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AN ENQUIRY INTO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
IN UGANDA

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P r e f a c e

The Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, with the agreement of the Government of Uganda, invited me to survey and appraise community development activities in Uganda during July and August, 1960.

The invitation arose from a recommendation made by the Workshop on Community Development held in Addis Ababa, 14-25 September, 1959, that "a comprehensive study of community development in Africa should be carried out by ECA periodically and, in addition, special studies should be undertaken on various aspects of community development in Africa which may contribute a solution of practical problems." The recommendation was accepted by the Commission at its second session (Tangier, 26 January - 6 February, 1960).

Itinerary. On my way to Uganda in the middle of July I had hoped to visit the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa, but all air services had been suspended to allow the planes to be put at the disposal of the United Nations authorities in the Congo. So, after meeting the Executive Secretary, Mr. M. Abbas and the Director of the U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs, Miss Julia Henderson, together with Mr. Grigg in Geneva, I went straight on to Uganda, arriving on 18th July.

I was in Uganda for about a month (18 July - 19 Aug. 1960). After a preliminary period (19 - 25 July) in Kampala, which I spent at the Ministry of Social Development and in visits to the Ministry of Finance and the department of government responsible for African Local Government I made a tour in the country, spending two to three days in each of four districts. Two of these (Busoga and Bukedi) were in the Eastern Province, one (Acholi) was in the Northern Province and one (Bunyoro) in the Western Province. I later made a half-day visit to see community development work in Buganda Province. The districts were chosen to enable me to sample the variety of work and conditions, and the different stages of development which had been reached.

From the 11th August to the 19th I remained in Kampala to check

facts, discuss impressions and visit a number of departments of government concerned with African Trade Development, the Cooperative Movement, Credit and Savings, Health and Agriculture. I also discussed community development at the University College, Makerere and with persons concerned with the work of the voluntary agencies and with a political party's policy.

Sources and Acknowledgements. Of the published sources of information specifically concerned with community development, I consulted the annual reports of the Community Development Division, which go back, though partly under a different name, to 1947; and the two important policy papers (the 1952 Despatch on Community Development - No.490/52, and the Review of Community Development Policy of 1957) together with the debates on the latter in the Legislative Council.

Of unpublished sources I was freely shown minutes of District Team meetings, reports from Community Development Officers, syllabuses of work, notes, correspondence and circulars, all of which were most helpful in giving me an idea of the day-to-day work. One important source unfortunately lacking was evaluation studies.

On my tour of the country and whilst staying in Kampala I had numerous talks with people both inside and outside community development. I cannot name them all here, but I am most grateful to them for the ready help they gave me. I must, however, record here my indebtedness in general to the Uganda Government and in particular to the Minister for Social Development, the Honourable Y.K. Lule, who agreed to this survey and put their facilities so freely at my disposal, to Mr. A.R.G. Prosser MBE., the technical head of the Community Development Division, whose frank judgements were most helpful and whose enthusiasm for the work most encouraging, to Mr. P.A. Whiteley, M.C., for whom no trouble was too great in organising my tour and whose excellent memory of community development's history in Uganda was of great assistance, and to Miss C.I.M. Hastie, MBE., with her unrivalled devotion and long experience of women's work. Lastly, I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Z.H.K. Bigirwenkya with whom I had the good fortune to go on

tour. Leisurely discussions whilst travelling with him made up in part for my inability, because of language, to talk with Africans generally.

Scope of Report. It is necessary here to say something more about the scope of this report, otherwise the reader may be disappointed. My survey was a summary one and not a thorough evaluation. The inevitability of this will be evident from the definition of community development which has been adopted here. There is still a good deal of confusion in some people's minds about the meaning to give to community development - confusion which ranges from those who say it is only a more pretentious work for what district officials have always been doing, namely trying to raise the standard of local communities, to those who will not recognise anything as community development unless it is based on the initiative of the people themselves. Here I have taken the meaning given to it in the document entitled "Community Development and Related Services", published by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1960.

Paragraph one of this document reads:

"The term 'community development' has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress".

The amplification of this statement makes it clear that the test for a particular activity's inclusion in community development - whether that activity is communal roadmaking or attending a literacy class - is: does it increase the wish and the capacity of the people to help themselves? The development of attitudes is a paramount objective in the community development approach. Much therefore of the old, and still necessary, kind of administration which cajoles, or compels people to do things which they don't really want to do, but which are thought to be for their own good, would not come within

this definition. On the other hand, a number of educational activities, such as literacy classes and training courses, which are more an individual activity than a co-operative one, can come under this definition provided they stimulate and prepare the individual for greater cooperative activity.

In collecting material for this Report I was guided by this definition, but it was clear that I would not be able to give more than a very general idea of changing attitudes, because detailed records have not been kept in Uganda. What I was able to do was to study the organisation, the activities, the aims and the material accomplishments of community development, but these are secondary, as the community development statement I have referred to above makes clear.

Another confusing fact in Uganda, as in some other countries, is that of the activities which can be accepted as coming under this definition of community development a number are carried on by Departments of Government other than the Community Development Division, so that one soon finds oneself floundering in a flood of schemes and projects whose exact nature is uncertain. It is not clear how far each tries to make use of local initiative and often it may depend on the attitude of the individual field officer. While a number of Departments of Government carry on community development activities, the Community Development Division in the Ministry of Social Development includes welfare activities (such as probation work) in its responsibilities! I concentrated my attention on the rural community development of the Ministry of Social Development, ignoring its welfare activities and enquiring only briefly about its urban community development work, which has not as yet got very far. I made contacts with other departments of Government, such as Cooperative Development and African Trade Development and have summarised the points of interest in their work. I fear I have not been able to do them justice.

Points of Special Interest. With so many different kinds of activities going on in Uganda and with the variations from place to place in the way and spirit in which these activities were being pursued, there was

inevitably a danger that my report would turn into a ragbag of information. I have tried to avoid this by concentrating on what seemed to me the more significant features in the situation.

There are, I think, three special points of interest in the present situation and its historical background. The first is the rise and decline of the Cohen Plan of village self-help. I have attempted to pick out the salient points in its history in Ch. II, and to speculate on the causes of its partial failure as contrasted with the growing success of the women's clubs in Ch. VII. The Second is the remarkable facilities now available for adult education coupled with a very real demand from the people and the question of how this movement may develop. The third is a point of interest and hope, but also of present frustration. Uganda is approaching self-government and independence, but as yet there is no national leadership. Africans, though coming up fast in the government services are not yet markedly influencing day-to-day applications of policy. The future of community development clearly lies with the African, not the British staff, but as yet we do not know where the political leaders are going to put the greatest emphasis, nor what will be the particular sphere in which African staff will find they can make their greatest contribution. All one can say is that there is a great deal of devoted work going on in all the services affecting rural life and that there are able Africans coming up in those services, who - if they are not lured away into other walks of life and provided that the emergence of a national leadership is not too long delayed - may make the community development approach a real influence in the progress of Uganda.

Plan of Report.

In the first chapter I have outlined the main features affecting community development in Uganda, the efforts at organising and educating groups in self-help and the history of the Community Development Division. Subsequent chapters deal in more detail with the history of the Division, with community development activities sponsored by other Ministries, with problems of administration and finance, women's work and training.

These chapters should be omitted by the reader who is not concerned with detail or is short of time. After reading Chapter I he may like to turn on to Chapters VII and VIII, the first of which attempts to analyse some features in the history of community development and relate this experience to the problems facing the new countries in Africa, and the second to summarise the report so far as it concerns the interests of Uganda and to record some suggestions.

Oxford,
November 1960.

V.L.G.

SOME FACTS ABOUT UGANDA

<u>Situation</u>	Inland territory, astride the equator, 874 miles by rail from nearest sea-coast.
<u>Size</u>	Comparable to the United Kingdom. 94,000 square miles, of which nearly 20,000 are open water or swamp.
<u>Physical Condition</u>	<p>Plateau at about 4,000 ft. above sea level with some lakes as low as 2,000 ft. and some mountains as high as 16,000 ft.</p> <p>Climate is mostly warm, but not hot, with usually at least 30 inches of rain reasonably well distributed.</p>
<u>Population</u>	<p>African - 98% of total 6$\frac{1}{2}$ million. Density varies from 260 to 14 per square mile.</p> <p>Remainder - 1 European to every 7 Asians, chiefly in administration, trade and commerce.</p>
<u>The Economy</u>	Mainly dependent on subsistence crops and the two cash crops - cotton and coffee. Poor by most West African standards, but better than some other East African territories. Estimated income per head approaching £25 per annum, of which £14 is cash. Total central and local expenditure of Government is around £30 million per annum.
<u>Administration:</u>	<p><u>The Protectorate</u> (i.e. the whole territory) is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council and a Legislative Council (with the representative members in a minority). 11 Ministers are in charge of the various departments of Government.</p> <p>The Protectorate is divided into 4 Provinces and these are further subdivided into a total of 16 Districts, administered by a District Commissioner with representative officials of the various Ministries, Agriculture, Health, Education, etc.</p>

African Local Government is in process of developing at Provincial, County (Saza), subcounty (Gombolola) and Parish (Miruka) levels, but is at present largely dependent on Protectorate officers' support. Buganda Province is unique in possessing long-established legislative body recently incorporating a ministerial system. Hereditary, but not constitutional rulers continue in Buganda and in parts of the Western Province.

Disagreement over the form of future central government is delaying progress to self-government and independence, and producing an atmosphere of some frustration and uncertainty.

TERMS USED IN THIS REPORT

The use of the following terms in this Report should be noted:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Community Development |) 'community development' (small letters)
is used to cover all kinds of activities
which come under the definition of
community development which I have adopted,
whether those activities are being carried
on by the Community Development Division
or by other bodies. Capitals are used to
refer specifically to the Community
Development Division and its work. |
| community development | |
| Village | There are no villages in the physical sense in Uganda, but the word is used to mean a loose grouping of homesteads, originally based on kinship. |
| Chief | is the title given to the chief administrative officials in local government. They are now the main executive agents of local councils, but remain largely subject to the central government. |
| District Team | is the word used for the group of Protectorate departmental officials, who meeting under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner with certain |

local representatives shape policies and schemes of local application.

Protectorate
Government The title of the administration (central and provincial, including the districts) in distinction from African Local Governments.

I. OUTLINE

BACKGROUND Important features in the Uganda situation which influence community development must be mentioned first.

At the In African life there is still a strong traditional
village reliance on authority to take the initiative, though there
Level is some sign of this breaking down, more particularly
 where there are no traditional rulers. Modern forms of local government are still in process of establishment. There are no hereditary village leaders or elected leaders. The chiefs are appointed by government and are minor officials.

This being so, the initiative in self-help improvements show by the people is limited. It is seen at its most vigorous in the building of schools and churches, in a more restricted way in the formation of co-operative societies and in the growth of women's clubs.

The absence of physical villages is a marked feature of rural Uganda. People live in individual homesteads on their land and out-of-sight of each other.

At the At the present time the national income is in retreat
National from boom to more normal conditions. Dependent as it is
 on the world fluctuations in the prices of one or two primary products, cautious expansion and diversification of crops rather than elaborate and comprehensive plans of national development are the present policy.

Politically, the country is restless and divided. No national figure has yet appeared to inspire change, and the political parties have hardly begun to evolve policies beyond independence.

Educated Africans are only just rising to senior positions in Government, and therefore are not yet markedly affecting day-to-day-policy.

EFFORTS AT ORGANISING AND EDUCATING GROUPS FOR SELF-HELP

A number of government departments and voluntary bodies (mainly religious) are concerned with economic and social development at the village level. These include the Administration itself, Agricultural Department, the Forestry Department, the Ministry of Health, the Community Development Division, the Cooperative Movement, African Trade Development, the Churches - all more or less having to cajole, instruct and explain rather than respond to suggestions or help people to form their own judgements. The general tendency now is to concentrate on the more progressive individuals, rather than attempt to influence everyone.

The Community Development Division, as a late-comer to government departments, partly fills in gaps - e.g. women's work, literacy, administering grants to self-help projects, organising training courses of all kinds, shows, and competitions, preparing visual aids, and partly tries to contribute a community development approach at District level through the addition of a Community Development Officer to the District Team of representatives of the chief government services together with some local representatives. There are men and women Community Development Assistants in the field, but they are not so thick on the ground as are the field staff of the government departments concerned with agriculture and health.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

After a preliminary period (1946-52) of experiment with peripatetic demonstration teams when staff was too thinly spread to be fully effective, the Division had an affluent period (1952-1957) when, with much increased but not always qualified staff, it developed training at Nsamizi, administered, on behalf of the District Teams, grants

amounting to £100,000 per annum for village self-help projects, such as school buildings, local roads, spring protection, developed women's work (home improvements), organised shows and competitions, experimented with literacy classes, new-sheets and other educational programmes.

The Projects programme, though well organised and carried through with vigour, was less stimulating than had been hoped, an economic recession reduced the sum available for grants by more than half and a revised policy, giving more emphasis to educational work, was adopted in 1957. Features of the recent period have been the building of residential training centres in almost all districts, and the continued growth of women's clubs. Along with other departments of government staff has recently been reduced and the Division, with a provision of less than 1% of the annual Protectorate budget, is faced with further cuts.

II. HISTORY

1946 - 1960

Community Development, as the responsibility of a special department of Government, has had a chequered career in Uganda. It began in a small way in a department set up in 1946 and called the Department of Public Relations and Social Welfare. The emphasis then was on public relations. Six years later, during Sir Andrew Cohen's great drive for educational and social advance, it rose to sudden prominence, became closely allied to Provincial Administration and was charged, as its chief duty, with assisting the District Teams of Government officials in what was called 'the modern conception' of administration, i.e. the social and economic betterment of the people with their support and active participation. After another five years (in 1957), we find it under a separate Ministry and tending to lay the greatest stress on those functions which it can organise itself --namely, education and women's work. Now in 1960, faced by demands for economic, it has hardly emerged from the

experimental period and is therefore more vulnerable than one would have expected after 14 years of experience.

It is convenient to divide the history of this department of government into three periods - 1946-52, 1952-57, and 1957 to the present day; but in fact a study of the annual reports shows that most of the changes prominent in one period originated and gathered strength in the previous period.

I. 1946 - 1952

The first period, 1946-52, can be considered briefly. It was a period when some experience was gained but not much could be achieved because the staff was very small, hardly more than one senior officer per province. The long-established departments of government were busily engaged, here as elsewhere, in building up their depleted staffs after the war; but men with army experience of adult education were available, so it was perhaps natural to take advantage of this and form a new department concerned with public relations and social welfare.

