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NUMÉRO SPECIAL ISSUE

Développement Communautaire au Canada
(Développement socio-économique)

Community Development in Canada
(Socio-Economic Development)

Editor : JIM LOTZ

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Introduction : Is Community Development Necessary ?

JIM LOTZ

James Thurber and E. B. White once wrote a book with the intriguing title "Is Sex Necessary ?". Anyone surveying the field of socio-economic development in the so-called underdeveloped parts of the world might be tempted to ask a similar question about what seems to be another obvious fact of life — "Is Community Development Necessary ?"

While there is a great deal of discussion about community development in Canada (Journal of the International Society for Community Development, 1966), there also appears to be a certain lack of enthusiasm about the term and the technique, and some distrust of the whole philosophy elsewhere in the world (Ponsioen 1965). Indeed, Canadians seem to be becoming enthusiastic about the idea of community development at a time when other countries, with long experience of the technique, are beginning to have serious doubts about its utility. As Canada embarks upon large scale intervention programmes in the social and economic fields that attempt to improve the lot of Eskimos, Indians and low-income groups, it may be that the technique of community development will be touted as a cureall for social ills, and promoted as a short cut to solutions to complex problems.

A glance at recent history will illustrate the dilemma of community development in Canada at the present time. Much of the practise and philosophy of community development has its roots in the British colonial experience. Britain is alleged to have acquired her Empire in a fit of absence of mind. In the twentieth century, seeing that the social, economic and political disadvantages of a colonial empire outweighted the benefits, the British, empiricists as well as imperialists, initiated a policy aimed at bringing the colonies along the road to self-government. Before the arrival of the British and other colonial powers, traditional societies had developed complex,

functional social structures that worked extremely well, socially, economically and politically. The arrival of the white man, equipped with superior technology and an ethnocentric view of life that provided some very firm ideas on how people should behave, shattered these traditional societies.

A new set of models for human behaviour appeared as western technology and culture spread over the world. By the middle of the twentieth century, no place, no matter how remote, had escaped the impact of western man. Occasionally the contact between western ways and traditional cultures was quiet, peaceful and mutually rewarding. More often it was sudden, warlike and disastrous on both sides. The process of cultural contact that began slowly after the Age of Exploration in the Fifteenth Century accelerated in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. The British were in the van of this movement. They saw themselves as trustees of traditional people, maintaining the law, preventing oppression, raising the standards of living, assisting in economic development and in general turning Africans and others into reasonable facsimiles of Englishmen so that they could, in time, govern themselves. The view of world society in about 1900 was one that showed the white man at the top of the tree, secure in the rightness of his position and incurably optimistic about the prospects for progress. From this peak of perfection, with the Englishman at the apex, there stretched down a series of "lesser breeds within the law". The more traditional peoples were "like" the white man, the higher up the scale they rated. This view still persists. Until recently there was a great deal of simplemindedness about traditional societies. Viewed from the perspective of ethnocentric administrators and anthropologists, traditional cultures were seen as quaint or vulgar, good or bad, and a great deal of attention was paid to the more pathological aspects of their daily lives. The concept of a culture or a society as an integral, functioning whole with its own way of assigning rights and responsibilities and of allocating resources and meeting needs has only recently emerged in the anthropological literature of the twentieth century. Without romanticizing traditional cultures, their significant characteristic was that they worked in terms that were acceptable to most of their members. Life may have been "nasty, brutish and short" but it was the only life they knew, and one that

was hallowed by tradition and confirmed by constant reinforcement through the value system.

In 1922, a study was carried out of African mission education. This resulted in a White Paper on *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*, issued in 1925. This suggested that progress should rely not only on schools, but should come through improved agriculture, development of native industries, improvement of health, training people to manage their own affairs, and the inculcation of ideas of citizenship and service. Three main principles were stressed (Central Office of Information 1962:3):

"1. That education should be intimately related to all other efforts, whether of governments or of citizens, for the welfare of the community.

2. That material prosperity without corresponding growth in the moral capacity to turn it to good use constitutes a danger.

3. That the real difficulty lay in imparting any kind of education which would not have a disintegrating effect upon the people of the country."

All this, of course, has a surprisingly modern ring. The two great dramas of our day — world-wide urbanization and world-wide industrialization were only beginning in 1925. But the winds of change had started to blow — perhaps only as gentle breezes, but blowing nonetheless. In 1935, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies issue a memorandum on educating the people in rural communities. It stressed central planning and the need to co-ordinate departmental activities to avoid overlap and duplication in the provision of services and resources. Again, this has a familiar ring. The memorandum was strongly influenced by the first survey of the Colonial Empire published in 1932. Economic surveys inevitably end up with statements about co-ordinating effort and avoiding duplication. The subtle interweaving of social, economic and political aims and the necessity to examine their interrelationships — as well as those of different groups and departments of government — was already apparent at this stage. In the Depression world of the Thirties the inability of western man to control his own economy left little time, money or energy for attempts to control those of far away

"backward" colonies. Where there was no profit for private enterprise and no voters to influence the central government, the missions carried on the work of educating traditional peoples and of keeping them alive, albeit at a minimal level.

With the 1939-1945 war came a need for raw materials, and a new prosperity for the colonies. Cut off from the home country, many colonies had to grow their own food. Tribesmen entered the army and the colonial residents were marshalled to fight a distant enemy. In the Far East, the colonial powers were humbled by the Japanese. The traditional peoples of the world began to see and to understand a new sort of world. Where before they had considered their own cultures to be supreme and their villages to be the centre of the world, the initial contact with white men presented another view of the world, one in which the white man considered *his* ways and *his* culture to be superior. Two world wars and a major depression shattered the white man's faith in both his own ability to control social and economic events and in the simple myth of linear progress. In the post-war world, an Einsteinian view of the world — of the relativity of peoples and cultures existing in their own time-space — began to develop. Honigmann (1966:75), discussing the concept of cultural relativity, notes :

> Cultural relativity recognizes that behaviour is always appropriate to a particular time and place, to a particular system of culture. Many of our ways of doing things have evolved in our culture through hundreds of years. They can't be fully adopted by other people until those people have sufficiently changed their system, their religion, their ideas, their social relationships, in order that the new forms may fit.

