment by the whole peasant popu-

lation; it calls for reflection, for knowledge of available resources
and of development possibilities,..." (CERNEA, 1979, p. 103-104).

In direct and complete participation in planned development, community
self-survey is a necessity (VAN DER LEST, 1964). It is a simple state-
ment but difficult to implement.
- First it is not a question of whether the local people do not know
their own environment. If that were the case few of them would have
survived. However, local people often have a certain knowledge or fore-
sight that needs translation before it can be used in a planning process
or understood by technical advisors. How to obtain, translate and use
the available knowledge of the local population is something that is
often overlooked. One of the problems is the often holistic view local
people have of their own situation. This makes it difficult for the
often highly specialized technicians, be it in the physical, economic
or social sciences, to understand this knowledge. For the local people,
it is often difficult to grasp the meaning of the fragmented messages
of technicians. Considerable attention (research) should be devoted to
this communication gap if complete participation at local level is to
become effective in planned development influenced by a Government that
gives directives, makes available expertise or provides some of the re-
quired resources.
- It was observed in the Matara District (Sri Lanka) that, once there is
a certain level of literacy in a community, people are capable of gath-
ering a wide range of data often, due to their knowledge of their own
environment and one another's situation, with greater accuracy than can
be achieved via surveys done by outsiders. But community self-survey is
not only a collecting of data, if it is to lead to a better knowledge
of the potentials and constraints for development of a certain situation;
it requires an analysis of these data in order to understand the proces-
ses that brought the present situation into being. Only in this way can
people become conscious of their situation and understand why it is as
it is.
However, different perception of realities or different world views can
lead to completely different outcomes. Where sociologists or economists
conclude from their analysis that tenants are poor because they are
caught up in vicious processes of exploitation as part of an economic
system created and maintained by a small elite, the tenants could come
to the conclusion that this situation is a result of the will of God or
of their Karma. "As long as the peasant sees his relation to agrarian
elites as one of legitimate dependence - as long as he feels himself

part of a vertical community - peasant 'class consciousness' is unlikely"
(SCOTT et al., 1977). In such a situation his analysis will differ from
co-researchers with a different, for instance socialist, view on "reality".
This does not mean that these perceptions or world views, of for instance
peasants, are stable. Present developments in Latin America and emerging
developments in South Asia show that they can change within a rather
short period of time.
- Community self-survey is seldom a result of spontaneous participatory
activities. In most cases, it starts as a result of induced participa-
tion. When this happens the question arises as to what the role should
be of those that have induced participation, e.g. the community develop-
ment workers of the past. Is it possible or desirable that they only act
as neutral technicians in order to help the community to analyse their
situation from their own point of view? It seems more likely that the
inducers of participation, knowing or unknowing, are introducing their
own world views in the process of analysing the data.
This means that community self-survey can be an excellent tool for the
manipulation of a community. Whether this is good or bad depends on one's
appreciation of the objectives of the inducers of participation.
- Most communities are socially and economically stratified. This means
that there is unequal access to resources and an uneven distribution of
income. This makes it likely that such an analysis will create tension,
especially if the people are exposed to the world views of their "co-
investigators" (FREIRE, 1972). Very often these tensions are already
there but community self-survey makes them more explicit and brings them
into the open. This is an important function of community self-survey
because such tensions can stimulate people to act.
- However, one has to be aware of potential dysfunctional effects. Com-
munity self-surveys can generate information that not only mobilize weaker
groups but also the elite. The latter can often act more quickly and ef-
fectively than the poor on the basis of the information obtained via com-
munity self-surveys in order to stabilize their present position of power
or even to increase it. Another problem is how to manage the tensions
created by a community self-survey. These tensions can have a positive
effect in stimulating participation. This however requires action short-
ly after the community self-survey is concluded.
If not managed properly these tensions can end up in violent action that
harms the poor more than the rich. It can also lead to actions that de-
stroy a socio-economic system aiming at the exploitation of the poor.
The alternative possibilities indicated above are potential realities
that have to be taken into account before one starts community self-

surveys. Which course is taken depends on the situation, the view of the community but also on the (hidden) intentions of the inducers of these self-surveys. Participation during the stage of research, survey and inventory is of importance if not a necessity in complete participation. It can however, easily become a double-edged sword. Experience, in the way community self-surveys can be used effectively in complete participation in the planned development process, is limited.