This was the period in Uganda when army-type mobile demonstration teams were tried - later to be dropped, women's clubs first started - later to grow into one of community development's most successful features, and mass literacy efforts made slow progress.

The mobile demonstration teams in each Province were composed of up to 12 persons. They attracted large crowds with their songs, plays and cinema shows and then put across propaganda on such subjects as soil erosion, drunkenness, home improvements cotton and tobacco cultivation, vaccination, protection of water supplies. An early report speaks of this work as the most popular, most controversial and most expensive departmental activity. 'Most controversial' perhaps because of the novelty of government entertaining! Over this period the technique of a campaign was modified and elaborated by the addition of preparatory discussions, courses for local leaders, choice of specific local objectives and a follow-up period of six weeks practical activity with the assistance of the team. This procedure

allowed for consultation with local councils, but it would seem that the initiative usually came from above and that these campaigns were primarily educational. Their weakness was that they still lacked any means of permanent follow-up, except where women's and some men's clubs were forming. In these areas the Annual Report for 1950 says that the clubs had become "a major force with increasing potentialities."

The rural women's clubs developed first in Busoga. As they were educational, giving practical instruction in better home-making, rather than recreational, they required instructors and close supervision. The women learnt reading and writing, needlework, cookery, housewifery, care of children, basket work and other handicrafts. By the end of this period there were over 100 clubs, supervised by two or three women welfare officers with their assistants. The clubs appeared to meet a real demand and could have been increased in number, so it was thought, if there had been more staff to service them.

A variety of other activities were carried on or assisted by welfare staff - organising of competitions, shows and exhibitions, preparing materials for local official newspapers, making posters, organising literacy classes. In some areas, says a report, the Welfare Officers have virtually acted as executive officers and publicity agents of the District Teams, thus anticipating an important feature of policy in the next period.

II. 1952-1957

Up to this point the Uganda government had, in general, been following a cautious economic policy, husbanding the resources of its Price Assistance Funds which were accumulating rapidly with the world rise in cotton and coffee prices, and building up its revenue reserves with the double aim of cushioning any future fall in revenue and of launching capital projects of long-term value.

In 1952, however, Sir Andrew Cohen became Governor. He was concerned at the danger of allowing social and political progress to lag behind economic development and so brought the whole force of his

personality and conviction to the support of a vigorous and expensive programme of educational and social development. He believed that "without social development the human resources of the country would be unable to make their due contribution to economic development." The total of government expenditure doubled between 1950 and 1952. The share of the Social services rose rapidly from 14% in 1951. In 1959 it was 33% ^{1/}. The lion's share of the accumulated funds went to formal education, but community development received what was for it a huge sum enabling it to launch out for the first time on a country-wide scale.

Sir Andrew Cohen's policy, set out in his Despatch No.490/5 of 22 July 1952 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies emphasizes the stimulation of self-help as the main task of community development -- "community betterment in the rural areas carried out with the active participation, financial or otherwise, and indeed through the efforts of the people themselves." To stimulate this self-help he proposed the allotment of half a million pounds over a period of five years from the African Development Fund (formed from the surplus of the Price Assistance Funds). £100,000 a year was to be allocated on a population basis to the Districts for distribution by District Teams. The key unit of British administration in Uganda was the District of which there were, and are, 16 (and one rather exceptional township). The Districts vary in size and population from the more densely populated with over half a million inhabitants to the more sparsely inhabited with under 200,000. Each District normally has a responsible officer from each of the main technical departments of Government (Health, Education, Agriculture, etc.); together with assistants. In general administrative charge of the District is a District Commissioner, who presides at informal meetings of the chief officials together with representatives of the African local authorities. This group, called

^{1/} Balanced Social and Economic Development in Uganda. Professor David Walker, Bureau of Social Affairs, United Nations, N.Y.

the District Team, shapes policies and schemes of local application.

The grants to Districts were to be used for 'pump-priming' betterment projects in which Sir Andrew said it would be "desirable wherever possible to secure that the district or the local community contributes either in labour or in cash to any project, although not necessarily half the cost." Approval for each project would not normally be required from any higher authority than the Province Team, which usually controlled four Districts, and therefore delays, with their consequent frustration, would be avoided.

To assist the District Team as executive officer for all matters not the specific responsibility of existing technical officers, he proposed to add a Community Development Officer. The existing Department, still named Public Relations, was divided into two and Social Welfare renamed Community Development. Sir Andrew wished the Department to be regarded as "an integral part of the Provincial Administration" with the Commissioner responsible to the Secretary for African Affairs, who at that time was the person immediately responsible to the Governor for the administration of the country. An officer from the Provincial administrative service was head of the Department, and Community Development Officers in the field were entitled to correspond direct with their Department on technical matters. Besides his executive duties for the District Team, the Community Development Officer was to control the district demonstration team, organise literacy campaigns, encourage clubs and organise training courses.

Sir Andrew Cohen's other main proposal was the establishment of a residential training centre, designed to house up to 200 people, where chiefs, local government officers, community development workers, leaders in and outside government and women would be given courses of various lengths. He expressed the hopes that trainees from the courses already being run by Agricultural, Veterinary, Medical and other Departments, as well as teachers, would be able to come to the centre for short courses in public affairs and the technique of community development.

In view of what happened later, I want to draw attention here to three points in his proposals:

1. The whole force of his proposals was directed to the encouragement of immediate change, with the active cooperation of the people in their own betterment, and not to the slower influences of adult education.

2. The Community Development Officer was to be more like an assistance District Commissioner with special duties, than like another technical departmental officer.

3. Trainees in the various technical departments were to be encouraged to familiarise themselves with community development techniques, though I cannot find that existing officials were to have anything more authoritative than advice from the local Community Development Officer.

These proposals were accepted and rapidly began to be put into effect.

The Cohen Plan for community development was launched at the peak of the boom in the early fifties. Government expenditure began to exceed revenue in 1954, but though revenue continued to rise, it did not rise fast enough and by 1957 it was wavering and thereafter began to fall.

The initial 5-year grant of half a million pounds to finance the key item in the Cohen plan - namely the self-help projects, - was nearing exhaustion by 1957 and it was necessary to present new proposals. This was done in a sessional Paper (No.2 of 1957/58) prepared for the Legislative Council and introduced by the Minister for Rural Development. 1957 is therefore a suitable point from which to look back.

Besides the changes in the economic situation there were two other changes which affected the successful carrying out of the community development programme. In 1955 a Ministerial system was introduced, and for political and personal reasons unconnected with the community development plan, the Department was removed from that

section of Government responsible for administration and came under a newly formed Ministry of Rural Development, though the desirability of close association with the administration was re-affirmed. The Minister appointed was not one with an administrative background, but an educationist.

Secondly, Sir Andrew Cohen's powerful support was removed with his departure from Uganda in 1956.

The Sessional Paper of 1957 does not, unfortunately, contain a review of the activities of Community Development over the previous five years, and although the annual report of the Department speaks of 1957 as "a year of evaluation in the true sense of the word", there does not seem to be any record of that evaluation. I am told that it took the form of consultations with officers in headquarters and in the field.

However, certain facts can be gathered from the annual reports. Although it had been difficult to recruit senior and junior staff of the requisite quality, the number of full officers rose during this period from 6 to 21 and of field assistants from under 100 to over 150. Of these 7 full officers were women, and 44 assistants were women. Some of the senior staff and some of the junior staff were not of adequate quality.

On the main feature of the community development plan nearly half a million pounds had been spent. There is no published table to show how this total was distributed, but there is a summary of expenditure after the scheme had been in operation for four years (1956 Report, Appendix B). From this summary rough totals show that of just over £300,000 distributed the largest sums went to:

	<u>£</u> (000 omitted)
School buildings	60
Local roads and bridges	36
Workshops	20
Water Supplies	20
Shows and Campagins	17
House improvement (including latrines)	15
Adult Education (including Literacy)	13
Clubs and Societies	13

The report of 1956 attempts to assess what had been achieved against two criteria: first, the extent to which the idea of self-help had spread; secondly, the economic value of the work accomplished. On the first point it says,

"The answer to this question is that the idea has spread very slowly. Most councils have lacked imagination in drawing up their plans for expenditure and few have really succeeded in putting across the idea of self-help to the ordinary man and woman. Not infrequently so-called community development projects have been manned by compulsory labour instead of genuine volunteers."

On the second question, it does not offer any detailed assessment, but asserts that if an assessment were undertaken

"it would undoubtedly be proved that the cash value of permanent and semi-permanent improvements has been at least equal to the total expenditure of community development money since 1953."

It goes on to distinguish between on the one hand schemes, such as the protection of water supplies, leper camps, roads and bridges, workshops and school buildings in which the people's contribution is usually more than half the total cost, and on the other hand projects such as adult literacy classes, housing competitions, agricultural shows, courses and educational visits on which it would be difficult to put a cash value. This useful distinction between immediately obvious economic projects and educational or supporting projects is not clear in the summaries of expenditure. Some idea of the number of projects can be gained from a statement in the 1958 Report that at the end of that year the Department (sic, not the District Team) was directly supervising over 1,100 village projects.

During this period the Central Training Centre at Nsamizi, Entebbe established itself and held a wide variety of courses each year. These varied in length from a few days to six months - most of them of substantial length; the numbers attending were sometimes under ten, but might be as high as 100, they were mostly nearer 20; the subject matter ranged through a whole variety of non-technical adult educational subjects, local government, community development

training, staff courses held by different departments and voluntary bodies. A development foreshadowing a feature of the next period was the growth of rural training centres (in temporary accommodation) to supplement the central training at Nsamizi.

A third feature was the continued progress of women's work, which right from the pre-Cohen days had followed a continuity of policy and a simplicity and clarity of programme in marked contrast to the changes of policy and diverse activities on the men's side. Women's work was pursued almost entirely through the women's clubs and their training courses which supported their educational and practical programme of home improvement. This programme is discussed more fully in a later section. The number of women's clubs had risen from less than 200 in 1952 to nearly 900 in 1957.

Apart from Women's work, Training and Projects the multiplicity of activities mentioned in the previous section was continued and expanded.

III. 1957-1960

1957 brought a distinct change in the route by which Community Development hoped to reach its objective. The Review of Policy stated as the first of its objectives, "Greater emphasis should be placed upon schemes of rural training and mass education." Rural Training Centres were to be established in every district. Much greater attention was to be paid to work amongst women. As for the grants to projects, they were to be maintained, but not increased - in the event they were drastically reduced in the new economic situation.

Why was there this change in policy? No clear explanation is given in the Review of Policy. One probable reason was that the Minister's own background and interests were educational; another that, as we have already seen, the idea of self-help had not, in fact, fired the imagination of the mass of the people. The initiative had to come mostly from above. A third reason might be that the role of

the Community Development Officer on the District Team had not been fully accepted as necessary by other officials and perhaps was not always understood. Technical Department officials were sometimes inclined to say that they could spend the money more effectively themselves, and there were accusations of waste. It would be natural therefore if Community Development were to concentrate more of its efforts on those kinds of work which it could organise very largely on its own. The Project grants were continued, though with the annual cut from £100,000 a year to just under £40,000. (This change of policy is discussed at length in Ch. VII).

Over the last three years probably the most important development has been the establishment of the residential Rural Training Centres. Thirteen of the sixteen districts now have accommodation for courses of twenty to forty members, though not yet for married couples. Courses are held throughout the year either by community development staff or by one or other of the professional officers of the District Team. Further details of these centres are given below in the chapter on Training and Education.

Equally important has been the maintenance and strengthening of the work amongst women. An instructional handbook on Home Economics has been prepared and published for the guidance of club leaders, full use is made of the Rural Training Centres for courses and UNICEF has recognised and is giving substantial material assistance to the work. Women's work is described more fully below in Chapter V.

Community Development Officers have continued to perform a variety of duties in co-operation with other departments of government—preparing visual aids (films, filmstrips, posters, flannelgraphs), editing local newssheets, organising shows and competitions. They have also been occupied with literacy campaigns and with stimulating and vetting village self-help projects, though with much reduced grants. Not all these activities are undertaken in each district. Much depends on local needs and wishes (so far as they are ascertained), the stage at which community development has arrived, the interests of other departments of government and the particular abilities and interests of the Community Development Officer in charge. The copy of the quarterly return form which is sent by each

officer to headquarters, and is reproduced below, will give the reader a more exact idea of the considerable range of activities. The figures given are from a District which is amongst the more advanced in its Community Development Activities.

Whilst these developments have been taking place, Africans for the senior posts have been receiving their education at Makerere and overseas and gaining experience in the field, so that Africanisation of the Division is proceeding rapidly and about half the senior staff are now African.

At the present time the Division, along with other departments of Government, faces the likelihood of further cuts in financial provision and is thus having to review its commitments most carefully.

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MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT - COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

Quarterly Report - Ending 30th, June, 1960

Community Development Officer (Male) & Community Dev. Officers
(Female)

District.....BUSOGA

1. Adult Literacy: Vernacular (& Arithmetic)

Number of Classes	42	
Total Number of Students	425	
Number of Students who passed Literacy Test		Nil
Number of literacy certificates awarded during quarter		Nil

2. Adult Literacy: English (& Arithmetic)

Number of classes	12
Total Number of Students	330

3. Number of Books sold by C.D.O.

and Book Van where applicable	139
Approximate value	sh. 69/50

4. Radio Programmes & Newspaper Articles by C.D. Staff
(either written, collated or performed)

4 articles for U.B.S. & District Newspaper.

5. Visual Aids Produced Locally

Nil

6. District Newspapers Published Through Local Government Funds

(a)	Language	Luganda
(b)	Circulation	5,000
(c)	Price per copy	25 cents

7. Shows & Exhibitions

(a)	District Shows.
(b)	County Shows.

- (c) Exhibitions. April 1st to 9th C. D. staff were attached to Mobile Exhibition in connection with Agricultural Productivity Drive.