In a changing world, there was need, not merely to force new ways on old people, but to attempt to learn from these peoples ways of organizing society that would lessen the stresses and strains brought about in western societies by excessive individualism and an obsession with material gains.

In 1949, the United States woke up to the conditions in the so-called underdeveloped world. As Shannon (1957:1) notes : "Underdeveloped areas became a focal point of world interest in 1949 when President Truman gave almost singular attention to their problems in his inaugural address." The British Colonial system

had developed with very few people and with very little money. With the interest of the U.S. in the problems of the underdeveloped world, large funds and big staffs became available to solve the problems of development. Economic materialism, with a heavy ethnocentric bias based on American experience and "know-how" began to loom large in the developing nations as Americans moved in to "help" them.

Out of the chaos of the Second World War and the accelerating pace of change came the new concept of community development. Community development was to solve social and economic problems by setting up systems so that people helped themselves and also managed somehow to co-ordinate things. The concept of self-help keeps popping up in the community development literature. No traditional society was able to function without a large measure of self-help, mutual support and co-operation. The unbridled individualism of twentieth century man makes the idea of self-help attractive. Frequently it is government agencies and others carrying out community development programmes who have to be taught self-help and co-operation. If nothing else has come out of community development projects since the war, the realization that traditional societies have self-help mechanisms that existed before the concept of community development was discovered by the western world should now be apparent. The concept of obligation and helping other people, it now seems, is not a luxury — it is a necessary condition for human existence (Firey 1960:229-230).

The term "community development" seems to have been first used at a Cambridge Colonial Conference in 1948. At the 1954 Ashbridge Conference, community development was defined as

> A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of the whole community.

This definition was taken over, almost intact, by the United Nations, which defined the process in *Social Progress Through Community Development* (United Nations : 1955).

> Community development can be tentatively defined as a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest reliance upon the community's initiative.

This definition, suitably modified, is the one that still stands to-day. Of course, no-one will quibble with this definition — it is so vague and all-encompassing that no nation from the most democratic to the most authoritarian will deny that this sort of approach is part of the national philosophy.

In the past twelve years, an enormous amount of energy and money has been devoted to attempting to lift the living standards of the world's people. Community development has played a part in this overall development process. In the main, in overall development and community development terms, the results have been good only in places, poor as often as not, and frequently expensive in economic, social and human costs. One problem has been that to economists and like minded specialists, development has meant an increase in material wealth, in per capita income, in goods, while to socially oriented people, development has implied more schools, more welfare programmes, more local decision making. (Buck : 1965; United Nations, 1963:160)

A casual glance at the literature on socio-economic development will reveal this dichotomy, and also show the weeping and wailing that goes on among western development specialists as they see their best laid schemes "gang aft agley". The slums grow larger, oppression still persists and most of the world's population still goes to bed (if there are beds available) hungry, sick and dispirited. The post-war experience has shown that good will and money are not enough. The current vogue for community development in Canada may merely be an oblique way of saying, on viewing other attempts at socio-economic development, "Let's hand over everything to the local people — they cannot possibly make a worse mess of things".

The community development process has been widely touted throughout the world as a simple way of solving complex problems, and as a short cut to economic solvency, social stability and political freedom. Not only have community development programmes not solved problems, they have created many others. By introducing an unrealistic set of expectations, community development programmes have often made the realization of even modest goals impossible or remote. *Reader's Digest* (Stowe 1962) notwithstanding, such projects as that carried out in Vicos, Peru, by an American university have

compounded rather than solved socio-economic problems. Too much of community development has smacked of the "quick and dirty" approach to complex problems. Too much of the technique has smacked of "co-optation" rather than of co-operation, with local people brought in to rubber stamp ill-conceived projects cooked up in isolation in central offices without reference to local needs, abilities and resources. Too many centrally planned schemes have been foisted off on the local people and turned into "community development projects" only at a last resort. Too many unbridled individualists and too many vague "do-gooders" have sought to work out their own personal problems at the expense of local peoples who had no margin for error. And always the local people have been caught in the crossfire between different departments, disciplines or specialities or treated as pawns, as agencies and individuals fought over power and money to "help" them. Somehow the best community development projects seem to have been run out of small offices located in the field, with limited funds, and staffed by men and women who give the impression that they are not too sure what they are doing.

Only too frequently, an unstructured approach to social and economic problems is confused with an undisciplined one. Both personal discipline and scientific precision are essential prerequisites for community development projects. The operational and personal limits of all the people involved, local and outsiders, and of the physical environment, must be precisely determined before any project is initiated. And this takes time — a lot of time.

Small projects seem to work best in community development, if they are staffed by groups and individuals concerned with co-operating rather than with competing, with admitting the limits of their ignorance rather than boasting about the extent of their knowledge, with sharing rather than with taking, with creating abundance rather than with bewailing scarcity, with lighting candles rather than with cursing the darkness. Community development makes large personal as well as professional demands.

The concept of community development is undergoing a re-evaluation at this time. In an article entitled "The Fuzziness of Definition of Community Development" (Biddle 1966), the author,

with the air of a referee setting down rules before tossing the ball back into play, suggested the following aids to defining community development :

"1. That, for the present, all approaches which claim to be Community Development be accepted as legitimate contributions. None of us is wise enough yet to rule any out completely.

2. That each interpreter acknowledge there are other approaches as well as his own.

3. That each, in writing about his work, try to state his own concepts, purposes, and even biases, so that he can fit his own position into some scheme of the whole.