Research, surveying or inventories executed for planning at national, or regional level or for the planning of sectors often requires sophisticated techniques. This makes even indirect participation difficult if not impossible. In order to enlarge the influence of indirect participation on the planned development process it is necessary that the results of research and surveys are made available in understandable publications.

5.4 **Preparation of plans** (Stage III)

The activities of this stage are, for example: formulation of programmes of action, if relevant with alternatives; assessing if these programmes (when implemented) will realize the objectives; assessing the cost of the various programmes; to indicate priorities if the means do not allow the implementation of all programmes of action necessary to realize all the objectives; integration of the programmes of action if there are several programmes that influence each other.

The preparation of alternative programmes of action is possible via direct participation provided:
-       The project or detailed programme involves a limited number of persons (25 or less).
-       The subject matter is well known to the participants.
-       There is sufficient consensus on the objectives.

When the project or detailed programme involves too many people, indirect participation becomes necessary. When new techniques or crops are involved some technical expertise from outside will be required. This can limit the influence of the local participants.

Direct participation at local level becomes more complicated because in many cases different types of local level experiences become necessary. In Rural Development Societies (Sri Lanka) committees are sometimes com-

missioned with the preparation of "specialized" plans for irrigation
projects, health projects or temple projects. When no priorities are
indicated with regard to the objectives formulated in stage I then this
has to be done during the plan preparation stage. It is clear that this
is a sensitive issue and when no consensus is achieved direct partic-
ipation is in danger. Consensus is often difficult to achieve because
it becomes clear which people are going to benefit if certain programmes
of action are implemented and who are not; for instance, if a decision
has to be made between the implementation of two minor irrigation canals.
These problems can be partly solved if the plan covers a longer period of
time. This makes it possible to indicate that those who do not benefit
from this project will have their chance later on. This, however, re-
quires long-term agreements. When the world view is that of the "capri-
cious universe" (KUNKEL, 1970), this is often difficult to achieve.

When direct participation is induced it means that the co-planners just
as the co-investigators (those who have induced the participation process)
are involved in the plan preparation activity and can have a considerable
influence on this activity that will increase when they a) can also offer
expertise or know how to obtain external expertise if this is needed;
b) can be instrumental in obtaining resources from outside whether from
the Government or from private agencies.
If there are problems in the indication of priorities in objectives and
programmes of action, it will be difficult for them to avoid taking sides
and to leave these decisions to the community whether it is a village or
an "homogeneous" group of small farmers.

Plan preparation for national, regional or sector plans requires not
only sophisticated techniques but also a considerable amount of time
that makes even indirect participation difficult if not impossible.

5.5 Accepting plans (Stage IV)

When plans for projects or detailed programmes at local level have been
prepared by direct participation their acceptance is only a formality
that in most cases coincides with the last steps of the plan preparation.
The effect of such decisions, in other words if the plan can be imple-
mented, after it has been accepted, depends on the amount of external
resources required for its implementation.
If a community needs only those means that it can provide itself (mate-
rials, labour, capital), implementation can start at once. However, if

the plans require a considerable amount of scarce resources from outside
it will have to rely on the allocation of funds from higher levels (vil-
lage or district councils or the national assembly). When the required
resources are made available it is important that the plan is imple-
mented as soon as possible. If it takes too long people will lose in-
terest and become less willing to make their own inputs (labour, material,
etc.) available.

In nearly all countries there is indirect participation in the acceptance
of plans. This takes place, often in an indirect way by accepting or re-
jecting the annual budgets or parts of it by national assemblies, dis-
trict or village councils. The influence of this indirect participation
is limited (CAIDEN, 1974).
This is partly the result of some of the techniques used by the Adminis-
tration to diminish the influence of participatory groups (politicians,
etc.) (See also section 6).

In order to increase the influence of indirect participation on the plan-
ned development, attention should be paid to:
-    the preparation of plans that indicate meaningful alternatives from
     which a choice can be made
-    the availability of all information relevant to the decisions to
     be made
-    the preparation of plans (or at least summaries) that make it
     possible for laymen to understand what the plan is about.