8. Community Development Projects Assisted by Voluntary Labour

(a)	Number of projects in progress	190
(b)	Number of projects completed during the quarter	4
(c)	Number of projects abandoned through lack of interest on the part of villagers	1
(d)	Brief description of projects	
	Home Improvement	141
	Roads	24
	Schools	8
	Dam Improvement	2
	Planting of Trees	2
	Handicrafts	9
	Building of Club Houses	2
	Fish Ponds	2

9. Rural Training Centres and Temporary Training Centres

(a)	Number of courses held during quarter	11
(b)	Total number of students for quarter	253
(c)	Brief description of courses	
	1. Courses for Co-operative Members	(3)
	2. Course for Agricultural Staff	
	3. Courses for Women Club Leaders	(2)
	4. Courses in Home Building	(2)
	5. Traders Course	
	6. Course for County Judges	
	7. Mothers' Union Course	

10. Number and Names of Social Centres & District Libraries

1. Walukuba Community Centre - to be re-opened at end of July
2. Vukula Community Centre - still rebuilding
3. Bulogo Community Centre in Bugabula.

E. A. Literature Bureau Libraries

1. Kamuli
2. Kaliro

Bugembe, Local Government Library - to open in July

11. Number and Distribution of Men's Clubs

<u>Country</u>	<u>Clubs</u>	<u>No. of Members</u>
Bugweri	9	157
Bukooli	10	155
Bugabula	35	620
Butembe-Bunya	25	747
Luuka	10	264
Busiki	8	158
Bulamogi	7	93
Kigulu	4	40
Totals	108	2,234

12. Co-operation with Voluntary Organisations Including Youth Work

Follow up work for Blind Trainees.

Projection of Blood Transfusion Films or Slides for Red Cross and arranging talks at Village Leaders Courses.

12 people at Kiyunga donated blood

15 people at Wanyange donated blood

as a result of those talks.

Assistance given to the Local Association, Boy Scouts.

13. Literature Committee Meetings and Titles of Books Published

Eastern Province (Bantu Language) Literature Committee met on April 29th, and June 24th.

40 copies of "History of Busoga" have been sold.

Judging of Essays still in progress.

14. Number of Safaris by Community Development Officer and date (including only journeys when more than one night spent away from District Headquarters by Community Dev. Officer).

1 week at Makerere College in April on Course.

Only day safaris attending Village Leaders Courses and Festivals and visiting C.D. Clubs near District Headquarters in Butembe-Bunya County.

15. Activities not previously reported on.

Mr. Keigwin, Commissioner for Rural Development, Northern Rhodesia visited Busoga June 16th and 17th, saw District Training Centre, improved homes, planned farms, C.D. Clubs and projects.

April 19-22 - Bugweri Assn. C.D. Clubs held Village Leaders Course at Busoga.

May 14th. Bugabula Assn. C.D. Clubs held Festival Music and Drama at Kamuli.

June 20-24. Luuka Assn. C.D. Clubs held Village Leaders Course at Kiyunga.

June 27 - July 1. Butembe-Bunya Assn. C.D. Clubs held a Course at Wanyango.

16. Cinema Vans

N. T. R.

17. Staff Position (M). Mr. S.H. Mungherera promoted to C.D.O. and posted to Lango District.

Community Development Officer Busoga

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES:

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1. Number of Active Clubs | 95 |
| 2. Number of Clubs visited by C.D.O. (W) during quarter | 62 |
| 3. Number of New Clubs formed during quarter | 25 |
| 4. Total Membership of Clubs | 1,380 |
| 5. Campaigns for Home Improvement | |

Almost every Club is engaged in Home Improvement.

6. Number and Place of C.D. Weeks, Health Weeks, etc.

Nil

7. Cooperation with Voluntary Organizations and Youth Groups

(i) A one week course for the Mothers' Union was held at the Rural Training Centre, Wairaka.

(ii) British Red Cross Society and Busoga District Probation Committee. Assistant Community Development Officer (W) remains a member of both Committees.

- (iii) The Assistant Community Development Officer (W) serves upon the Board of Managers for Wanyange N.A.C. Girls' School and for Uganda Junior Secondary School.

8.	B.R.C.S. Courses in Child Welfare:	<u>Staff.</u>	<u>Others</u>
	Number Attended	Nil	22
	Number qualified in Elementary course	Nil	22
	Number qualified-Instructor's Certificate	Nil	Nil

9. Nursery Schools - Number:
Visists by C.D.O. (W)

10. Total value of materials sold during Quarter 807/45

11. Number of books sold during Quarter —

12. Value of books sold during Quarter —

13. Broadcasts or articles by C.D.O. (W) or Clubs
An article sent to 'Kodheyo', a local newspaper for general publication.

14. Number of Safaris by C.D.O. and date (include only journeys when more than one night spent away by C.D.O. from District H.Q.)
3 nights in May visiting Women's Clubs with Miss Hastie the Adviser on Women's Community Development.

15. Other activities not previously reported.
Miss C.I.M. Hastie, the Adviser on Women's Community Development spent four days in the District visiting women's clubs.

16. Staff Position (W).
(i) Two Community Development Assistants were still at Nsamizi Training Centre on a year's course.
(ii) A one week training course for women staff and partime workers, was held in May to revise lessons to be given in Clubs during this quarter.
Asst. Community Development Officer (W)

BUTEMBE-BUNYA VILLAGE LEADERS COURSE
WANYANGE-JUNE 27TH TO JULY 1ST, 1960

MONDAY, JUNE 27TH

10.15 a.m. Opening by District Commissioner, Busoga.
11.00 a.m. Mr. Segonga - "Work of a Saza Chief".
11.45 a.m. Mr. B.K. Kaumi, Co-op. Officer "Co-operative Societies."
2.00 p.m. District Nursing Sister "Balanced Diets"
3.00 p.m. Executive Officer, "Bugembe Planning Area."

TUESDAY, JUNE 28TH

9.30 a.m. Mr. Z. Wambi, Chief Judge
10.15 a.m. Miss R. Nakigudde "Training of Women Leaders."
11.15 a.m. Manager, Uganda Credit and Savings Bank.
12.00 noon C.D.A. - G.W. Isabirye "Busoga Music & Drama Festivals."
2.00 p.m. District Veterinary Officer "Poultry Farming."
3.00 p.m. O.C. Police, Central Area - "Work of a Policeman."

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29TH

9.30 a.m. Assist. Probation Officer "Work of Probation Section."
10.15 a.m. District Education Officer-"Educational System in Busoga."
11.15 a.m. Uganda Electricity Board "Uses of Electricity."
12.00 noon Mrs. S. Rogers - "Red Cross Blood Transfusion Service."
2.00 p.m. C.D.O. Busoga "Contribution of Community Development
Department to development of the people."
3.00 p.m. Health Inspector Butembe-Bunya. "Good Homes."

THURSDAY, JUNE 30TH

9.30 a.m. C.D.A. - G.W. Isabirye - "Housing Competition Rules"
10.15 a.m. Miss C.I.M. Hastie "Women's activities in Community
Development Clubs."
11.15 a.m. Mr. Walukamba - Secretary for Agriculture & Forestry".
12.00 noon Mr. Kakaire - Forest Supervisor "Use of Trees."
2.00 p.m. Health Inspector, Butembe-Bunya "Notifiable Diseases."
3.00 p.m. Mr. C.K. Patel, Mayor of Jinja (?)

FRIDAY, JULY 1ST

9.30 a.m. C.D.A. - G.W. Isabirye - "Adult Literacy."
10.15 a.m. Agricultural Assist. Butembe-Bunya "Growing Vegetables."
11.15 a.m. Agricultural Assistant - Butembe-Bunya "Cotton and Banana
Posts."
12.00 noon Mr. W.W.K. Nadiopo (?)
2.00 p.m. Mr. Kimonimo - Assistant Agricultural Officer "Mixed
Farming."
3.00 p.m. Closing of Course - Isobantu Kyabazinga.

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III. OTHER ORGANISATIONS

A wide variety of extension work in rural Uganda is performed by voluntary bodies and by government departments other than the Community Development Division. This work is co-ordinated at District level by the meeting of specialised officials and representatives under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner. Some Departments are also concerned in assisting the organisation of local groups. The chief of these are the Provincial and District Administration in developing local government bodies, the Cooperative Department in forming Cooperative Societies, African Trade Development in encouraging Traders Associations and of non-government bodies the Churches in sponsoring groups such as the Mothers Union. Adult educational work is an important activity of the Ministry of Health and of the Departments of Agriculture and of Animal Husbandry.

The Ministry of Education's part-time and evening classes and the extra-mural work of the University College are concerned primarily with the English-speaking or educated people and are not considered here, although indirectly they have a bearing on community development.

The Community Development Division assists the work of most of these departments by supplying training facilities in their Rural Training Centres and at Nsamizi, by organising shows and competitions and by preparing under advice audio-visual aids for campaigns.

The Division, however, considers that it has a distinctive task of its own to perform which differs from that of other departments in that its approach to social problems is wider and includes political education.

AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government institutions, where the area each covers is a small one, are ideal media for the work of community development. Sir Andrew Cohen, in his Despatch of 1952, paragraph 6, writes,

"Community Development must therefore be applied by and through the local government bodies. It is indeed a most important adjunct to local government policy since there is no way by which the local government bodies and councils are more likely to win the support of the people than by showing economic and social improvements in the rural areas."

Local government at the lowest level is a comparatively new development in Uganda, and still does not exist at this level in Buganda. It functions at all effectively only at District level and even there it is sometimes rather too dependent on officials. The District is probably too large an area, but until there is an increase in suitable people for the executive side, it will be difficult to develop smaller units, such as the county councils, into effective bodies. The county councils do, however, often advise on community development projects, and in the more advanced areas the District Team puts small sums of money from the project grant at the disposal of the County Teams, on which the County Councils are represented.

The District Councils have now nearly all got elected majorities, but senior officials and civil servant chiefs are ex-officio members, though how long this is likely to last now that political interests are beginning to invade local elections it is difficult to say. Their responsibilities cover the usual kinds of administrative duties - the maintenance of law and order, the upkeep of local roads, control of native courts, and the administration of various ordinances. In two Districts an attempt has been made to hand over to them the responsibility for the Agricultural Extension Service, but apparently this has not so far been very successful. It was the opinion of a responsible official that though Local Government bodies might at some future date take over the responsibility for the stimulus and control of community development activities, they were not as yet sufficiently interested. The most that they do is to send representatives to District Team meetings and to take over responsibility for the maintenance of some Community Development projects, such as village roads and District news sheets.

VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

The Churches, since their coming to rural Uganda, have formed centres for groups of people to gather together. It is estimated that about two thirds of the people belong to one or other of the Christian Churches, together with a small proportion to Islam.

So far as social and economic betterment of the community through adult education and the organisation of groups is concerned, the Churches have stimulated and done much to spread literacy through their religious requirements. Their Mothers Union and Catholic Action groups have often formed the basis of new women's clubs in addition to including in their teaching much that comes in the sphere of community development. All this has been of considerable assistance in community development; but there has sometimes been a debit side as well, when the old rivalry of the Churches has survived in rural societies and encouraged exclusiveness in what should be non-denominational clubs. Recently agreements between the Churches and the Community Development Division have been worked out and there is now close co-operation, in particular in the use of training facilities.

A third sphere in which the Churches have encouraged corporate activity has been in the creation of Parents Associations whose functions may include helping collect school fees, considering and helping over such matters as school meals and undertaking the chief responsibility for school building. Grants to new school buildings form more than half the expenditure of District self-help funds. Similarly, there is in parts of the country great activity in church building and this brings groups together in a common object of self-help.

On the whole, though, it appears that the same difficulties meet the Churches as the Community Development Division in developing an active corporate spirit. More success is reported in work amongst women and girls than amongst men. In fact some of my informants took the view that attempts to collect men into permanent groups had usually failed.

Apart from the Churches, the voluntary organisations are confined almost entirely to the towns and their immediate surroundings. Many of them are very vigorous, though they have serious difficulty in administration and continuity. Many of them receive small annual grants from government. Of the total of about £18,000 paid by the central government in subventions to voluntary societies, about £8,000 would appear to be to societies engaged in the kind of educational and organisational work which can be classified as community development. There has been a suggestion, which seems a good one, that they might benefit greatly by having a central office to service them, perhaps aided by a grant from Government.

There is an Advisory Committee on Voluntary Social Services and a Uganda Council for Women. So far no effective way has been found to enable these largely town organisations to extend their help on any appreciable scale to the predominantly rural areas. There are, in particular, many able, educated and enlightened women whose influence would be most valuable.

A rather different problem is whether and if so how to encourage the rural women's clubs, sponsored by the Community Development Division, to combine into voluntary organisations and service themselves rather than rely entirely on a government department. The first steps have perhaps been taken in this direction by the development in some areas of County Associations of Women's Clubs.

H E A L T H

The Ministry of Health has, in common with most African territories, had to concentrate in the first place on the urgent need for curative services rather than preventative and educational work. But it now has a vigorous health education section.

This section has been faced with the need to develop amongst its staff a new approach to public health; their educational duties are different from the more usual tasks of law enforcement and are concerned to persuade people to adopt improved practices in diet, child care and general hygiene. The section conducts campaigns in successive areas

produces illustrated booklets and holds courses at the training centres for junior staff. Competitions in better housing are organised, often in co-operation with the Community Development Division.

Those responsible for health education have high standards which they believe are necessary if health is to be markedly improved and their teaching carry weight. At the same time they find it impossible to carry out all the educational and organisational work they would like, and this is particularly so in the case of the work amongst women. So, although they carry on their own educational campaigns and supply lecturers for the Community Development courses, they also leave to Community Development on a good deal of health educational work. This has led in the past to some friction, partly through inadequate consultation and partly through conflicting claims for the credit of particular pieces of work; but now that there is a special section of the Ministry of Health concerned with education, liaison is easier and more effective.

A G R I C U L T U R E

In Uganda it is customary for the men to be mainly responsible for the growing of the cash crops and women for the food crops around the home. Women probably do more than 50% of the total field work, but because of the man's position in the family the approach of the agricultural extension service of the Ministry of Natural Resources is normally made to the man. There is a fair amount of traditional mutual help in planting and harvesting, which is perhaps strongest in the North. It would appear that expansion on traditional lines has probably reached its limit and that there is no more labour available. So far the introduction of machinery has been on a modest scale.

The Department of Agriculture of which the extension service is a part, has a larger field staff than any other department. It has attempted to influence whole populations through productivity campaigns which have had considerable success, but attention is now turning much more to the encouragement of individual farmers who wish to improve

their farms. More time is given to such men by the Agricultural Officer when he is on his rounds and a farm planning service is available. The development of Farmers' Unions is considered to be something for the future. As part of this new policy Farm Institutes are being built (two have already started and three more are to open in the near future). These are often combined with Rural Training Centres. At these Institutes it is planned to hold a variety of courses for farmers, generally of short duration.