4. That each try to learn from the experience of contrasting programmes.

5. That each try to find some central core or common denominator amongst the many varieties."

The Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology has recently expanded its operations in the field of community development, although courses in community development have been given in connection with the Centre's activities for nearly ten years, based mainly on the need to train students in the Institute of Missiology in its philosophy and technique. In 1967, the Centre published *Community Development in Canada* (Lloyd 1967) — a review of the state of the art in 1964-65. This provided a baseline for the study of community development in Canada. Lloyd's book revealed a large variety of programmes and a wide diversity of interpretations in Canadian community development practise. At this stage there cannot be a definition of community development as a philosophy or a technique that covers all situations in Canada. This is a promising, and a perilous, situation. Hopefully, a useful functional and philosophical definition of community development can be worked out before the experts get hold of the term and break its arm.

In line with Biddle's suggestions, then, the views put forward here are purely personal ones. My own belief is that community development is a general term for defining and dealing with the complex processes of socio-economic development and change. It implies the idea of controlling social and economic factors in such

a way that all benefit. It is not a value free concept of the sort beloved by social scientists. It implies making judgements that health is better than sickness, a full stomach better than an empty one, local participation in the decision making process better than enforced compliance. The process involves the whole of man and the whole of humanity — it means drawing upon all available resources by creating conditions where people can share what they have, be it food, material goods, or, most important, knowledge. The term community development is best split into two for closer definition and operational use.

There is no general agreement on what constitutes a community, other than that people are involved. (Gould and Kolb 1964-114.) The word community is loaded with folksy images of people living together in harmony. The literature contains 94 definitions of community (*ibid*). Community development workers, in a sense, have to create their local communities and ensure that the people in these communities can move into the outside world, into the larger world community. By selecting a group or an area to be developed, a community development project creates a community. Certain things can be done on the ground, but in many cases what is needed is to make members of the local community aware of the larger world community "outside" and to teach them how to draw upon it. The reverse process should also occur — the members of the local community should be able to inform the community development worker of the availability of resources within the designated community. This two way exchange, this sharing of knowledge, is fundamental to community development practise. In the long run, perhaps the only meaningful community into which people can and should integrate in a global village is the world community and the community of man. And they should be able to integrate in the time and place and way of their own choosing.

"Development", a word fraught with problems of definition, is defined in my own thinking at the present time as a technique as follows;

> The application of science and technology to extend man's control over his physical and social environment with the aim of improving human welfare and maximizing the choice of individuals in the social, economic and political spheres.

Community development might be termed applied social science. But, in a society that is a good with things, but poor with people, applying science, social or otherwise, is a fairly perilous pursuit. One thing that may come out of community development in the future is a matching of the mechanical technology of western man with the social technology of traditional peoples. For community development implies a relationship and an exchange among equals. The process implies that all can give as well as receive, that all can share, and that all can learn. It involves ethical considerations, not material well-being alone. It involves an understanding of the complexity of the most "primitive" society and of the most "backward" human being. It involves an understanding of the limitations of the physical environment, of social structures, of value systems. It involves the construction of operational structures that are neither too rigid nor too loose. In involves the blending of practise with theory in the establishment and maintenance of theoretically sound, practical and ethical projects and programmes. Community development is no panacea, no short way to eldorado or to utopia. And if it is treated as such in Canada, then its promise may well fade in a welter of journalistic clichés, "demonstration projects" that demonstrate only folly, and ill-planned, ill-conceived "self-help" programmes run in a manner reminiscent of George Orwell's most pessimistic predictions.

In the past few years, the Canadian Government has embarked on massive intervention programmes — the Health Resources scheme, Indian and Eskimo housing projects, ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration) programmes in the Gaspé, New Brunswick, and the Interlake region, manpower retraining and relocation. These programmes are complex, costly, and touch people at the very roots of their existence and their being. The history of such projects has not always made happy reading, especially in the United States. One outspoken American social critic has called the U.S. War on Poverty "political pornography" (Alinsky 1965). Any programme that deals with people obviously requires a high degree of technical competence and of human sensitivity. The hands and minds of most western men have been blunted by contact with the machine. Our cities are fine places for automobiles, poor places for

people, and the computers in our office buildings frequently enjoy temperature controlled conditions that human beings are denied.

To a new Canadian like myself, Canada seems to be an astonishingly open society, compared to Great Britain. The country seems to be less of a "vertical mosaic" than an unfinished jigsaw puzzle. The pieces are all here, or can be obtained. The pattern is emerging, but slowly. Obviously a major task is ahead for Canadians in every walk of life and especially for those whose profession or preference leads them to working with people. Canada has inherited the benefits of the Democratic Revolution (liberty, equality and fraternity), the Industrial Revolution (quantity, uniformity and cheapness) and the Welfare Revolution (equal shares for all) without too many of the liabilities. She possesses the prophet of the Electronic Revolution, Marshall McLuhan, whose work is founded, in part, at least, on that of Harold Innis. Anyone interested in community development in Canada would do well to read Innis' book *The Bias of Communication* (1951); it says a great deal about the nature of the country they are setting out to change. Canada is comparatively new, and its problems range from those characteristic of so-called underdeveloped countries (the unskilled drifting towards the bright lights of the city) to those common in advanced industrial societies (skilled workers automated out of jobs). Perhaps, in Canada, some attempt can be made to outline the dimensions of those problems that prevent the mass of humanity from living a healthy, rewarding and useful life. Perhaps, in Canada, we may be able to devise methodologies and to train students to identify socio-economic problems and to deal with them in a realistic manner that is neither too hasty nor too slow. Perhaps, in Canada, new dimensions in social science and social action, dimensions that are theoretically sound, practically possible, and ethically based can be explored.

The papers in this volume of *Anthropologica* deal with a wide range of research and experience that has a bearing on community development. They all attempt to present new perspectives on the processes of socio-economic development. If they do nothing more than reveal the complexity of society and of the process of community development, and help to prevent an oversimplistic view of what these processes involve, they will have served a valid purpose.