5.6 <u>Implementation, operation and maintenance</u> (Stage V)

Implementation of projects and detailed programmes with direct partic-
ipation requires several participatory activities:
1)   The activities needed in order to implement the programmes of
     action such as the building of a school, the construction of minor
     irrigation works, the effectuation of a training or extension pro-
     gramme.
2)   The activitities required to use the possibilities created by the
     implemented programmes of action such as the use of a school, the
     use of irrigation works or the use of knowledge obtained via
     training or extension. These activities are the most crucial steps
     in planned development. When they do not occur there is planning
     and some "implementation" but there is no development. Only via
     these activities will the participants reap the benefits of their

earlier participatory activities or benefits of other projects or
programmes prepared and implemented without their participation.
3)   The activities needed to maintain, for instance, the physical infra-
     structure created by the implemented programmes of action (roads,
     canals, buildings).
When projects or detailed programmes have been prepared by the planning
subject that is also the implementation subject; in other words when
planning object and subject are the same, the implementation will cause
only limited problems. One can expect that people who have invested time
in the development of certain programmes of action, because they will
realize their objectives, are willing to allocate their scarce resour-
ces to activities they have indicated themselves. It may be assumed
that programmes of action, prepared without the participation of the
planning object, require a greater amount of sales technique (extension)
before people are willing to participate in the activities of imple-
mentation.

However, to think that once people have participated in the plan-prepa-
ration, this will automatically lead to the participation of all of them
in the various steps of implementation is too optimistic.
- The stages of the planned development process discussed so far require
a limited amount of investment; mainly the time necessary to attend meet-
ings or to collect data. The costs of participation in implementation
are in most cases much higher. In many traditional societies people of
a community participated in communal activities only partly on the basis
of their own free will.
In the past, many of these societies were "closed or semi-closed" socie-
ties. This type of society could enforce a considerable amount of social
control. Each individual depended so much on the cooperation of members
of his own community that via either formal or informal negative social
control he could be persuaded fairly easily to contribute to those activ-
ities the community had decided upon (gotjong rojong in Indonesia and
Malaysia). However, many rural societies have become open societies due
to the fact that they have become integrated in the transportation or
educational system; they have become incorporated (PEARSE, 1971).
In open local communities the effectiveness of social control has di-
minished. One often speaks of the disintegrating village (MORRISON et al.,
1979). This makes it difficult to ensure that all those who have directly
participated in the preliminary steps of the planned development process,
will also participate in all of the more demanding steps of the imple-
mentation phase.

- Another problem is that of leakages "in the sense of spill-overs" of benefits from target groups to non-target groups" (BELL, 1974, p. 113). A feeder road system will provide some benefits to landless labourers during its construction phase but this will also be the case with local contractors. In the utilization phase, the road will often be not only beneficial to small farmers but even more so to large or medium farmers. It is difficult to design projects in which such leakages do not occur, in situations where resources are closed and unevenly distributed. But these leakages also make it difficult to obtain the participation of everybody in the implementation stage.

- Even in the case of reasonably homogeneous groups, costs and benefits are seldom evenly spread among their members.

In Surinam, the Government constructed a canal in order to relieve an area from regularly recurring floods. The farmers themselves had to contribute in the implementation of the branch irrigation canals, partly by making available land where the branch drainage canal had to go through. Those far away from the main canal were willing to give up their land because the costs were limited, only a small area was required, and the benefits were considerable. The farmers near to the main canal, though willing in the beginning were, after some time, less enthousiastic when they realized that they had to contribute a larger area of land due to the fact that the dimensions of the branch drain had to be larger close to the main canal and that the benefits for them were limited, because even without a branch drain they could benefit from the drainage capac- ity of the main canal. As the latter occupied a strategic position, several branch canals were not constructed. The fact that participants are often not willing to participate in projects from which everybody will benefit but in varying degrees, is sometimes underestimated.

Implementation of higher level plans (national, regional, sector plans) is nearly always first the preparation of lower level plans and finally project and detailed programmes. Direct participation in this process is only possible at local level. Indirect participation should be given more attention by involving leaders of groups belonging to the plan object. In this type of participation, the communication between the leaders and their followers is often the weak link.

5.7 Evaluation (Stage VI)

In the past, the importance of evaluation has been stressed over and over again. However, it is amazing to see that only a limited number of

projects and programmes have built-in evaluation.
In most cases evaluation is done on an ad hoc basis with a limited feed-
back into the planning and implementation system.
Various types of evaluation can be distinguished.
On the basis of when evaluation takes place, there is ex ante, ex post,
interim and end evaluation. On the basis of who is doing the evaluation
there is internal and external evaluation.