There is co-operation between the agricultural service and the Community Development Division in, for instance, the women's courses where agricultural staff give talks which are said to arouse a lot of interest, and also in District and County Shows and competitions organised by the Community Development Officer. Community Development also gives help in the preparation of visual aids for agricultural campaigns.

There does not seem to be any attempt to use Community Development's facilities to air some of the social problems set up by such changes in local custom as are demanded, for instance, by the need to process coffee the same day as it is picked.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The Veterinary Department of the Ministry of Natural Resources carries on extension work through personal approaches to individual farmers, lectures and courses for farmers and chiefs and participation in District and County Shows. Competitions are organised and articles prepared for newspapers and leaflets.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

There are over 1,600 registered societies with a turnover of nearly £7 million. Most of them are marketing societies dealing in cotton and coffee, and building their own local stores. In the north the group often coincides with a clan, but elsewhere this is not usual.

The demand for societies is keen, though the co-operative spirit is said to be brittle because the ordinary member has as yet little appreciation of the duties involved in co-operation. The motive is usually to cut out the very often tiresome business of selling through a distant middleman and ensuring confidence in a fair deal.

Government has also fostered and financed by loans some more ambitious co-operative societies engaged in processing cotton or coffee, but there is some doubt whether this development may not have gone a little too fast for the growth of a genuine spirit of self-reliance.

The Government staff of the Department of Co-operative Development has been engaged mainly in auditing and have had little time for the much needed task of educating the ordinary members in the principles and spirit of co-operation, but courses are regularly held at Usamizi and in the Rural Training Centres for their own junior staff and for committee members and treasurers. With the growth of co-operative unions employing their own paid supervisory staff the Department hopes to devote more time to education.

There is close co-operation between the Department and the Community Development Division in the use of residential training facilities, but not in anything else.

CREDIT AND SAVINGS BANK

The Credit and Savings Bank was set up in 1950 to provide credit for Africans on conditions which commercial banks were unable to accept. This was partly a question of the kind of security acceptable (cattle, bicycles, shot guns!), partly the amount of credit offered. The facilities of the bank are now made use of by a very large number of small farmers, but very few small industrialists. In one District the Bank, in co-operation with the Department of Agriculture, is now attempting to meet the needs of the peasant farmer through group credit. A lump sum is lent to a group of farmers who then re-lend amongst

themselves in small loans of no more than £10 or £15. Another way in which small loans are sometimes made available is through local government bodies (who then assist in the collection). The co-operative societies are not, it is said, on the whole strong enough to undertake this work yet.

The growth of the savings side is quite remarkable. Over 45,000 accounts have been opened -- the increases being something like 12,000 a year -- all without any special campaigns and with no more than seven Branches and two mobile collecting units. What is unusual, at least in comparison with some territories, is the remarkable number of people on regular salaries (such as government officials) who have savings accounts. There are school savings schemes but no adult savings groups are organised as yet.

One of the main difficulties in the way of further growth with faces the Bank is the shortage of local staff of reliable quality.

AFRICAN TRADE DEVELOPMENT

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry has a section concerned with the development of African trade -- in the first place rural retail trade. This section keeps clear of those duties of the Ministry which are concerned with the enforcement of regulations; its function is educational and organisational.

The development of modern retail trade had previously been left largely in the hands of Asians, but Africans have shown increasing keenness, perhaps partly for reasons of prestige. The main need seems to be for better selling techniques and for wholesale facilities.

The section has Trade Officers stationed in each Province with assistants at District level. Their influence is felt partly through personal visiting, organising trade shows and competitions, and partly through traders courses which are held locally for two days, or at the Rural Centres lasting a week or at Nsamizi where 3-week courses are held. These courses vary in standard from a beginner's course to an

advanced course, and are open only to those who already possess a shop. Visits are also arranged and simple books on account-keeping, stocking, and so on have been written and published.

The section helps the formation of Traders' Associations. There are now over 135 such associations. It also encourages traders to get onto local bodies and it is trying to form links between the African and the non-African traders.

A Church leader told me that in his part of Uganda the African trader had recently come to play a prominent part in local life.

The African trader was often a leading churchman, had supplanted the teacher in politics and was distinguished by his increasing enterprise and readiness to take risks.

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IV. ADMINISTRATION

In this chapter I review the staffing, financing, planning and assessment of the work of the Community Development Division.

I. STAFF

At the moment the Division of Community Development is one of two in a small Ministry, the Ministry of Social Development. The Community Development Division itself contains a Welfare and Probation Service which I have not considered to be closely relevant to this study.

The technical head of the Community Development Division is the Deputy Secretary with a staff of three senior officers at Kampala headquarters and the Principal of Nsamizi Training Centre at Entebbe. The remainder of the staff are out in the Districts or at Nsamizi - the actual numbers at the time of my visit were 16 full officers for the 16 Districts and about 150 assistants and trainees distributed within the Districts. Of the full officers in the Division seven men and three women were African; there were four European women. It is usually the practice to arrange that the chief assistant officer in a District is of the opposite sex from the officer in charge.

The qualities required in a Community Development Officer are formidable. He (or she) may need to turn his hand to such varied activities as editing a local newssheet, planning a literacy campaign, organising an agricultural show or a better homes competition, lecturing to a course of local leaders, discussing betterment projects with villagers. If in all these activities he was just responding to vigorous and clearly expressed demands, he would, as I have remarked in a previous section, need to be little more than competent and hard-working. In fact his task in the present state of development in Uganda demands much rarer qualities. He has to detect and encourage barely formed desires for social and economic adaptation and development at the village level, introduce and make felt new needs, and, if he is European, this has to be done amongst a people with quite a different

cultural background from his own and speaking a different language. If he is African he may still be faced, at least, with the language difficulty. To add to his problems much of his work has to be done in cooperation with ever-changing departmental officials who are accustomed to judge by quantitative results rather than by their success in developing initiative. For this reason it is impossible to leave out personal qualities when considering the qualifications of Community Development staff. Ability to make easy contacts with all kinds of people, African and European, clear and steadfast perception of aims even in isolation, steady drive from which desire to dominate must be absent, and reasonable efficiency in organisation would seem to be paramount requirements.

Senior Staff. The existing senior (full officer staff) are both European and African. Africanisation is now proceeding rapidly and over the last 5 years the number of African full officers has increased from two to seven. The tone of the senior element of the service has up to now been European rather than African. The technical head of the Department came here after experience of the vigorous Community Development movement in Ghana. He replaced former commissioners who had all been seconded from the administrative service. Almost all the remainder of the European staff came here from the army, either directly after the war or via Kenya during the expansion of the Cohen period, when Kenya's community Development was contracting.

Most of the senior male staff have no special academic qualifications and no formal training course has been available locally, but two have attended the course at the Institute of Education in London. On the women's side a number have degrees or diplomas in social science. Although regulations require officials to study two local languages it has not been always possible to keep officials in the areas where they can use their knowledge. Nevertheless, the service has always had two or three first-class linguists.

On the all-important matter of personal qualities it seems to be the general opinion that while the Community Development Division has had its quota of competent, but sometimes not wholly suitable officer it has

also had officers of outstanding qualities. To quote David Walker, Professor of Economics at Makerere College "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the influence that some of its officers have had on the development of particular areas or particular types of work."

No more Europeans are being recruited. The future lies with the African senior staff. So far, in addition to the seven African full officers, there are four training to be officers. The educational qualifications required of this staff for direct entry are a degree or a diploma, but there is also an opportunity for field Assistants to rise by merit into full officer class - one has already. With increasing pre-occupation with educational activities, some secondments from the teaching profession might be considered.

The unsatisfactory grading of the Community Development Officer in a lower scale than such District officials as the District Education Officer, will need to be adjusted. The opportunities for promotion do not seem to be bright. This is another reason for considering some secondments from the teaching profession.

The technical head of the Community Development Division is hopeful of building up an effective African staff before long.

Junior Staff. Ignoring, for reasons of space and clarity, the trainees and Assistant Community Development Officers, and turning to the other big class of officer, the Community Development Assistants (men and women), we find an entirely African staff of low educational qualifications (usually around weak school certificate in the case of the men, lower in that of the women). But Community Development Assistants receive nine months initial training at Nsamizi (after some field experience) and a yearly two-week refresher course held jointly by two or more Districts.

This staff is cheap - much of it on temporary employment, i.e. before acceptance for training - and is recruited from and stays in its own area. It is not very mobile; Assistants usually move about on bicycles or country buses, except in the case of some women Assistants who have been supplied with motor scooters by UNICEF.

Is this staff good enough for the task? So far as the women are concerned the answer would seem to be yes, so long as their duties continued to be clear-cut instructional visits to clubs and they are supported in their work not only by initial training but by a generous programme of in-service training. Many of them take a Red Cross qualification. There is more uncertainty about the men. Their duties are less clear cut, they have little instructional work, but are expected to stimulate self-help, to organise and to act as liaison between village groups and specialised departmental officials. They themselves have no sphere in which they can be regarded as experts, unless it is possibly in adult education. Almost everything depends on their personal qualities. They are usually recruited from other walks of life, rather than straight from school, because some maturity is necessary in dealing with village people. I gathered that the less suitable members of the junior staff had now been largely eliminated. The senior staff have a fair amount of confidence in the present type of man and think every highly of some of them. This level of assistant seemed to be preferred to what would inevitably have to be a smaller number of more highly educated but mobile assistants. If Literacy campaigns become a major activity of Community Development these assistants will have more routine duties and this may be a good thing.

Promotion prospects for assistants are quite reasonable. Those with outstanding personal qualities can receive training and rise to the status of full officers.

Part-time Staff. Paid part-time staff are now being used to supplement the whole-time women assistants. These part-time women assistants are village women who with suitable training are able to give elementary instruction in home economics at, say, three clubs a week. They are usually paid an allowance for travelling expenses and a small sum (3/-) for each visit. As each woman is not confined to a single club, the fact that she is paid does not appear to be undermining the voluntary nature of the leadership in each club. Part-time staff may do much to

ease the staffing problems in women's work and may be similarly valuable in the case of men supervisors of literacy classes.

Morale. As so much of the work of Community Development staff involves taking the initiative and stimulating local action rather than responding to suggestions and so, moreover, there is still some lack of sympathy with Community Development amongst their colleagues in government service, it is of paramount importance that the morale of both senior and junior staff is maintained at the highest level. The measures taken to ensure this are good, though they could be improved.

Field staff pay monthly visits to their District Headquarters where they meet each other and discuss their programmes for the coming month with the Community Development Officer. This Officer will also tour with each of his Assistants at least once a quarter. Junior staff also attend a yearly refresher course. There is a lively and provocative six-monthly duplicated journal, "The Leader", produced by the Division for its staff and now in its second year. Field Officers, African and British, supply a large proportion of the articles.

The senior staff come off less well. An annual fortnight's course has been organised in each of the last two years at the University College, Makerere. This has been much appreciated. But it costs some £500, mainly in transport and allowances. Transport costs prohibit Officers seeing something of each other's work or visiting Headquarters, and so some of them feel a little isolated. It might be worth giving further consideration to this and also to the possibility of an occasional confidential newsletter to senior officers.

II. FINANCE

Uganda central and local government expenditure on social services forms about a third of the total expenditure, a proportion not inferior to that in the United Kingdom. Most of this goes to formal education and the Ministry of Health; less than 4% to the Ministry of

Social Development (or less than 1% of the total). Community Development bears the boarding costs of courses held by other departments in the Rural Training Centres and Nsamizi and self-help grants for such projects as school building (over 50% of the grants expenditure) and spring protection are shown under Community Development expenditure rather than against the Ministries concerned. This confusion is perhaps inevitable when one lumps together an assortment of activities in a separate Ministry which can only be distinguished by the method of carrying them out or their general intention to encourage self-help rather than by the project itself. Similarly there are activities of the Co-operative Movement, the African Trade Development, Local Government and other departments of Government which, as has been shown in the last chapter, are really Community Development and which are financed through those departments, rather than through Community Development. In this section I shall confine attention to the financing of the Community Development Division and its activities.

Sources of Funds 1. The Community Development Division is financed by the Protectorate Government, as also are the grants for self-help schemes. Those items in the Ministry of Social Development which can be distinguished as Community Development total about £200,000 per annum. This may be very roughly divided into -

Staff and their maintenance, excluding share of Ministry Headquarters	£100,000	
Education - upkeep of Rural Training Centres, Nsamizi, Films, Literature	£50,000	(Nsamizi takes about half)
Grants for village self-help projects, etc.	£37,000	(shown under capital)
Grants to Voluntary Agencies doing community development work	£8,000	ditto

Capital expenditure, apart from grants, has up to now been mainly on the building of Nsamizi Central Training establishment (£300,000) and the Rural Training Centres (costing an average of £10,000 each).

2. UNICEF has contributed substantial assistance to the women's side of the work over the last 10 years. This has taken the form chiefly of equipment - land rovers and motor cycles for women staff and equipment for home economics courses in Rural Training Centres and women's clubs, but it has also included stipends for the training of women part-time instructors.

3. Local Contributions to self-help projects. No detailed assessment of the local contribution to these projects has been made. Informed opinion is that the contribution, which is mainly in labour but sometimes in transport, covers at least half the theoretical cost of most projects, excluding the stimulation and advice of government officials.

Financial Arrangements for Grants to Projects. Over the first five years (1952-57) a sum of £500,000 was allocated from the African Development Fund for village self-help projects ranging over bridge building, feeder roads, schools, swamp crossings, spring protection, fish ponds and club houses. By 1957 the economic condition of Uganda had deteriorated. This coupled with some opposition in the Legislative Council reduced the annual allotment from £100,000 to under £40,000. This sum is allocated by the Minister for Social Development to the 16 Districts on a population basis and is banked with the African Local Government. The District allocation is controlled by the District Commissioner and disbursed with the advice of the District Team. Day-to-day administration is done by the Community Development Officer who keeps the accounts. The amount given to any one project normally varies between £5 and £300.

It is, however, a mistake to think that all the grant money goes directly on pump-priming schemes. Some of the grant is spent on such supporting items as audio-visual aids, competitions and shows, cinema vans and clerical assistance.