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A Review of Community Development Experience in the World, 1945-1967

JEAN LAGASSÉ

In an article written for the 1962 International Conference of Social Work, Louis M. Miniclier (1966) stated that: "Community Development as a new instrument and new institution of government was born of necessity. The leaders of new nations were faced with complicated tasks. More often than not Government meant to the masses of people : confiscation, taxation and conscription. Leaders were faced with the need to relate people to Government and Government to people."

It is through the United Nations that Community Development, the kind that places heavy emphasis on socio-cultural changes, became fashionable. By mid-1955, the United Nations had published 24 major papers on community development in four languages: Arabic, English, French and Spanish, including country monographs, reports of surveys, study kits and bibliographies. The United Nations' activity in this field arose from a 1951 resolution of the Economic and Social Council (United Nations : 1955:120) requesting the Secretary-General to compile information about "community welfare centers" in both urban and rural areas in order to place that experience at the disposal of member states. This first attempt was restricted to fact-finding. Later, an attempt was made to identify the general principles and techniques which underlay the successful programmes.

London with Batten (1957, 1962) and Washington with Miniclier, have also made large contributions. Individuals like Peter du Sautoy (1958, 1962) and Carl C. Taylor (1956) have, through their service as consultants and their many writings, had a great influence. Some social scientists like Margaret Mead (1953), Edward H. Spicer (1951), Jack Mezirow (1963) and Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson and Bruce Westley (1958) have contributed a great deal to the theoretical formulation of the concept of community development.

The basic philosophy of Community Development and its methodology were not new. They were deeply rooted in the work of many great social reformers throughout the ages. The chief merit of Community Development has been to erect into a formal approach, at the government level, the personal practices of some of the best known economic planners and social reformers of past centuries.

Community Development emerged first in underdeveloped countries. The Indian programme was launched in 1952 by Nehru; by 1956 a full Ministry of Community Development had been formed. Today, there are an estimated 40,000 village-level workers reaching 400,000 Indians. It is estimated that between 1890 and 1945, the amount of food grains available to each citizen of Indian decreased from 270 kilograms to 180 (Dumont 1962). In 1943, when India lost access to imports from Burma, between one and two million citizens died of starvation. India's major concern at the end of the war then had to be that of producing more foodstuffs and, in 1948, a "grow more food" campaign was launched. By 1952, when the results of this campaign were evaluated, it was found that little progress had been made.

The failure was attributed to the high rate of illiteracy among the peasants which prevented them from receiving the government's message of urgency, from understanding the improved technology that was being promoted and even from making any new observations which might have resulted in challenging their traditional beliefs and practices. A survey conducted at that time further revealed that the peasants were so under-nourished that even if they had fully understood the government's message they would not have had the energy to devote a sustained effort towards its achievement. Thus originated the thought that a multi-dimensional approach would be necessary. It was decided that the problem of the traditionalist illiterate peasant would be attacked simultaneously in four ways, through programmes in public health, education, agricultural extension and credit. The fact that some multi-dimensional projects that had been privately financed had already succeeded helped to strengthen the decision to launch a country-wide endeavour.

The structure conceived was that of the "block" system. Each block was to consist of between 65,000 and 100,000 inhabitants.

The block team would be composed of an agrologist, a veterinarian, a co-op organizer, an educator and a public health officer, working under a Block Development Officer. At the village level were ten *gram sevaks* who theoretically were each to be assigned to one tenth of the block population, or approximately 1,000 families. Here was launched a truly gigantic programme which, block by block, village by village, was soon to cover all India. In addition, numerous special missions and aid-plans from foreign nations operated in India.

The work of *gram sevak* or village level worker was most interesting within this context. The first appointments represented remarkably devoted and inspiring individuals. No nation, however, can appoint over 40,000 such individuals and hope that they will all be exceptional. Initially, the village level worker's duties were defined in a manual published by the Minister of Community Development. He was to help in the training of the future municipal counsellors, worry about environmental sanitation, encourage the vaccination of children and domestic animals, organize adult education and literacy classes, etc. Soon, the other government departments realized that there was now a more complete government structure than before, and that they could now expect to reach the individual villagers through the *gram sevak*. Soon, he became the "chore boy" for all the departments, preparing reports, running errands, and doing other minor administrative tasks.

Undoubtedly, much progress still needs to take place in India before the *per capita* income reaches the level of "developed" countries. This is not to say that India's Community Development programme has failed, but rather to illustrate how difficult it is to achieve change when more than technological factors are involved. In a recent issue of the Indian *Journal of Adult Education* (Rao 1966), the main problem facing India is still described as that of helping the people change from a traditional folk culture to one which would be more adapted to a modern twentieth century industrial way of life.

Summing up his article, Dr. Rao concluded: "Social development requires creation of a rational attitude, conquest of superstition, freedom from taboos, totems and astrology, cultivation of an aware-

ness of social obligations and the recognition of one's role in society and developing the correct attitude towards women, towards education and towards taking the long rather than a short view. To my mind, all these are essential conditions for social development."

The Community Development programme launched by President Magsaysay in the Philippines in 1956 was devoted largely to political and organizational objectives (Schneider 1965). Slowly a greater emphasis is being given to economic objectives. After three hundred and fifty years of Spanish domination and fifty years of American rule, the Philippine people suffered heavily from the war, being subjected to two war campaigns and the Japanese occupation. At the end of the war, the Philippines became independent. The country was devastated, its people completely disorganized. A complete job of rebuilding not only the economy but the social and political institutions was required.

Between 1950 and 1954, a number of government departments each independently developed programmes of socio-economic rehabilitation. The net effect of all these activities was a confusion and a failure to serve the deeper development needs of the people. To coordinate these programmes, a Community Development Council was created in 1954. Sitting on the Council were heads of departments concerned with rural development. There was a field staff but no field operating budget. After a period of time, it became evident that cooperation amongst the national departments was not being achieved satisfactorily and also that an effective Community Development Programme would need to have an operating budget and a field staff of its own.