Later on attention is focused on internal interim evaluation of de-
tailed programmes and projects. In order to make evaluation possible,
plans must indicate measurable (interim) objectives, required resources
and how, when, where and by whom they have to be provided and used. A
potential contradiction could arise because by giving greater freedom
to planning at the project and detailed programme level via direct partic-
ipation, it becomes necessary to accept simple planning techniques that
could lead to plans not completely up to all standards. This necessity
is recognized but may not lead to plans, which makes it difficult if not
impossible to evaluate. Next to the direct participation in the formula-
tion of objectives, evaluation is one of the steps in the planned de-
velopment process that lends itself best to direct participation.
People observing planned development activities, realized with or with-
out participation, that affect their own situation will always have an
opinion, suggestion or criticism regarding these activities and the
costs or benefits resulting from them. They are pre-eminently the people
who can evaluate if the plans under implementation are going to lead to
an improvement in their situation. On several occasions, people at local
level had been involved in participation (OBERG, May, 1961; OBERG, Hin-
dori, 1963). In most of these cases, however, they were the "passive"
object of evaluation. Via interviews and questionnaires they could in-
dicate the functional and dysfunctional effects of implemented projects
and programmes. Only seldom are the local people confronted with the
results of this evaluation and put in a position to formulate their
appreciation of these planned development activities as a group. It
seems that a greater and more active involvement of local people is a
necessity in order to arrive in the future at more effective planned
development.
The obvious need of greater involvement does not mean that there are
not many pitfalls on the way towards direct and active participation in
evaluation.
A major problem with evaluation is that it is often seen as an act of
negative criticism instead of a positive activity that should improve

the performance of planning and its implementation. Unless the latter
is clearly understood and practised, direct participation in evaluation
can have considerable dysfunctional effects.
- When plans are evaluated by those who themselves have participated in
their preparation and implementation, there is a strong tendency to blame
external conditions for everything that goes wrong. In this case, the
evaluation will have little influence on a better performance of the
group directly participating in planned development. However, when there
is a critical analysis of the performance of the group itself there is
the danger that scapegoats are being sought in the group and this can
endanger cooperation and participation in the future.
- In the culture of Western societies, open criticism is expected to be
a right if not a duty of its members. In many cultures of developing
countries open criticism is against their norms and values. This makes
it difficult to obtain, via evaluation, however it is organized, infor-
mation that is useful for the improvement of the present or subsequent
cycle of planned development.
- When the latter is the case, it also becomes difficult to transfer this
critical information to the higher echelons of the community or the ad-
ministration. It is not done to bring to the attention of those in higher
ranks in the community information that could indicate criticism con-
cerning their action, or actions of organization under their supervision.
Due to the acculturation process these attitudes are changing, but in
the rural areas of many developing countries in South East Asia such
attitudes can be expected to play an important role in the years to come.

Evaluation of higher level plans and their implementation makes direct
participation impractical if not impossible. Indirect participation,
though with many problems related to the aggregation and deaggregation
processes of information, should be promoted.
Also, indirect participation will encounter the problems indicated above.
Especially when open criticism is not easily made or accepted, evaluation
could create tension between developing agencies and their objects. To a
certain extent such tension is necessary but it can have, if not proper-
ly managed, dysfunctional effects.
The most important prerequisite for effective evaluation, whether done
with or without direct or indirect participation, is that it is seen as
a positive contribution to the improvement of the planned development
process and not as negative criticism that is looking for scapegoats.

Community self-survey combined with direct participation in evaluation
whenever needed and relevantly assisted by external expertise, can re-
sult in action-research that is "... invaluable for developing a line of
action for transforming society that is neither ahead of mass conscious-
ness and hence alienating, nor behind and hence needlessly conservative"
(HAQUE, 1977).