The financial arrangements for administering the grants are excellent. Funds do not lapse at the end of the financial year, but

balances are carried over for as long as needed. Approval for specific projects is obtainable quickly as powers of approval have been delegated to the District Commissioner and indeed to speed things up even more effectively a fair amount of the annual grant to a District is pre-allocated to types of project, which it is known are likely to be in demand - such as school building and spring protection. Moreover, another cause of delay, the need for technical approval - e.g. of the design of a roof - is largely avoided by laying down minimum standards for the usual projects. There is thus little loss of enthusiasm through delays in financial approval.

Widespread, but hardly well-informed criticism exists amongst Government officials concerning the expenditure on self-help projects. This has probably arisen from instances of rash spending in the early days when there were large sums available and little experience to guide expenditure. I studied the lists of allocations in the Districts I visited and raised this criticism with a number of people, but I failed to find any instances of expenditure at the present time which could be considered unusually ill-advised. Some latitude is essential if the enthusiasm of inexperienced people for self-help projects is not to be damped, but this latitude should not be necessary in the case of Government officials wanting to purchase equipment for supporting educational and propaganda programmes.

Cost of Educational Activities. The cost of 11 full-time staff is carried by the Ministry of Social Development. In some places part-time staff are paid from local government funds, but on the whole, as has been pointed out in the last chapter, local government does not yet seem to be either established sufficiently or interested enough to be asked to take on more financial responsibility for Community Development. The other main recurrent cost of Community Development's educational activities is the boarding of students both at Nsamizi and at the Rural Training Centres. If the students are government officials, as most of them are at present, they continue to draw salaries and get free board and lodging and free travel. If they are non-government and

the course lasts more than a month they pay 2/- a day towards maintenance. Their travel is financed by themselves or a sponsoring body. UNICEF pay governments small stipends for women attending these courses.

The present enthusiasm for education, even when it does not produce a paper qualification, has perhaps suggested that some of the present expenditure could be recouped in fees. I think this would need very careful study in view of the comparatively low cash incomes common in Uganda.

(See final chapter for comment on economy measures.)

III. PLANNING

The general policy of the Division is laid down by the Minister of Social Development, but a great deal of latitude in where to put the emphasis in each case is left to the Districts.

District Planning. The main planning body in each District is the District Team. It meets usually every month and is attended by such departmental officers as the Agricultural Officer, the Veterinary Officer, the Forestry Officer, the Medical Officer, the Education Officer, the District Engineer, the Cooperative Development Officer, the Rural Water Development Officer and the Community Development Officer. There are sometimes representatives from voluntary bodies, such as the Churches, and usually representatives of the elected District Council. The Team considers all matters of interest to the welfare of the District and not just those which might be considered community development. Sometimes there is a community development sub-committee as well and in some Districts the Countries have County Teams (not full officer level) who recommend to the District Team after consultation with the County Council. This development in local consultation is said to be working well in some Districts and is obviously a step in the right direction. Field staff also pass up suggestions which they meet with on their tours. On the whole however, the initiative tends to come from District level.

With two or three exceptions continuity of policy appears to be good; not more than a third of the Districts appears to have had rather too frequent changes of Community Development Officer, which for Government, is quite a good record.

Headquarters. Touch is kept with the District Community Development Officers and with Nsamizi through visits and during the last two years, through the annual course at Makerere. As I have suggested earlier, there probably ought to be more visiting and I know headquarters' staff would welcome this if the travelling costs could be found.

Guidance from headquarters on what the Districts should do has been restrained, but it is now felt that useful directives could be given on literacy campaigns, courses to be held at Rural Training Centres, and Project work.

National level. I have drawn attention at the beginning of this Report to the fact that Uganda has not gone in for any elaborate and comprehensive plan of national development, perhaps because its dependence on two primary products (cotton and coffee) subjects its national money-income to too much uncertainty to make such planning profitable. There are, however, specific development plans and a widespread effort to push ahead in many areas, especially where there is response from the people.

Apart from ad hoc and informal consultations between officials of various departments there are regular weekly meetings of Ministers in the Executive Council, and fortnightly meetings of the Administrative (but not the Technical) heads of departments. There is an Advisory Committee for the Coordination and Development of Adult Education which has not met for a long time, but is being revived and there is an Education Sub-committee of the Ministry of Natural Resources. It does not appear that these bodies are very effective. Headquarters staff of Community Development assure me that they would welcome closer liaison, but feel that this has to grow through mutual confidence.

One cannot help but get the impression that while in the District the Community Development Division, though often having less standing than other departments, is nevertheless reasonably well integrated into

the District Team, at the level of the central Protectorate Government it is rather out on a limb.

IV. ASSESSMENT

The Ministry of Social Development publishes an annual report. The Community Development Officer of each District sends in to Headquarters an annual report of his area and recently a quarterly return on a pro-forma has been required from each District (see page 22 for an example). Field staff are usually required to produce monthly plans of work and to send to their District Officers summary diaries each month. These various reports and returns give a clear enough picture of what work is being done but are not very illuminating on the effect of that work. There have not been any case studies of local needs and opinions or any attempt at evaluation of the effects of community development. This was perhaps natural at the beginning when no one quite knew what they wanted to assess, staff was very limited and the Division was feeling its way. The difficulty of sparing staff for this kind of work still exists, but the absence of studies and evaluations weakens the position of the Community Development Division, and now that a number of its activities have been in progress for eight or more years attempts to assess some of them in sample areas would probably prove well worth undertaking.

Community Development Headquarters are well aware of this need and have for some time been hoping that they might have the help of an international body in devising and putting in train the kind of recording and enquiries which over a reasonably short period of time might produce some evidence on how people's ideas and practices are changing.

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V. W O M E N

Community Development's work amongst women in Uganda is almost entirely concerned with the less educated or quite uneducated majority, who live in the rural areas and not with the well-educated and cultured elite whose active and progressive influence is a striking feature of more advanced circles in Uganda.

Whereas I was not able to see a group of either men or women at work on a community project, though I was, of course, shown some of the results, I was able to visit nearly a dozen women's clubs. In Busoga I attended a combined meeting of a men's club and a women's club; elsewhere the clubs were usually made up of women, although some were often present at what was inevitably a rather special meeting to greet a visitor. The club would feel it was on show and the programme would consist of speeches of welcome, songs, perhaps a humorous sketch (often with a health moral), dances and a display of handwork. The handwork would include simple clothing for children, embroidered table cloths, mats and other articles, brushes and floor mats, water-pot covers and stands and latrine covers. We would then visit three or four houses in the vicinity, walking or driving down winding narrow tracks between banana plots or other crops, or through bush. Each house was in its own small clearing, remote from its neighbour. There we would be shown and admire the larger windows inserted in the mud walls which had now been plastered, simple store cupboards of bamboo shelving, a slatted suntable in the compound for drying plates and mugs, an improved raised stove in the kitchen, perhaps a better bath enclosure with efficient drainage and inevitably the deep pit-latrine. (I apologise for the 'inevitably'; I was rather worn down by the number of latrines I visited.)

The improvements were impressive and even more impressive was the permanence of a large proportion of the improvements in a group of homesteads which had not been subjected to much attention since 1955.

After the tour we would probably return to the place where the club was meeting - a chief's house, a primary school, a sub-county meeting place - and be given tea. The visit would end with a short talk by the Community Development Officer and perhaps also by the visitor.

The atmosphere of these visits was cheerful and friendly and apparently carefree. The relationships between the club members and the Community Development Officer were more like those between young pupils and teachers than those between adult learners and specialists or organisers. Two obstacles to right relationships which are disappearing are the custom of Community Development Officers appearing in civil service uniform - this is now on its way out, and secondly the necessity of translating everything said by the European Community Development Officer. This sentence by sentence translation is not, I was told, always accurate, but apart from that has the great disadvantage that it is almost impossible to be either inspiring or chatty. Most of the speeches I heard (including my own) were inevitably halting and solemn and appeared to be accepted almost as a ritual by the audiences.

Success of the Clubs. There are now getting on for 1,000 women's clubs affecting at least 20,000 families in Uganda. The Anglican Mothers Union and the Catholic Action groups are affiliated to the Club movement and agreements with them offer facilities for leadership training at the Rural Training Centres. In a previously untouched area it is still necessary to approach local chiefs, call meetings of men and explain the objects and activities of the clubs, but once started in an area the demand to recognise new clubs grows of its own accord and the only thing holding back the movement now is the shortage of assistants who can visit and instruct. No club is recognised unless it can be visited once a week or fortnight by a trained instructor.

Needs. The Clubs are meeting a number of real needs, though to what extent all these needs are appreciated by members, I would not like to say. First, the women in Uganda tend to be exceptionally isolated by the distances between one house and another; clubs bring them together; women will walk a number of miles to attend an afternoon club meeting. One of the tasks of the Community Development Assistant is to teach the members how to run a club and the duties of the office holders.

Secondly, the standard of living is low in Uganda, and needs raising in health, diet, home amenities and the care of children. Home economics courses form the staple of club programmes.

Thirdly, of recent years there has been a great increase in schools for children. Many of the younger parents (30-45) feel the need to progress with their children. Hence, not only home improvement lessons are popular but also learning to read and write in the vernacular, and even in English in some places. There is a great need for a lingua franca with six main languages in a small country. English might well be the most acceptable answer.

Fourthly, at the national level it is evident that little progress can be made unless Uganda can achieve greater economic wealth. To do this people must have a motive for greater effort; the desire of the women for a higher standard of living can be a powerful motive.

Lastly, the subordinate position of women in Uganda society has led to the neglect of certain adjustments that need to be made if that society is to adapt itself to modern conditions. Amongst these adjustments, for instance, is that needed in the marriage laws. The clubs movement is taking an active part in rousing public opinion in these matters.

Even when women are conscious of only some of these needs the clubs appeal to them and attract their membership.

Strength of the Movement. Clubs were started in 1946 in Busoga by European women. Busoga is a comparatively rich and well-populated District where it is said that the people like to come together more

than elsewhere. The pattern on which the club programmes was based was that of the Women's Institutes of Rural England. In spite of the unfortunate choice of the name 'club' which, I understand, was in many places associated in people's minds with bars and drinking, the clubs gradually won their way against fairly strong opposition from many of the men. Policy formed gradually from discussions between women officers at work in the Districts and has remained remarkably free from fluctuations over the years. This has given a strength and sense of permanence to the movement.

The aims of the women's clubs are given in their motto:

"Women in Clubs learn everything that helps to be
GOOD WIVES, GOOD MOTHERS AND GOOD CITIZENS."

Programmes. Apart from social and recreational activities, the club programmes are concentrated on well-prepared home economics courses. Instruction is followed up by practical work in and around the home. The courses are given by Community Development Assistants or by part-time trained instructors ('leaders') who visit each club at regular intervals of a week or a fortnight. Almost all the formal lessons lead to discussions and then to practical work. A Handbook, "Home Economics and Women's Groups", has been prepared and published with the help of a woman doctor, a field officer of the British Red Cross, members of the Agricultural, Medical and Veterinary Departments. It contains instructional notes covering the organisation of clubs, village and home hygiene, improvements in the home, hospitality, the garden and small animals, the bringing up of children, cookery, laundry, needlework, sickness, nursing and first aid. The definite nature of the courses makes them suitable for the kind of instructor available - usually a woman with no more than primary education plus specialised training; and the kind of practical work is either such that it can be done individually, though in the social group (e.g. needlework, basketwork), or such that it lends itself to mutual help (e.g. making new bath enclosures for each other). Mutual help in planting, harvesting, and housebuilding is traditional. It is,

of course, not very easy in a traditional society to get such customary help transferred to new situations, but this is one of the services which Community Development is trying to render. The heavier work in house building is traditionally men's work, and therefore the men are approached to undertake things like putting in larger windows, bigger kitchens and deep pit-latrines.

Considerable use is made of competitions - e.g. the best temporary house, semi-permanent house, permanent house or the best garden. Competitions, like examinations, can overstimulate, divert attention from the real object and mask from the organisers the degree to which they have or have not won the real interest of members. They can bring about a reaction after they are over. I came across one or two instances of this sort of thing happening.

Training. The club programmes are supported by excellent training courses at the Rural Training Centres and at Nsamizi. These are referred to in the next chapter. They are, of course, essential to the success of the scheme.

Outside Help. Women's work often suffers from receiving general, but uncritical approbation coupled with neglect when it comes to the serious matter of allotting resources. In Uganda the situation appears to be happier. Women's work has attracted the substantial help of UNICEF since 1956. UNICEF has supplied land rovers and motor cycles so that women Community Development workers can visit more clubs, it pays small stipends to women during training as part-time instructors and it has supplied equipment for home economics courses in the Rural Training Centres. I learnt from one of the leading voluntary organisations that they find it much easier to get funds from outside the country for their work amongst women and girls than for similar work amongst men and boys.

Problems. There remain five questions which are sometimes raised about women's work in Uganda and which I will attempt to answer briefly, so far as I can.

1. Is the approach to the family too one-sided? The danger in mind is that women will be treated in isolation from their husbands and instead of both progressing in harmony, misunderstanding, and even opposition between husband and wife may develop. The women Community Development Officers appear to be well aware of this danger. It is the usual practice to consult the men and to invite them from time to time to meetings. In two Districts there are even some joint clubs, though this does not seem to be generally feasible. It is important, of course, that the Community Development staff dovetail their men's and women's programmes, or at least are aware of what each is doing. This appears to be happening and one help to this end is the joint annual refresher courses for men and women Community Development Assistants. Cooperation between the men and the women depends to a great extent on individual personalities.

2. Is the role of women being considered in wide enough terms? The fear here is that the programmes of women's clubs concern them themselves too exclusively with the home and neglect the opportunities which may arise for women to exert their influence and take part in the life of the local community and the nation. To a large extent present programmes are concentrated on the home and its improvement. Talks by outside lecturers on matters of general civic interest are included in the residential course, but whether at this stage more should be attempted to widen women's interests and understanding is dependent on availability of suitably interesting speakers and on the state of public opinion about the role of women. It is interesting that the first all-Uganda conference of women's clubs delegates was held last March (1960) and amongst other things discussed the present confused state of the marriage laws without thereby arousing any serious hostile comment.

3. Are the relationships with specialist services satisfactory? The problem here is the overlapping of functions with field staff of other departments of government, especially Health and Agriculture. So far as Agriculture is concerned, the Agricultural Department themselves make their approach in their extension work mainly to men.