In January 1956, President Magsaysay created the Presidential Assistant on Community Development (PACD) in place of the Coordinating Council. Once again, national coordination was sought but this time at the bureau head level rather than at the departmental level.

Field workers, mainly college graduates, were recruited: each worker was given an intensive six-month training course prior to being assigned to cover five or six *barrios* (neighbourhood). As workers went to the field, municipal mayors and technical personnel from various agencies were given six-week courses. The goals of

the programme first centered on making the *barrio* an effective form of social and political structure. Economic goals gained in importance, but it is significant that, in this newly independent country, local and regional governments were established first, and economic goals came later.

All was not solved, even at the political level, by the introduction of Community Development. In his inaugural address on the state of the nation, President Marcos referred to the current problems facing his country saying: "The Filipino, it seems, has lost his soul, his dignity, and his courage. Our people have come to a point of despair. We have ceased to value order. Our government is gripped in the iron hand of venality, its treasury is barren, its resources are wasted, its civil service is slothful and indifferent, its armed forces demoralized and its councils sterile" (De Roos 1966).

The experience of these two countries are mentioned first because they are better known in American social science literature. They also symbolized a dramatic decision by governments involved to rely upon the ideology of western democracies rather than upon communism for their future.

It is, however, with the British Colonial Office that Community Development first saw the light of the day. A 1948 dispatch (Du Sautoy 1958:31-32) from the British Colonial Office to its Gold Coast Office already contained much that is now commonplace in Community Development circles but at the time such theories were still considered revolutionary. The objectives of Community Development were defined as covering all forms of development activity in the field and were described as "a movement to secure the active cooperation of the people of each community in programmes designed to raise the standard of living and to promote development in all its forms . . ." "The people who will be affected by development planning should be associated with it from its inception", the document went on to say, "and the surest way of stimulating enthusiasm is to give the community reason to believe that the ideas and plans put forward are their own."

Before this, in French and British Colonial Africa, the big emphasis in development programmes had been on mass education, which in practice meant literacy campaigns. Even when programmes

of mass education became more than mere attacks on illiteracy and included attempts to eradicate ignorance, apathy, prejudice, poverty, disease and isolation, in brief all those factors which hindered the progress of African communities, the relationship between the outside agency and the community was one of teacher-pupil, and not of shared leadership as idealized in modern Community Development literature.

The 1948 instruction did not put an end to this but it did launch British Colonial programmes in a new direction. Today, in Ghana, adult literacy is still regarded as a first step in a Community Development programme as it is felt it gives a real sense of progress and enlightenment to any illiterate community. Secondly, home economics, or work "among women", teaching better care of the child and the home is stressed. Thirdly, there are the self-help projects symbolizing the people's desire to improve. Finally, there are the extension campaigns which are aggressive attempts to teach communities all types of improvement in their ways of living.

It will be noted that, at the beginning of this programme, a fair measure of the goal-setting was done from the top. When I was directing a Community Development programme in Manitoba amongst people of Indian ancestry, I was never able to convince myself of the necessity to give as much importance to the elimination of formal or functional illiteracy and to the teaching of family building crafts. In fact, I do not recall a single instance in my first round of visits with the families of any given community in which I heard a family head, whether male or female, ever say: "What we need here is a course to teach people how to read and write", or "What we need here is a course to teach us (or our wives) better housekeeping habits" (Lagassé 1959).

We did get requests for such courses but it was only after the people were already considerably involved in a programme of Community Development and had suddenly discovered that a certain clearly identified step could not be taken unless the community did some catching-up. This realization usually resulted in a request for courses ranging from how to speak, read and write English, to how to type; from how to add, substract, multiply and divide, to

how to keep books for a producer's cooperative and how to conduct feasibility studies. The relationship between income and educational achievement so well documented in modern literature and so evident to one who earns a living from a white-collar job is not that evident to the fisherman, the trapper and the lumberjack.

Returning to the Ghana programme, it has to its credit many valuable achievements as is evidenced by the relative advance this country has taken over many other African states. From the Gold Coast experience as well as that of many other British Colonies has emerged, as described by Batten (1962, 1964,) a British School of Community Development in which the Community is often the small community; in which the development sought is mainly of the socio-cultural nature; and in which the main emphasis is on what happens to the individual villager rather than what happens to the economy of the country. Its role in the British Colonial Office was quite clear: it was aimed at enabling the local population to achieve self government and independence. Perhaps this was so because the economy of the country was still largely controlled by outside commercial interests and meaningful planning for that sector could better be done from that location.

This kind of Community Development, however, needs to be complemented by economic development. While in Ghana, the fourth dimension of the programme was extension which included the development of improved cocoa growing methods, this did not, in itself, constitute an attempt to plan the entire economy of the country. Other authorities became necessary to develop outside markets, diversify the national economy, decide on national investment priorities, etc.

I have reviewed briefly the Community Development programmes in India where it is the main tool for orienting the rural population to modern technology — in the Philippines, where it was used to establish regional and *barrio* units of government and self-help projects — and in Ghana, where it was introduced by a Colonial authority to hasten the achievement of national independence. A Mexican example will now be presented to illustrate further the difference between social and economic development.

The *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (1964) in Mexico could be seen as the equivalent to a public corporation in Canada in that it receives its funds from the government but is not responsible to the government for its policies. Its work is entirely with Indian communities. The central figure in the Institute's work is the bilingual *Promotor Social.* This person is an Indian who speaks the local Indian language and Spanish. At first, he might have had no more than a Grade two education. Now, he usually has six to eight years of schooling. He is brought to the "Center" for a three-month general course and is sent back to teach his people. While there are formal courses, the bulk of the teaching is done through informal visits. While at the Center he may have seen illustrations of a grain of wheat or corn, how it germinates, the role of fertilizers and the life cycle of nefarious insects. He will pass this information along to the native households as he visits them. I was impressed, however, by the care that is taken to appear not "to teach" but rather just "to explain" as one does when asked to show how one's new hi-fi works.