The foregoing analysis makes it clear that planned development will only
take place when there is direct participation at the implementation sta-
ges. National, regional and sector plans, important as they are as a
framework for development and an indication for the allocation of scarce
resources, must result in projects and detailed programmes before real
action resulting in development can take place. Unless the people di-
rectly participate in at least the second activity of the implementation
stage, all planning and "implementation" is of no avail and no develop-
ment will take place.
Confronted with this reality, it is necessary to organize the planning
process in such a way that it will automatically lead to the direct in-
volvement of people in planned development.
In theory, as indicated above, this is possible. In reality, there are
many potential constraints, making it difficult or seemingly impractical
to have direct participation at the level of project and detailed pro-
gramme planning.
The list of problems that one has to face by direct participation in
local level planning indicated above is impressive and still far from
complete, but this should not lead to the conclusion that one should
abandon direct participation.
On the other hand, it would be unjustified, knowing the many constraints
facing direct participation in local level planning, to assume that par-
ticipation is the answer to all the problems facing planning and planned
development. If participation is not introduced with great care and af-
ter a thorough assessment of the problems that can be expected with at
least some outline how they can be solved, it will lead to another fail-
ure on the road to development.
A considerable amount of work has to be done in the adjustment of struc-
ture, processes and procedures of the Administration and its planning
units and in the mentality of its officers before there is room to in-
troduce effective direct participation in local level planning. Impor-
tant as direct participation in planned development may be, it does
not mean that it is functional to involve the population directly during
all stages of planning for all development activities. However, the more

the success of a specific development activity depends on the direct
participation of the plan object in the second activity of the implement-
ation stage, the more important direct participation becomes in the pre-
liminary steps of planned development.

Most of the examples of constraints and potentials of direct partici-
pation in local level development have been taken from situations where
the people cooperate with the Administration. One could say in non-
opposition situations as is usually the case with the community develop-
ment approach; but also in situations where private groups in opposition
situations (legal and illegal peasant movements) are involved in develop-
ment, the same type of activities have to be undertaken and the same type
of problems have to be faced.

6 HOW PARTICIPATION CAN BE MANIPULATED

As the introduction of participation in the planned development process
often influences the existing power structure and the distribution of
benefits, it is obvious that those who politically can lose power and
benefits will try to avoid the introduction or extension of participa-
tion. However, if participation cannot be avoided they will try to mani-
pulate participation in such a way that its effects on the power struc-
ture and the distribution of benefits will be limited as much as possible
or they will call certain procedures "participation", even though they
have nothing to do with it (see for instance manipulation, therapy, in-
forming, etc. in ARNSTEIN's article, 1971).
The ingenuity of the elite (whether old, new or potential) to manipulate
participation is very great. Some of the often used strategies or methods
to frustrate participation or to minimize its effectiveness are:

1)   If you cannot beat them, join them. When it is no longer possible
      for the elite to avoid the establishment of institutions aiming at
participation, the best thing for them to do is to become members of such
institutions or even to organize them themselves. In many cases they
will try, often with success, to obtain the leadership of such organiza-
tions. Once in that position they are able to minimize the effects of
participation on their present power position or even to strengthen it.

In the literature on participation in Sri Lanka, a country with vast ex-
perience in various forms of participation, many examples can be found.
"Local authorities have become agents of the District Political Author-
ity or more precisely the member of Parliament or the representative of
the ruling party" (GAMAGE, 1978, p. 30).
"Though the members of the Cultivation Committee are all experienced
farmers, as in the case of the Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee, they
may not always represent the interests of the entire community. There
is a likelihood of certain groups being overlooked" (GOONERATNE et al.,
1974, p. 23).
"The position of President of the Rural Development Societies is a presti-
gious one and is usually held by an elderly person of high social stan-
ding. The secretary is considered the most active office bearer and usu-
ally has a good educational background". There is "... a strong tendency
to elect landowners as office bearers. The 2nd most popular form of em-
ployment of office bearers is teaching" (Rural Development Training and
Research Institute, 1976, p. 80).

2) Manipulation of information. Information is a crucial item for
    effective participation of someone who wants to influence decision-
making in the planned development process. Some members of the Administra-
tion that have to face participatory institutions such as councils (in-
direct participation) or direct participation are aware of this and are
well versed (sometimes with the best intentions) in manipulating informa-
tion.
a) Withholding information is one way.
b) However, after some time people know there is information that is
    not being made available to them and start asking for it. In such
    a case one can declare that some of the available information is
    confidential or even secret as its publication could harm the in-
    terests of certain persons or institutions.
c) The information can be biased. A public relations exercise may
    put a gloss on a particularly bad decision (DENNIS, 1977).
d) Information is given to selected groups or is unevenly distributed,
    leading to confusion.
e) Finally, one of the most effective ways is to give all information
    that is available on a certain subject. In most cases this means
    that the participants have to devote a considerable amount of their
    time in selecting and systemizing the relevant items from the piles
    of documents given to them. This increases the cost of participation.