They lend staff to give talks at women's courses and the women are said to be very interested. I did not hear of friction nor of any remarkable results. Cooperation with Health services has been more difficult, mainly because of the natural anxiety of those responsible for the service that nothing should be put out that is inaccurate, liable to cause misunderstanding or endanger confidence in the service. As has been recorded in an earlier chapter, the Ministry of Health has recently set up its own Health Education section and this has enabled a joint approach to the problems of health education in the home to be developed. The Red Cross have been of great assistance in conducting examinations of women instructors and Community Development Assistants.

4. Is the geographical coverage of the women's clubs wide enough to have any marked effect on the life of the country? In 1956 Miss Lydia Roberts made this question the first of her comments on Uganda. She considered that there would have to be a big expansion of clubs if they were to have any striking influence. There has been a considerable expansion in women Community Development Officers and assistants, but there does not seem to have been any marked expansion in the number of clubs. This is largely because the registration of clubs is now stricter and they are not recognised unless they can be regularly visited. The number of women assistants is considerably below the number of men assistants. It looks as if the solution to the problem of staffing will come from the part-time instructor - i.e. the women who can visit five or six clubs in her area regularly. She receives a three-month course first and thereafter is paid a small allowance for a bicycle (4/-) (if she lives in a part of the country where women can ride bicycles), and she also receives three shillings for each visit. This payment is insisted upon by husbands. Some 200 part-time instructors are now being trained every year. It is thought that they will be adequate for their tasks so long as the instruction is no more advanced than at present. Further training courses might enable some of them to cope with slightly more advanced work.

5. Should not the clubs be organised as a voluntary movement rather than be run by a government department? There is general agreement that this is what should be the ultimate objective, but the lack of voluntary leaders of good education in the countryside makes it doubtful whether any such organisation could function efficiently as yet. Even in the towns the voluntary societies find some difficulty. However, the country associations of clubs are beginning to arise and at the national level the Uganda Council of Women (mainly educated women) is very active; it now has international links.

VI. TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Sir Andrew Cohen's Despatch of 1952 emphasised training second only to the village projects. He refers to a previous despatch of the 10th November 1948 which laid great stress on the importance of training and he expressed disappointment that "relatively few territories had so far established a training centre in which training in the technique of community development and in public affairs generally can be given to local government and community development staff". Following on the Despatch the Training Centres at Nsamizi (Entebbe) was established at a capital cost of £300,000 and able to accommodate in residence nearly 200 students.

The Agricultural, Veterinary, Forestry and Medical Departments already had their own courses. The new centre was to be for Chiefs, local government officers, community development workers and leaders outside government. The Cooperative Department were also to use it for courses for cooperative society members as well as for the department's officers. Sir Andrew expressed the hope that trainees in the various departmental courses, as well as teachers, would be able to come to the centre "for short courses in public affairs and the technique of community development".

In this Districts the organisation of community development courses was to be part of the duties of the Community Development Officers in each District.

By 1957 Nsamizi Training Centre was well-established and experiments had been made with Rural Training Centres in the Districts. The 1957 Review of Community Development Policy raised schemes of rural training and mass education into the forefront of policy. Residential Rural Training Centres were to be established in every District. By 1960 13 out of the 16 Districts had completed centres.

At the present day a very remarkable variety of courses are organised in different parts of the country for all kinds of people both government and non-government. These are held by departments of government, including Community Development, using either the Rural Training Centre's facilities or their own (such as the Agricultural Institutes). In addition the central Training Centres at Nsamizi continues and the University College, Makerere has assisted by holding special courses. It is difficult to know how far to include all these courses as part of the programme of community development. Some would seem to be strictly in-service professional training for junior staff, while others contain a greater or lesser degree of training in citizenship and the ways of improving community life. Still others are solely concerned with citizenship. For the purpose of the Report I shall confine myself to the consideration of those held at the Community Development Centres because it is at these centres (local and central) that most of the courses which are concerned with anything more than purely technical instruction are held. I must, however, preface this consideration with a brief reference to the University College of Makerere.

Makerere. Community Development looks to a University for help in three ways: social research, the training of senior officers and sometimes the middle level, and extra-mural work. The University College, Makerere, is at present serving all East Africa and not just Uganda. This, together with its comparatively recent foundation, prevents it from being of as much assistance to community development as would otherwise be possible. The work of the Institute of Social Research has not covered much of the

particular background needed by community development and the assistance on training has so far taken the form of two one-week courses for senior staff, both of which are reported to have been most stimulating and highly appreciated. Its extra-mural work is at advanced rather than at popular level.

Nsamizi Training Centre. With the establishment of Rural Training Centres in the Districts the function of this central institution are changing. It is leaving vernacular courses to the districts and turning to courses for the better educated people who are mostly in government service and who can be instructed in English. In 1959, to take the last full year for which figures are available some 52 courses were held, many of them, of course, running side by side, and over 1,000 students attended there. No certificates are issued to those attending courses, except in the case of Community Development staff course. Promotion in government service may be helped by attendance at a course, but there is nothing automatic about it. Students do not lose financially by attendance; they get free food, but no detention allowance. A small fee is charged from non-government students on the longer courses. The willingness to attend seems to derive from the present-day feeling that education is the key to the future.

The main types of courses in the 1959 example were:

1. Training for Community Development staff (ranging from two-one-year courses for women to a 4-day course on office procedure);
2. Administrative courses, run by an officer of the Provincial Administration for African Local Government officials of various kinds;
3. Cooperative courses, run by Cooperative Department staff both for their own officials and for the office-bearers of societies;
4. Citizenship courses for a variety of officials and non-officials;
5. Courses for women club leaders of voluntary organisations;
6. Miscellaneous courses, including courses for new arrivals in Uganda, for minor traders, for agricultural staff on teaching techniques, for census instructors, for students going to Great Britain. The full list is given on page.....and

demonstrates the remarkably varied interests of this institution.

The staff of Nsamizi are mainly regular serving officers (5) of the Community Development Division; the women are now entirely African. There is a permanent cooperative staff for the cooperative courses and temporary staff from the appropriate department of government or other bodies for specialised courses. A Visual Aids expert has been supplied by the International Cooperation Administration.

The staff are keen, but appear to change much too frequently and at the moment are considerably below strength.

The future role of Nsamizi is a subject on which there is naturally some difference of opinion at the present time of financial stringency. That its courses for the most junior and least sophisticated should pass to the Rural Centres seems generally agreed and is in fact taking place. That it should give priority over its citizenship courses to the admittedly very necessary departmental courses for clerks and other junior government officials is very doubtful. I was unable to attend any courses at Nsamizi as, during the period of my visit, it was being used by Congo refugees and then was preparing for the new session. I was therefore unable to gain any personal impression of the approaches used and the response from the students. The syllabuses looked to me a little formal in their approach, but I was assured that discussion was encouraged. In view of the urgency of developing an informed public whose emotions on the crucial issues of public affairs are subject to some control from their minds, the aims of the present staff of Nsamizi would seem to be eminently sound.

It is sometimes said that Nsamizi, situated as it is on a hill-top in Entebbe, is remote from the realities of Uganda. Wherever one puts an educational institution which is vitally concerned with practical affairs, there will be difficulties in maintaining either adequate field contacts or adequate access to expert help and the central authorities. It must be left to those in immediate authority to solve such difficulties.

There are other questions, or perhaps speculations about Nsamizi. Would some of the present courses be better undertaken by the University College - supposing it were willing to undertake them? Could Nsamizi become a centre for medium level courses not only for Uganda but also for other territories around?

It will be seen that there does seem to be a need for a review of the functions of Nsamizi, its relationships and its methods. If such a review established the continued need for a centre where medium level courses with community development aims could be held, then it would be essential to realise that such courses, because they need inspirational as well as instructional elements cannot be satisfactorily run by staff which is constantly changing and unable to build up its techniques.

Rural Training Centres. All but three Districts now have Rural Training Centres built usually on the edge of the District Headquarters, but sometimes some way outside. A Rural Training Centre forms a small group of buildings with boarding accommodation for 20 to 40 students, one or two classrooms, kitchen and dining room (which acts also as a meeting hall) and sometimes a domestic science room. They are of permanent construction, above the level of the average homestead but easy of upkeep and of a standard that enables them to be used for local government and junior officials as well as covering the simpler requirements of club leaders and other local people.

It is not easy to hold a course in Uganda without boarding accommodation because not only are homesteads scattered but apparently there is no local custom of hospitality to strangers such as one finds in some areas. Occasionally a course is arranged at a county headquarters but a further difficulty arises in obtaining visiting lecturers. I found that much importance was attached both by Community Development staff and by other government officials to the experience of living in a community which boarding accommodation gives to these scattered homesteaders.

Health, Agriculture, Trade Development, Administration and Cooperation, all use the Training Centres for courses both for their junior staffs and for chiefs and leading men. The Community Development Division carries the boarding and upkeep costs. Arrangements are much the same as for Nsamizi, but there is no permanent staff, apart from a Warden, who is of junior officer status. Community Development, of course, use the accommodation themselves for their own junior staff courses and for village leaders courses. Most Centres hold each year a three-month's training course for women's club part-time instructors. Married women, surprisingly, are able to absent themselves from their families for this long period, so strong is the present mood for education. These three-month courses are made possible by the support of UNICEF. There is usually no particular scheme of priorities followed in booking the centres for courses; first come is first served.

It is difficult to give an opinion on the quality and effectiveness of the courses. I paid brief visits to two cooperative courses and one women's three-month course, and I saw syllabuses and time-tables. I understood that the usual method followed was to instruct and then ask for questions and discuss, and that there was usually no lack of questions and comments. I imagine that the instruction is competent; the courses are carefully planned. This is particularly evident in the women's courses where theory, discussion and practice are fully provided for in almost every part of the course. Senior officers visit the courses and often give opening and closing talks, but usually they are unable to speak to the students in their own vernacular and have to be translated. I was told that the problem approach would not be appreciated. People attend the courses wanting to know what the answers are and expect to be told them, not to work them out in discussions. Nsamizi gives what help it can to the Rural Training Centres. With the level of instructor available at the Rural Centres it is

probably best not to give teaching techniques in vacuo but to join suggestions for presentation along with the material itself. Visual Aids courses have recently been held at Nsamizi, and Nsamizi has issued notes for courses on citizenship and has sometimes been able to lend staff.

My own feeling was that the Rural Training Centres would justify at least a part-time educational adviser both on the score of the importance of their function and on their numbers, but that before that was done their existing teaching methods and approaches should be studied and the cooperation sought of other departments using the Centres. As in the case of Nsamizi their task is not merely to instruct, it is also to inspire and in many cases to change attitudes.

One of the difficulties confronting anyone concerned with changes so closely affecting the emotional life of the home and community is the absence of relevant local studies. So that it is quite possible, as in a case I came across which concerned the protection of springs, for the Community Development Officer to be unaware of a local belief which materially affects acceptance of his ideas. Another lack is studies following up courses to find out how far local practices and ideas are changing. Without this kind of research and follow-up, community development can give to outsiders an impression of airy idealism. Yet to those engaged in the vast and urgent tasks of community development such time spent on enquiry may seem likely to cause irritating and hardly essential delays.

There is one other thing which makes the Rural Training Centres not nearly so effective as they might be. They have as yet no accommodation to enable those on courses to bring their wives or husbands. Some accommodation of this kind at each Rural Training Centre would be most valuable in getting these on courses to think of many community problems as a joint concern of both husband and wife.

LITERACY. What is said to be a conservative estimate of the extent of illiteracy in Uganda is given in the Community Development Division's journal, "The Leader", for July 1960. There it is stated

that at least 50% of the male population and at least 75% of the female population of Uganda are illiterate.

Since 1946 the Division of Community Development has undertaken a considerable amount of adult literacy work. Probably something like 100,000 people have attended classes, mainly during District campaigns, of whom over half are believed to have attained a basic standard of literacy. But the Division is not at all satisfied with this situation, and is preparing for a more vigorous attack on the problem, partly because of the generally stimulating effect which success at learning to read and write very often has on the individual and the community and partly because with the coming of independence in the near future a literate population would seem to be essential.

The task is not an easy one. Organisation is not easy when people do not live in compact villages and often the only teacher available is an ex-primary pupil. There are at least six different languages in use in different parts of the country, and though there appears to be a fairly widespread wish to become literate, there is not at present any obvious and urgent need which would carry the less enthusiastic through the duller and more laborious work. No national campaign has yet been attempted, but various methods have been tried in local campaigns, some using paid supervisors but voluntary teachers, some with the teachers paid as well as or at least given a reward for each pupil who passes the test. In a recent campaign literacy kits were sold to the pupils instead of charging them a fee, the teachers worked voluntarily and the whole campaign was carefully prepared for, organised and supervised, with apparently satisfactory results. But perhaps it is significant that the report of this campaign states that when the Chief showed interest the people did, but not otherwise; and so the organisers made full use of the Chiefs! It is proposed to try out similar campaigns elsewhere.

In another area the policy has been to include lessons in arithmetic and even to arrange advanced courses to teach English. It would appear that for political reasons none of the local languages

is acceptable as a lingua franca for the whole of Uganda, and that therefore the spread of English needs to be actively encouraged.

The follow-up of the newly-literate is to a certain extent being met by the Publications Section of the East African Literature Bureau whose publications are distributed by four mobile book vans and a book box service. Area committees meet from time to time to review the supply of new literature and assist authors to publish their works. Competitions for authors are held and even a course for would-be authors has been run at Nsamizi.

NSAMIZI TRAINING CENTRELIST OF COURSES HELD DURING 1959

<u>C o u r s e</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>No. on Course</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>
Citizenship (R.C. Seminarists)	3 weeks	20	Community Development
Athlets	2 weeks	40	" "
* Co-operative (Advanced)	11 weeks	18	cooperatives
* Wives of Co-operative (Advanced)	11 weeks	5	Community Development
Women Community Development Staff (Advanced Course)	Eleven months	10	" "
Women Community Development Assistants (1st Year)	Eleven months	15	" "
Spoken English	8 weeks	12	" "
Women Club Leaders (Toro and Mengo)	4 weeks	13	" "
Citizenship (Forest Learners)	4 weeks	21	" "
Teaching Techniques (Buganda Agricultural Staff)	2 weeks	13	" "
Co-operative (Basic)	Three months	22	Cooperative
7th Legislative Council Course (i.e. on the working of the Legislature)	2 weeks	23	Community Development
Women Club Leaders (Mothers' Union & Catholic Action)	3 weeks	20	" "
Joint Staff Committees	2 weeks	19	Jointly
Traders (All Provinces)	2 weeks	10	African Trade Development
Women Club Leaders (Mothers' Unions & Catholic Action)	4 weeks	19	Community Development
Citizenship (Police)	4 weeks	20	" "
Men Community Development Assistants	Six months	16	" "
Wives of Community Development	Six months	3	" "
Traders (Northern Province)	2 weeks	19	African Trade Development

* Continued from 1958.