The headquarters of the Institute is in Mexico City. At headquarters are a number of special advisors in anthropology, economics, forestry, agriculture, adult education, public health, road building, etc. The real work of the Institute, however, is performed through the programmes of its fourteen centers, each serving a large geographical area.

There are over three million people in Mexico who in the words of Dr. Caso, the Director of the Institute, "have not acculturated enough to be able to participate in, or benefit from, the usual national programmes of socio-economic development. The role of the Institute is to help them in their present state of Indian culture and to hasten the pace of adjustment in order that they can as soon as possible relate to the general programmes." [1]

The Institute's budget is not designed to do all that is required in Indian communities. Even the *Promotores Sociales,* 1,500 in number, are paid by the Department of Education even if they

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[1] Address given by Dr. A. Caso, Director of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista to an educational tour organized in April 1966 by the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs.

are trained by the Institute and report to its regional directors. This constitutes a very progressive form of inter-agency cooperation.

In the country as a whole, however, many agencies have a Community Development component. The Ministry of Home Affairs has a coordinating Directorate of Councils of Moral, Civic and Material Improvement. The Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization has an Office of Cooperatives and Community Development. The Ministry of Agriculture has a Department of Agricultural Extension. The Ministry of Health and Assistance has a Directorate for Literacy and Adult Education as well as a Department of Cultural Missions and a Directorate General of Indian Affairs.

From the above, one gets a picture of a very complex superstructure of social development agencies. In the economic field, however, there is an equally intricate framework, with the National Center for Productivity, the *Nacional Financiera,* and the Bank of Mexico playing major roles.

The concern of this sector with socio-economic planning is well illustrated by the words of the Mexican Minister of Finance and Public Credit on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of *Nacional Financiera*: "To achieve this policy (i.e. established true prosperity and greatness for the Mexican nation after independence), economic policy had been directed at strengthening the physical infrastructure needed for agricultural and industrial development; incorporating the railroads, the petroleum industry and electric power into the national Dominion; creating the adequate institutional infrastructure for new productive tasks; modernizing the banking system so that it may perform better its important and unsubstitutable function of providing credit: encouraging investment in the most desirable economic areas for the country; and distributing with greater fairness the tax burdens involved" (Ortiz-Mena 1964).

I think the difference between social and economic development in Latin America and elsewhere becomes most evident when one considers a 1963 publication of UNESCO entitled: "Social Aspects of Economic Development in Latin America" (1963). In its four hundred pages of small print, the book does not once

mention community development and directs its attention almost exclusively to national productivity, economic planning, population growth, political organization, and social change. Probably the avoidance of the term Community Development was due to the fact that the sixteen scientists who contributed articles were focusing on national rather than local development, as officers of the Bank of Canada might be expected to do if they were to give a talk on development.

Likewise I suspect that in a sense many of us at the federal and provincial administrative level do not have as our first point of reference the local community, but the provincial or national economy. The four divisions of the book just mentioned were: 1) the situation in Latin America; 2) prerequisites for rapid economic development; 3) the strategy of development programming, and 4) the role of education, administration and research in development. This sort of approach constitutes something we can immediately relate to.

On the other hand, we might not feel that the division in Du Sautoy's book (1958) quoted earlier was relevant to our work. He divided his book into: 1) the beginnings of Community Development in Ghana; 2) plans for mass literacy and mass education; 3) the organization of the Department of Welfare and Social Development; 4) mass literacy; 5) women's work; 6) village project work; 7) extension campaigns; 8) training, and 9) lessons learned in Ghana.

It is clear that the Latin American publication is focused on a more general level of operation while the Ghanaian book is oriented to the village level. While these represent two components for a complete national programme of development, it is quite possible to have national programmes that will neglect one in favour of the other. And it is more than likely that within any national programmes there will be individuals giving exclusive attention to the particular segment they represent and denying the validity of the other.

Indeed, there have been many theories of development. Sol Tax (1960), in a book called *Action Anthropology*, attempts to show the role anthropology must play in Community Development programmes. Espinosa Zevallos (1963) of the University of Ecuador,

in his publication *El Desarrollo Humano Regional* (Regional Human Planning), emphasizes the role of sociology. The reports of the various economic councils in Canada formally highlighted the contributions of economists and political scientists.

It should not be a cause for concern that each of us should identify with a particular orientation rather than with another. All developments do not have the same goal. Being multi-dimensional, they require different approaches for each type of goal sought. As long as we are aware of the need for coordination, the different emphases placed on Community Development may in fact enrich our mutual contributions.

Another important factor that leads to different concepts in developmental work is the model chosen as the desirable end. Essentially, developmental work consists in bringing a certain phenomenon from Point A to Point B. Therefore, Community Development will then consist in bringing Community A from its present condition to a condition quite similar to that of Community B which may exist already in some other geographical location or is primarily an ideal condition in which one would like that community to be. This preferred form of community can be called "The Model Community".

It would be interesting to compare what constitutes a "model community" under different programmes. In the Philippines, at first, the main characteristics sought were those of an elected form of local authority responsible for the planning of a certain geographical area and involving all the citizens in that area. In India, the model community is one in which there would be less reliance on traditional technology and beliefs and more efficiency in food producing activities. In Ghana, it was one in which the native African population would occupy positions of control, while in Mexico it was one which would retain much of the culture of the Indians while adapting to the requirements of modern-day Mexico. What are the model communities for the BAEQ or for the Interlake? Are they similar?

I am not too sure how meaningful these short descriptions of national programmes are other than to reassure us that we are in good company. Significant in all this is perhaps the fact that while

we in Canada have done very well in some aspects, we are lagging behind other nations in others.