3) Complication. This can be done in several ways.
a) Reports of importance for decision-making are becoming lengthy.
    The Sunday Times (2 June 1974) pointed out that the American Decla-
    ration of Independance contains 300 words and the E.E.C. directive
    on the import of caramels and caramel products contains 26.911
    words (DENNIS, 1977).
b) Reports are not only lengthy but the professional jargon used makes
    the essence of the document often difficult to grasp.
c) By indicating that certain issues are related to other issues (in
    itself nearly always true) it is possible to create an atmosphere
    of confusion that makes it difficult for participants to make de-
    cisions. This, subsequently, makes it easy to convince them that
    decisions are better made by experts.
d) It is also possible to start each discussion, preceding a practical
    decision, by giving considerable attention to the basic principles
    on which this decision should be made. This normally leads to
    lengthy discussions and decisions of a very general nature and
    these decisions often leave ample room for the Administration to
    make its own decisions.

e)   Participation processes can be made complicated via regulations and
      procedures. This can raise thresholds for participants.

4)   Sanctification of the Administration and expertise. By emphasizing
      that the power of the authorities is legitimate, this legitimacy
gives their decisions authority. The power of the authorities, often
appointed via indirect participation is wielded on behalf of the system
as a whole (DENNIS, 1977).

COLIN (1975) points out that "the continuing superiority of the bureau-
crat is validated by his control of specialized knowledge in expertise".
By (over)emphasizing the expertise and legitimacy of the Administration
an attempt is made to convince people that there is little or no need,
or room, for participation and the decision-making in the planned develop-
ment process is in good hands of experts chosen by the Administration.

5)   Emphasizing the differences. In each community that wants to in-
      fluence its own development via participation, there are differences
in opinion on the direction the development should take or the priorities
that have to be given to certain generally accepted objectives. By (over)
emphasizing these differences, a considerable amount of energy can be
lost without any result coming out of participation. It can also lead to
a situation whereby little attention is given to issues on which there
is sufficient consensus to arrive at decisions.

6)   The obvious mistake is a technique well known to administrators
      and planners who have to get their reports and documents accepted
via direct or indirect participation of the people (plan object). In the
documents that have to be accepted some obvious mistakes are introduced
on purpose. Before the meeting the administrators have already prepared
sound alternatives for those mistakes. It is hoped that the council or
the relevant group's attention is drawn to those obvious mistakes that
are corrected by accepting the alternative presented during the meeting
and that other important issues will be accepted without change. In this
way, the Administration gets its proposals accepted with little or no
changes and the people feel that they have had real influence on the
decision process.

7)   Encapsulation of individual malcontents. This can be done in two
      ways:

a) Participation itself can be a potent device in the hands of the author‐ ities with which to weaken or destroy "pluralistic" situations and to create or encourage the growth of "mass" situations. Group res‐ ponses to "authorities" decisions and information, as distinct from the responses of isolated and unorganized individuals, are belitt‐ led, blocked and attacked (DENNIS, 1977).

b) Another possibility is to involve individual malcontents in the preparation of meetings when decisions are made. One hopes that these malcontents can be convinced, due to an extensive exposure to the views of the Administration, to follow the proposals of this Administration. When this is not the case the Administration is at least informed of the arguments those malcontents have against certain proposals and can prepare itself to refute them.

Most of the techniques to manipulate participation aim at an increase in the cost of participation (time involved, creation of social tension etc.) and a decrease of benefits (e.g. decisions that will change the present power basis and the distribution of the effects resulting from decisions made via a participatory process).

Participation processes are often fragile, difficult to start and easy to disrupt, or at least to be manipulated in such a way that they become less effective. It is, therefore, important that those who are involved in participatory activities or want to promote participation are aware of the actions that can be undertaken against such activities. It must be realized that several of the activities indicated above are also practised by those involved in participation. By asking too much infor‐ mation, by focusing the discussion over and over again on basic prin‐ ciples, by stressing differences with other members in the participating group, they themselves become responsible for a low level of effective‐ ness of participation and, in this way, they themselves endanger the participation process.

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