<u>C o u r s e s</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>No. on Course</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>
Introduction to Uganda (European Police Officers)	1 week	3	C. D.
8th Legislative Council Course	2 weeks	16	C. D.
Women Urban Leaders	2 weeks	15	C. D.
Census Instructors	1 week	142	Administrat.
Law (African Local Government Magistrates)	Three months	17	C. D.
Teaching Techniques (Bukalasa Trainees)	3 weeks	26	C. D.
Public Administration	Three months	16	C. D.
Citizenship (Police & N.A.C. Ordinands)	3 weeks	25	C. D.
Traders (Eastern Province)	2 weeks	16	African Trade Development
Women To U.K.	3 weeks	9	C. D.
Women Club Leaders (Mothers' Union & Catholic Action)	3 weeks	22	C.D.
Men Students to U.K. (British Council)	1 week	50	British Council
- do -	1 week	50	" "
Traders (Buganda)	3 weeks	20	African Trade Development
Sample Census Instructors	1 week	12	Administrat.
Office Procedure	2 days	22	C. D.
Co-operative (Advanced)	Three months	20	Cooperative
Traders (Western Province)	3 weeks	17	African Trade Development
Gossage Cup Footballers	1 week	22	C. D.
Citizenship (Police, Asst. Health Visitors & Medical Assts.)	3½ weeks	30	C. D.
Chiefs	Three months	22	C. D.
Y.W.C.A. Clubs Leaders	1 week	39	Y.W.C.A.
Traders (Ankole & Kigezi)	3 weeks	17	African Trade Development
Co-operative Coffee Course	2 weeks	13	Cooperative

<u>C o u r s e s</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>No. on Courses</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>
Homecraft (Asst. Health Visitors)	3 weeks	6	C. D.
9th Legislative Council	3 weeks	18	C. D.
Co-operative Leaders	2 weeks	17	Cooperative
Joint Staff Committees	2 weeks	9	Jointly
Co-operative Leaders	2 weeks	10	Cooperative
Wardens of Training Centres/ Community Centres	2 weeks	20	C. D.
Olympic Footballers	1 week	16	C. D.
Co-operative Leaders	2 weeks	13	Cooperative
Total Number of Students		1,093	

VII. - ANALYSIS

In this chapter I proposed to go into the causes of the rise and decline of the village self-help project plan adopted in 1952 in the Cohen period as contrasted with the steady rise in the village women's clubs movement. I hope the reader will have noted that I use the word "decline", not "fall", because village projects still go on and there is an appreciable response from the people. A cut of almost 2/3 in the funds available for pump-priming the projects might seem a sufficient reason in itself for the decline, but even before the cut, in the 1957 Review village projects had lost their one-time priority and in fact the causes of their decline would seem to be many. The published material is meagre and discreet, the files less so; inevitably much of this chapter is speculation, though based on the frank and, I think, mainly considered views expressed to me by people, mainly European, both inside and outside community development during my tour. With the most important people concerned in this - the villagers - I could not, as a visitor, hope to get on to terms where their real views could be expressed.

There would seem to have been four main influences affecting the Cohen plan - the traditions and conditions of the villagers, the traditions of the Protectorate Government, the quality and status of the Community Development Staff and the way the plan was launched.

Traditions of villagers and conditions of their lives. I have already drawn attention to the striking physical fact in rural Uganda that there are no villages. Families live separately on their land, out of sight of each other and at least 100 yards apart even in a thickly populated area. This means that people do not go out at night and there is no obvious centre. In days gone by families who were inter-related would tend to group together and clan feeling could be strong. Certain agricultural and house building activities were traditionally performed by members of a clan helping each other in turn, but modern developments have weakened the clan; some of its

members move elsewhere and strangers take up land within the area. Moreover, with certain exceptions, there seems to have been little transfer of the co-operative spirit from traditional activities to modern ones. Everyone agrees that outside the small circle of the clan, now very much weakened, the cooperative spirit is very poor. Modern education seems to have had more effect in encouraging development through individualism than through co-operation.

In some countries where there is a lack of a strong co-operative spirit the birth of nationalism effects a startling change. The restless stirrings in Uganda have not yet produced any generally accepted national leaders who might capture the imaginations of people and set going a movement of advance by self-help. A heavy dependence on authority is traditional throughout Uganda, though perhaps less so in those areas where there are no traditional "kings". I was told that of recent years the strong respect for authority has diminished considerably but without much sense of responsibility to take its place. Ideas about life when independence comes are on the whole extremely naive. At the time of the beginning of the Cohen Plan they would be even less developed.

The Tradition of the Protectorate Government. For those unfamiliar with the British system it may be helpful to explain here certain of its characteristics.

The Protectorate Government conforms to the usual pattern of British Colonial Administration. Looked at from the village end one might distinguish the elements of two traditions in it. One derives from that of the English big landowner or the Scottish laird, the other from the modern technician in industry. The first might not unfairly be likened in its more conservative form to that of a Victorian father determined to rule his numerous children with justice, interested in them as people and wanting their welfare but not particularly anxious for them to grow up and leave him. The second is primarily not interested in people so much as in the

efficiency of the job he is in and in technical competence and material development. He is judged by those above him on this material efficiency.

These traditions are seen interacting at a key point for Government, the District level, where the District Commissioner has overall responsibility for good order in his district, presides at the District meeting of all officials, is interested in all sides of the lives of his people and may therefore sometimes consider harmful an economic measure which when seen in isolation looks good, but when its effects on family life and perhaps health are also studied does not look so desirable. The rest of the district officials - the Medical Officer, the Agriculture Officer, the Public Works Engineer - even sometimes the Education Officer (with his eye on examination results) - are more concerned with making their particular services to the people efficient than in the total effect of modern changes on the people. They are judged by their own superior officers on such material results as the increase in the number of bales or quality of the cotton, or the numbers of out-patients, or the efficiency and economy of the buildings they put up, more than on whether they have managed to change the attitudes of the people, let alone to meet their wishes, or have tried to fit their programme into an overall picture. Both the District Commissioner and the technical staff, in practice, tend to be authoritarian. The District Commissioner because however hard he may try to delegate authority and get local councils to make their own decisions, he is inevitably looked upon as the upholder of law and order (and collector of taxes) and the representative of the central Government; the technical official, because it is easier and quicker to get results by order than by persuasion and being an expert he knows what are the right priorities in development and so does not feel inclined to spend more time than he needs in consultation. Of the two the District Commissioner will be more sensitive and responsive to those needs which the people themselves recognize.

These are the basic traditions in British administration, modified either from inclination in individual cases or because of a new policy, when a whole group of officials may approach their

work differently.

Underneath the district level official are a number of assistants who are mostly African and who usually follow their superior officer's ways, sometimes in an exaggerated form. In Uganda it should be noted that even at the village level the so-called "chief" is really a government official, subject to transfer and eligible for promotion and is not necessarily a local inhabitant.

Quality and Status of Community Development Staff. It was into a setting with these traditions of lack of strong co-operative spirit in the villages and a more or less strong authoritative tradition, both amongst the villages and in the government, that the new Community Development Officer with his mission to stimulate initiative and secure the active co-operation of the people was introduced.

It will be remembered that Cohen was anxious for Community Development to be considered an integral part of the administration, but the Community Development Officer was not made an assistant District Commissioner with special duties. He was therefore presumably a technical official, but he had no special professional qualifications (most of them had come from the army), so he was graded in a lower scale not only than the District Commissioner but also than the chief technical officials: Health, Education, Agriculture, etc. His status was low but he was expected to act as executive for the District team and develop a new approach.

May the Plan was Launched. It will be seen from the above review of the setting for the village projects Plan in 1952 that the odds were not very favourable for the success of the Plan. But there were, in fact, some most favourable aspects. First, Government officials as a whole were not cynical or uninterested in their jobs. They might like the jobs done their way, but at any rate they wanted development. Secondly, in the District team idea was an excellent means of co-ordinating effort and creating a common outlook on such questions as priorities in local development

objectives and the degree to which these could be obtained by community development methods and by more direct methods. Thirdly, the financial arrangements for the authorization and distribution of pump-priming grants could probably not be bettered (see chapter IV).

It is usually easy to look back from a safe and uncommitted distance and say where people went wrong with their plans. In this case it is not all that easy because the records are not very revealing, but from talking with people, both inside and outside community development, it would seem that there were probably four mistakes made.

First, there does not seem to have been any real attempt to explain community development to other departments of government or win their support. The idea got around that here was another department created, which was setting out to do what they had all been doing for a long time already, namely improving the life of the people, and was probably rather a bogus one. I could find no memory of any directives being issued by Departmental heads to their field officers explaining the sort of work intended and how they could cooperate, nor were there any meetings or conference of field officers to put to them this particular form of approach. A senior official (not in community development) told me he thought that even now there was need for an explanation to go out to all government officials explaining what community development was. In his opinion it was still not accepted by other departments as a necessary department of Government.

Secondly, community development seems to have had too much publicity to begin with or rather publicity of the wrong kind, publicity which boasted its own accomplishments. In some cases the actual activity which was publicised, was the same as that which had for some time been undertaken by another department, for example the encouragement of pit-latrines, but community development got the publicity. When the Community Development Officer acted as co-ordinator or executive of the District team he was often a sort

of middle man arranging for the technical expert to advise or instruct and then in some cases the took the credit for the activity. The problem of how to stand back and give credit to others and yet not appear to be doing nothing is a difficult one and does not seem to have been fully considered.

Thirdly, community development appears to have expanded too quickly. Some of the senior and village level staff were not suitable for this kind of work and when you haven't got the sympathies of other departments with you such individual instances of unsuitability are magnified. Moreover the sums of money available for pump-priming were too large for the start of a scheme. Suggestions for its expenditure did not have to be submitted to the rigorous heart-searching that occurs when you have to decide between two or more attractive projects. The result was that community development gained a reputation for rash spending which has persisted but which as far as my enquiries in the field and at headquarters went I believe to be quite underserved so far as present-day practice is concerned.

Fourthly. One must presume that the attitude of the village people was misjudged. If people are already conscious of their development needs and anxious to do something, then there is little need for a study of underlying attitudes and prejudices, but only for co-ordination with a national programme. A reasonably competent and tactful officer ought to be able to act as midwife. But this was not the situation. Ideas were not readily produced from below but had to come from above.

This presents a vastly different situation of great difficulty. Personal qualities of a very high order are required both by the village worker and the district community development officer. They need to be experts in local knowledge and languages (there are six) in the techniques of presentation and to have a sensitiveness and judgement of the situation so that they neither press forward with changes before their full consequences are appreciated nor discourage early and delicate signs of initiative by over-enthusiasm or impatience.

No survey or assessment of village people's attitudes, desires, prejudices or needs was attempted, nor probably would an orthodox survey have yielded reliable information, but some kind of collection of information gained during the early experience of community development might have been of value.

It says much for the staff of Community Development that in spite of the unfavourable setting, their own deficiencies and what appear to have been errors in failing to win understanding from other government officials, they managed to do as much as they did. The village projects are not a failure, but they are not a movement. The response, though, is considerable. And from what I heard, Community Development appears to be more acceptable to other government departments than it was, though one still frequently hears the remark "I don't see why their work should not be done by the ordinary departmental official".

The Success of the Women's Clubs. The story of the women's clubs (women's institutes) is one of steady progress and widespread approval by both Government officials and village women. I have seen the results in many of their homes. There is some opposition from men, but one senior African official told me that in his opinion the movement had now reached the snowballing stage. Why is there this difference between the village project and the women's club story?

First, we may note that there is an additional unfavourable factor in the women's situation. They are traditionally subordinated to their husbands, and therefore not free to go off to a club meeting without their husband's approval. When starting a new club, it is necessary to explain to the men the project of the clubs and win their consent.

The fact that women cannot be seen riding a bicycle in the south (and west?) of the country is said to be a serious drawback because bicycles are the common means of transport, but on the other

hand it is also said that you can get a group of women to come together more easily than a group of men.

So much for additional unfavourable and possibly unfavourable factors.

What were the reasons for success? Again, one can only speculate. But the following would seem to be likely factors.

1. The activities on which the clubs started were ones that immediately appealed. Embroidery would not be given very high priority by people at the top, but it was what the women at the village level wanted to do first and so they did it. Child care was another item that had great appeal.
2. It will be seen from the chapter on women's work that most of their activities are really of individual or family benefit rather than communal (such as road making). This may have a more natural appeal in a scattered community. But mutual help does come into their activities and in a traditional way - e.g. through building bathrooms in each other's homes in turn. In home improvement the men have often been brought in too, as it is customary for men to do the heavier jobs of building.
3. Most of the activities undertaken are clear-cut and definite - such as making clothes, household utensils, cooking. Such activities are eminently suitable for village level workers to supervise. They have a definite programme which, incidentally, also makes the District Community Development Officer's job of supervision much easier. Men's clubs have started in some areas but do not seem to have caught on in the way women's clubs have. The main reason may be that there are not a large variety of small clear-cut things that can be done by men for the individual family. They can rebuild kitchens and dig latrines; after that it is mainly communal work such as road making, school building, spring protection; and these are laborious projects not possible to start and put down like knitting at an afternoon meeting.

4. The policy of the women's clubs has been to restrict expansion to the number of clubs that could be regularly serviced by an instructor (usually visiting weekly or fortnightly). Moreover there has been a continuity of policy in all its aspects which has enabled detailed working out of programmes and a close tie-up between training programmes and field work. This all makes for a sense of purpose and accomplishment.

5. The women's work has the blessing of almost all Government officials. This may be partly because most Government officials are male and so feel that the women's side is not impinging on their preserves. The exception to this has been the medical service with whom there have been brushes.

I do not wish at this point to blur the issue by becoming involved in a discussion of what might be the best way to develop in future. The object of this chapter is to see what lessons or principles can be gathered from this experience. Many African countries are now becoming independent and new governments are taking over. Is there anything here that will be relevant to the new situation?

1. The new governments will take over a civil service which is likely to continue very much in its old ways. An explanation of community development will still be necessary. Community development is really a method of approach and it is a pity it is not projected as such, instead of the usual image of a new department or a set of activities.