One thing is clear as one reflects over the great variety of national programmes for social economic development. The agencies interested primarily in economic development have realized that in modern industrialized society economic development cannot take place without considerable re-training and upgrading of human resources. Those agencies which are involved in vocational upgrading and adult education realize that little learning can take place unless there is first among the people a willingness to change by improving their basic education achievements and understanding the main direction in which their society is moving. This understanding presupposes an active involvement of the individual in his social milieu. Without some tangible relationship with the larger society, the individual is hard put to understand why he should seek to participate in any kind of national programmes or even in purely local ones.

Another consideration is that the literature which is published by all these national programmes is quite similar and draws mainly from five or six basic texts produced in the period 1948-1955. It would appear that success or failure was due not so much to the academic ability to conceptualize about elaborate socio-economic theories and models, but rather to the personal orientation and motivation of the men involved in the programmes. In each case, however, there was a genuine attempt to relieve immediate human miseries and to provide long-term solutions for preventing their reoccurrence. This orientation is perhaps best described in the workings of l'Abbé Pierre who proposed as a basic principle to his supporters : "Devant toute humaine souffrance, selon que tu le peux emploie-toi non seulement à la soulager sans retard, mais encore à détruire ses causes... Emploie-toi non seulement à détruire ses causes, mais encore à la soulager sans retard... Nul n'est, sérieusement, ni bon, ni juste, ni vrai, tant qu'il n'est résolu, selon ses moyens, à se consacrer, d'un cœur égal, de tout son être, à l'une comme à l'autre de ces deux tâches." [2]

[2] Quotations from Abbé Pierre's speech carried on the inside cover of *Faim et Soif*, the official organ of the Abbé Pierre's Missions.

In the long run I think programmes of Community Development are more than a mere technology of programme planning. It must become part of a philosophy and a way of life for those involved in the planning process. Community Development is not a livelihood. It is life itself.

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Social Anthropology – Mechanized or Humanized ?

LOUIS FELDHAMMER

> We have found that where science has progressed the farthest, the mind has but regained from nature that which the mind has put into nature. We have found a strange footprint on the shores of the unknown. We have devised profound theories one after another, to account for its origin. At last, we have succeeded in reconstructing the creature that made the footprint. And lo ! it is our own.
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> — Sir Arthur Eddington [1]

Wrong thinking in the natural sciences is lamentable but, sooner or later, will be rejected. Wrong thinking in the social sciences may escape this fate; thus it is not merely lamentable but dangerous. This contrast is primarily one of subject matter, and the consequences which flow from it are both profound and pervasive.

Anthropology is now accepted as a legitimate and "respectable" member of the scientific establishment. But the achievement of this status has not been without cost, for in the attempt to make man's social behaviour a proper subject for scientific inquiry, there has been a general adoption of certain prevailing assumptions whose theoretical and practical effects have now — and for a long time past — been an obstacle to further understanding.

It is hardly our purpose here to review the history of social anthropology, but it must be noted that its theoretical orientation has deep roots in the pervasive mechanism of the Newtonian Revolution and in the rationalism and empiricism of the Enlightenment (Matson 1964:19-45). Men have always been interested in knowing and understanding the social behaviour of their own kind, and it was the great breakthroughs of the natural sciences which led to a desire to emulate its achievements in this realm. Thus, a situation quickly developed wherein it became clear that only through the

[1] Quoted in Werner Heisenberg, "The Physicist's Conception of Nature" (1958, p. 153).

use (and praise) of the "scientific method" could any study put forth a claim to intellectual legitimacy. From the view that human behaviour is amendable to study by the "scientific method" it is only a short step to the position that all that we need for successful discovery about ourselves and our social institution is an adequate system of empirical generalizations and enough precise data to fit into them.[2]

When such a position is taken and, for the most part, stoutly defended by social anthropologists the resulting image of man is often a startling one. This is how it is expressed by a leading scholar whose power in the academic world of American anthropology should not be underestimated:

> . . . the data of culture and social life are susceptible to exact scientific treatment as are the facts of the physical and biological sciences. It seems clear that the elements of social organization conform to natural laws of their own with an exactitude scarcely less striking than that which characterizes the permutations and combinations of atoms in chemistry and of genes in biology (Murdock 1949:183).

The above passage must not be mistaken as an expression of an extremist position, but rather as a statement which gives voice to the contemporary dominance of naturalism, objective empiricism, and "scientism" prevalent among social anthropologists. There can be no misinterpretation of a position so clearly and straight-forwardly stated; what is really puzzling is that it should be held, with seemingly no diminution in its general acceptance, for over two centuries. It is puzzling because the history of any science is the history of the replacement of one theory by another which is able to account for or explain the phenomena which remained anomalous under the preceding orientation. The philosophical naturalism of all the social sciences never offered anything resembling an understanding of man's behaviour; within its framework man remains an

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[2] The entire emphasis on field work and its *raison d'être* in social anthropology is, of course, nothing if not an expression of this attitude toward man and his social universe. The recipe is as follows: a large collection of "data" added to a base of "objective" observation, stir patiently, result — the truth. So far, because the cake never quite comes out, there has been a lot of complaining about, and much tinkering with, the oven. The "comparative method" is a good illustration of this kind of philosophical naivety — as though doing the same thing more than once will necessarily result not in the compounding of error, but in the avoidance of it!

anomalous mechanism. But it persists, being reduced to a sterile formalism in economics, an avoidance of ethics in political science, a pathetic and second-rate statistician's shop in sociology, a logically fallacious system of thought called "structural-functionalism" in anthropology, and over the whole absurd circus there lies the strong desire to be "value-free" and avoid at all costs an entanglement with anything men consider to be crucial in their lives and the universe.