2. In their anxiety to forge ahead there will be as great a temptation as in Uganda in 1952 for new governments to recruit staff who are not quite suitable, to expand before experience has been gained, to cut short training and to ignore the importance of constant evaluation. If national progress has got to be very rapid then direct methods are likely to lead to quicker immediate results and may have to be followed in most things, but the distinction between compelling or dragging people along and the slower method of

consulting them and persuading them into willing co-operation should be recognised and should be seen to be recognised.

3. In most new countries educated staff are scarce. It is therefore necessary to suit the programme of activities to the staff available rather than the other way round. So often programmes are elaborated and then a search for staff follows. This produces endless difficulties. Training can help to make up for deficiencies, but the distinction to keep in mind is the one between servicing a people who already know what they want to do and are willing to do it and on the other hand educating a people to recognize needs, use their judgement and want to take action. This, as we have said already, requires a far higher order of personal qualities - qualities which so far as they are not inborn can only be caught by association with someone else who can inspire a like outlook and sensitiveness.

VIII. SUMMARY

This chapter is a summary of this report so far as it concerns the present position of rural community development in Uganda, and in particular of the Community Development Division. The previous chapter attempted to analyse some features in its history, mainly to see if there was anything that might have relevance to the new situation arising in the many African countries now achieving independence. The present chapter attempts to put Uganda's interests first. There will inevitably be a small amount of repetition of the facts given in Chapter I.

Features of the Situation in Uganda

1. In rural Uganda there is not in general a widespread and enthusiastic response, either traditionally or in modern forms, to the idea of improvement through communal self-help. There are traditional forms of mutual help (e.g. in harvesting), and women's clubs have successfully appealed to this tradition in improving the home. A considerable number of Protectorate government departments and some non-government agencies have developed nation-building services which taken together are remarkably comprehensive and reveal an impressive story of thoughtful and devoted service. (The present depression amongst government officials and the frankness with which most people speak of their work may at first mislead the visitor who is accustomed to more optimistic replies to his enquiries.) The tendency now is for most departments of government to focus their efforts on the more progressive individuals, rather than adopt a mass approach or attempt to develop self-help groups.

2. The Division of Community Development is a small one, with hardly more full officers than would staff a small secondary school and with considerably less village-level staff than, for instance, Agriculture and Health. So many of the most important

services at village level - e.g. agriculture and cooperatives, can service village people direct and do not require middlemen.

The Community Development Division has an annual expenditure of around £200,000 (half of which goes on staff, a quarter on grants and a quarter on training and education). This is less 1% of the Protectorate Budget.

The Division has had a chequered history, but has shown resilience and flexibility. The present policy of the Minister is to emphasise the educational approach to the development of communities, and within the limits of available resources and the climate of opinion his staff have pursued this objective with vigour and intelligence. The Division is now faced, as are other departments of government, with economy cuts.

ACTIVITIES OF THE DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT are diverse and include coordinating publicity, arranging courses, administering grants. The chief responsibilities are:

1. Communal self-help. Pump-priming grants for village self-help projects (road-making, schools, spring protection etc.) averaged £100,000 a year for the first five years, but have now dropped to under £40,000 a year. During these eight years they have not triggered off a widespread movement of self-help, but there is now an appreciable response from the people. Probably the cash value of the contributions from the people to the permanent and semi-permanent improvements has been equal to the cost of Community Development staff and supporting activities. Though the total assets are small they may be more wisely, because more locally chosen than if entirely planned and carried out by central direction. Whatever cases of rash spending may have occurred in the early days I could find no evidence that anything exceptional occurs now.

2. Family self-help. This has been rather more successful. There has been a continuity of policy which has enabled women's clubs (somewhat on the lines of the Women's Institutes in the United

Kingdom) to develop programmes of learning and carrying out improvements to the home and the bringing up of the family. Men have been brought into this development through building improved kitchens, latrines, larger windows, etc., but men's groups have not become established to the same degree as the women's clubs.

3.(a) Education at the village level is at present most effective on the women's side. Regular instruction in home economics based on a handbook is given by trained full-time and part-time assistants. For men as well as women literacy (and sometimes arithmetic) classes are held, but though there is a considerable demand and some success recorded, suitable mass literacy methods have not yet been established.

(b) Education on residential courses. The lack of village centres and the isolation of homesteads has encouraged the creation of remarkable facilities for residential courses both at the centre (the training centre at Nsamizi accomodating nearly 200) and more recently in almost all the Districts at their Rural Training Centres (each accomodating 20 to 40 students). These facilities are used by a variety of departments of government (Health, Agriculture, Cooperatives, Administration and Legal) and some voluntary bodies. They hold courses for their junior staff and to a lesser extent for non-officials. The methods used are mostly instructional and explanatory rather than problem-solving in their approach. There is an impressive readiness to attend even for a month or more. The opportunity to experience corporate life and the greater ease of obtaining assistance for the courses when they are held in District headquarters probably offsets any disadvantages there may be in holding courses outside the immediate home environment.

Present plans in the Division of Community Development give priority to education. It is hoped to develop literacy campaigns on the lines found successful in a recent experiment. On the residential courses it is intended to concentrate more on leaders and progressive individuals and to increase citizenship courses related to the changing political situation.

S T A F F. The Senior staff (full officer) are distributed at about one to a District. About half of them are now African with improved educational qualifications or long field experience. For them to be really influential in this kind of approach they need to be a considerable time in ~~cnc~~ area and to maintain their freshness. Except in one or two districts the Community Development Officer has usually been left long enough to establish himself and become interested in his job. For maintaining freshness there is now the much appreciated annual course held at Makerere College; but Officers tend to be a little isolated and do not often see each other or headquarters staff. The Community Development Officers are on a lower scale of salary than the majority of District technical officers and their promotion prospects are not good.

Junior Staff at the village level: (1) Women. For the present programme of home economics the existing staff are considered adequate. They receive regular in-service training; many have Red Cross qualifications. The use of part-time (paid) village women to instruct in groups of clubs is increasing and may solve staffing problems, except for more advanced work.

(2) Men. The quality of this staff varies considerably, but the weakest have now mostly gone and recruits are drawn chiefly from other walks of life and have weak school certificates. Their programmes of work are less cut-and-dried than are those of the female staff, which may reveal weaknesses more easily. Literacy supervisors are coming to be employed for the supervision of literacy classes.

ADMINISTRATION. The Community Development Division is too small to stand on its own. It has been paired up with Public Relations, then with Rural Development, had a liaison with Administration and now has the same Minister as Education. Closer ties with Education have been suggested, and would seem to be both advisable and acceptable.

The varies abilities of the staff and the difference in opportunities for development between one district and another have encouraged the Ministry to delegate responsibility for planning emphasis to the Districts, but a need for smore specific guidance is felt and directives are being considered on literacy campaigns, main courses for the Rural Training Centres and on the village projects.

Liaison with other departments of government is good at District level through the District Team meetings, but appreciation of community development's aims depends very much on the particular personalities of the District Community Development Officer and of the Chairman of the District Team (the District Commissioner). There has been no general directive on community development issued to District technical officers, At the top there is formal consultation at Ministerial and Permanent Secretary level, but day-to-day consultation seems variable and on the whole weak, though Community Development would like to see more.

STUDIES, EVALUATIONS, ETC. The main documents are the policy papers of 1952 and 1957 and the annual reports. More detailed records are meagre. A statistical return of activities has recently been required from each District at quarterly intervals and some analysis has been made of expenditure on village projects. There are no serious attempts at evaluation or any case and village studies. No member of the staff is free to plan and undertake such work.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

The main object of my visit to Uganda was to report on experiences and features of community development which might be of interest and perhaps profit to other African territories. At the same time I was asked if I had any suggestions to make which might be helpful to Uganda itself. Added to the natural diffidence

about making suggestions which a visitor feels after a tour of no more than one month, is the extraordinary difficulty of the situation in Uganda. If a new national government were in the saddle to give a lead and inspire, instead of this period being one of transition, if Uganda's economy was on the upward trend and both money and staff of the right quality were plentiful, instead of economy cuts being the order of the day, if the community development approach to development had been fully accepted throughout government instead of the existing, though much diminishing, doubts and friction, then one would have been tempted to suggest greatly increased provision to establish this service more firmly. As it is to be realistic, I must confine myself to four of the many points that have been made.

1. Woman's programme. This has established itself and won approval both from the people themselves and from a variety of observers both inside and outside the country. It should clearly be maintained and expanded as circumstances permit. In this expansion it is highly desirable that a way be found of associating Uganda's small band of highly educated women more closely with the clubs. The programme at the moment is concentrated mainly on the home (Home Economics) and varied as this is, the extension of women's interests to other sides of community life and the contribution they can make to national development must not be lost sight of. Those on the spot will be the best judges of when and how fast to widen this programme, but it is important that when the opportunity occurs, financial provision for more highly educated staff and for training facilities should be given the most sympathetic consideration.

2. Education. At first I was not convinced that the emphasis on education in the present policy was the right one. The primary aim of the Division is to help people in the efforts they are prepared to make to build up their own communities; and if they are not inclined to do much for themselves, then there is a danger that concentration on talk in the classroom will lull both teachers and

taught into thinking they are getting somewhere, when they are not. I think this danger is a real one, but I became convinced that in the circumstances and with the excellent residential facilities available the concentration on adult education was the right one. One important circumstance is the imminence of self-government and independence. This adds a special urgency to any educational work which can help to create an informed and emotionally controlled public opinion. But if the educational policy is right, then, better provision should be made for ensuring that the quality of the teaching is first class and that wherever possible it is followed up by practical application. It is not true that anyone who knows his material and the vernacular understood by his pupils can effectively teach adults who have a moderate or low level of education. Teaching adults is particularly difficult when the aim of a course is not merely to instruct but also to inspire and even to convert to new attitudes.

I suggest that (1) there is need for someone with a knowledge of teaching approaches and techniques to study the make-up of present syllabuses, the present methods of teaching followed by community development officers and by others using the training centre. He should also consider the possibility in particular cases of following up practical course with a check on application. From this survey there will probably emerge useful ideas on methods and approaches which could be shared.

(2) after this there should be an official permanently responsible for the technical supervision of the teaching in the Rural Training Centres. This would not be a whole-time job, but might well take up half his time.

(3) secondments from the Education Service to community development should be considered. Quite apart from the value of a period in community work to the broadening of a schoolmaster's mind and the relief such secondments might give to the problem of promotion in the Division, the work of community development would benefit by a leaven of staff with teaching

experience. The fact that that experience was with children would be no disadvantage, provided those chosen had the small amount of flexibility needed to adapt principles of simplicity, interest etc. to the adult.

(4) the opportunity should be taken of using the services of the person reviewing teaching techniques to consider fully with the Nsamizi central training staff and others the future role of Nsamizi in its relation to the servicing of the Rural Training Centres, the training of staff (and the possible role of the University College in this), and the servicing of other departments of government. Some consideration has already been given to this, but more could profitably be given, and should be given before any drastic changes are made in the present set-up.

(5) The Rural Training Centres could contribute more to the aims of community development if they could have at least some quarters for married members of courses. Very often a joint approach could then be made to community problems.

I do not feel inclined to make any comment at this stage on the remaining important educational proposal, namely the development of literacy campaigns, except to say that the existing considerable arrangements to supply reading material would have to be further stepped up to a marked degree if full advantage is to be taken of any large increase in literates. I was not sure that the full implications of this had been realised.

3. Studies and research. My own attempt to survey community development in Uganda suffered from the lack of records and surveys. This is a natural omission when community development is beginning and no one quite knows how to infiltrate or what it is that they will want to assess. But now that community development has been in existence for eight, if not fourteen, years the absence of such records and assessments weakens the community development position.

I suggest that (1) the help of an international body be sought to obtain someone who might suggest appropriate evaluation studies

and get them started. This person, if appropriately qualified, might combine this task with the review of educational techniques suggested above.

(2) one senior and experienced member of the staff should be permanently freed for say half his time to undertake studies, coordinate experiments and work on the implications of policy. At present there does not seem to be any one of the right level free enough from day-to-day administration to have the time to follow through ideas, yet community development is still very largely in a formative stage and needs this kind of help. Village studies and case studies are also badly needed.

4. The Community Development Approach. Community Development, so far as it means something new, means an approach to the problems of development through getting people to do something for themselves rather than have things entirely done for them. But amongst the government officials in various departments whom I consulted there seemed to be a consensus of opinion that the approach to individual leaders and progressives was the one most likely to yield results at present. In this report I have distinguished between development through individuals improving themselves, and perhaps by example influencing others, development through mutual assistance (you help me build my house and I will help you build yours) and development through communal effort (such as road or school building). I did not find any general consensus of opinion on what balance of emphasis, in the present circumstances should be given to these various approaches to development. Perhaps one exists, but in view of the considerable misunderstanding about the role of community development, I doubt it.

It might help to clear people's minds on this if there could be called occasional short conferences of say 2-3 days on specific problems and how they were to be tackled, attended by officers of various departments concerned, selected partly because they showed interest in these questions of approach and partly because of their responsibilities. Large conferences cost money, but quite a small one would be worth holding and it might be possible

to adapt the present annual Makerere Course for senior community development staff to include officers from other departments for at least part of the time.

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In conclusion two points should be emphasised. First, the immediate future will clearly be a difficult time. Drastic changes in the Community Development Division are inappropriate, partly because there have been enough changes already and nothing will get established unless some continuity of policy can be maintained, partly because change of policy may well be inevitable when new political forces take over: and those changes are not yet known. Moreover there may well be a drain away of the best African staff to fill important posts elsewhere in Government. It will be essential to fit policy to the staff available, rather than to decide on a policy and then start looking round for a quality of staff which may well be non-existent.

Secondly, if retrenchment is necessary it should be in the extent or coverage of Community Development, not in matter which diminish what quality it has. A time of financial stringency is the best time to draw in on quantity and prepare through study, experiment and training for future expansion in quantity. There is always a temptation to hang on to existing commitments with a skeleton staff. It is usually better to review commitments and consider redeploying even if it means making some unpopular withdrawals and concentrating on preparation for the future. This policy is more likely to maintain the morale of one's staff on whose inspiration and drive so much of this kind of education work depends. Such a policy would fit in with the view expressed to me by Mr. Prosser, Community Development's lively and vigorous head, that Community Development should be building up its strength at this time ready for a 'breakthrough' when the stimulus of independence may be expected to fire the people of Uganda with new aspirations and a new energy for the development of their national life.

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