Why ? Because of an approach which is based on a really terrible idea, the idea that man is a mindless being under the control of circumstances in much the same manner as "atoms in chemistry." When social scientists speak of themselves and their fellow-men as though they were describing inanimate objects then the consequence is immediate and direct; it is the consequence so feared by Weber, namely, "mechanical petrification."[3] Furthermore, it is of the very crux of the matter to note that in the realm of social thought what is under analysis is ultimately ourselves, so that when social anthropologists study societies populated by creatures who are fundamentally involuntary, irresponsible, and mechanical the effects are particularly disastrous. They are disastrous on both those who are studied and those who do the studying. Both have the capacity to know and to assess the "findings"; both observer and observed are an integral part of the same totality — they are engaged with one another, and both are influenced by the act of perceptual analysis. This is so much the case that not only do we find that "laymen" believe, and actively support, the view that reality is determinate, mechanistic, and casual but the professional practitioners are themselves led to view their own selves in a similar framework. That this is nothing if not disastrous can be substantiated with ever increasing ease by a glance at any of our social institutions, from the academic to the local community.[4]

The traditions of social anthropology have been strongly coloured by Comte's famous goal, "*Savoir pour prévoir, prévoir*

[3] It is not without significance that when social scientists deal with the works of Max Weber they invariably choose to emphasize his ideas on "objectivity" and the ethically neutral character of social science.

[4] In a world where mechanical values are apotheosized at the expense of humane values we all suffer a severe loss. "What has been lost is the capacity to experience and have faith in one's self as a worthy and unique being, and at the same time the capacity for faith in, and meaningful communication with, other selves, namely one's fellow-men" (May 1960:122).

pour pourvoir," a statement reflecting the optimism and faith in unending progress so typical of the nineteenth century. Yet more than one hundred years later anthropologists are engaged in criticizing the theoretical orientations of their colleagues on the grounds of their "predictive power" — they are still looking for the Eldorado of prediction and control. All this when the natural sciences have long since established that, *in principle*, exact prediction is impossible and we are faced with the mysterious, i.e., the non-inductivist, worlds of the atomic, quantum and relativity theories.

Much of this discussion centres around what we referred to earlier as the attempt to legitamize social anthropology as a "scientific" endeavour and, notwithstanding the relative success in this regard, there is an unending stream of writings trying to establish its undefiled purity once and for all. So we find in Max Gluckman's latest book a section with the heading "Social Anthropology: Science or Art?" (1965:301-303) Mr. Gluckman suggests six qualities which clearly differentiate social anthropology from art and give it its rightful claim to be called a science. These are 1) explicitness as against implicitness, 2) insistence on the obvious as against avoidance of the obvious, 3) numerical assessment as against avoidance of figures, 4) recapitulation as against variety, 5) accurate definition as against evocativeness and, finally, 6) the quality of cumulativeness as against its absence.

Now here we have much more than an odd interest in a non-problem but a real confusion of thought. Here we are made aware again of the price that has been paid for clinging to the legacy of Galileo and Newton. There are several points to note. Is it true that art is not explicit? Does it really avoid the obvious? If it is all that interested in variety why do its themes and motifs recur again and again? As for "numerical assessment" this is the old bug-a-boo that mistakes quantities for precision of thought and sees social reality as something which is essentially aggregative.[5]

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[5] For example, social anthropologists are forever telling their students that Durkheim's "Suicide" is a classic example of empiricism and the use of "quantitative analysis" in problem-solving. (After all, the book is full of numbers arranged in tables.) This is a clear implication that Durkheim got his controlling ideas, particularly his powerful insight of anomie, from a diligent perusal of the vital registers of Europe. But this is a fairy-tale requiring too much effort to be believable. The sad truth of the matter is that anthropologists are among the

The quality of "accurate definition" is completely misleading. After all, anthropology literally means the study of man — query, define man; answer, "a featherless biped." Well, the definition is accurate enough, but it is also meaningless. And this is the crucial point; in the realm of social thought it is absurd to pretend we want impossibly accurate definitions when what we are really after are meaningful ones. And meaningfulness may or may not require the element of "evocativeness" — either way it has no bearing on whether it is science or art. Finally, the matter of cumulativeness refers to engineering, not to science. Science is concerned with the same fundamental questions as always, just like art. It gives an appearance of cumulativeness for a variety of reasons — technological complexity for one, and historical ignorance for another. When asked to name one new fact about man which behaviouristic psychology has contributed I was told: "Reward is more effective than punishment in the learning process." But the history of the West abounds with identical sentiments going to its beginnings. Another reason is that it seems to offer answers which are verified; this is felt to be so, notwithstanding the fact that only the propositions of logic and mathematics are even remotely capable of proof. Furthermore, far more men identify with, and thus have "verified" (in the true subjective sense), the social realities found in, for example, a line of Shakespeare than in all the dull professionalisms of the typical learned monograph.

It is clear, therefore, that much of the thinking concerned with social anthropology as science or art is really dealing with the difference between an activity which is professionalized and one that is not. Professions are inevitably bureaucratic — they have departments, various levels of apprenticeship, standardized requirements of proficiency, rules of behaviour, and so on. Now creative thought occurs within professions as well as out of them, although the history of ideas indicates that it may be a lot easier for the creative imagination to function outside the traditional bureaucratic framework.

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last remaining groups of intellectuals who still generally believe, and teach their students, nonsense such as that Darwin got the idea of natural selection from his observations during the voyage of the "Beagle".

Professionalization is accompanied by bureaucratization. Bureaucracy requires method, but creative thought is not methodical. Creative thought is based on the insight while method is based on the "system", namely the elevation of the routine into a position of importance. Creativity shuns systematics. It is false to assume that creative thought in the sciences is qualitatively different from that of the arts simply because its expression takes rational and logical forms. The same kind of creative imagination is at work in both art and science. The systematics of the "scientific method" is an obstacle to a fuller comprehension of ourselves and of our fellow-men. "It is only as an artist that man knows reality" is the remark of a mathematician not of a painter (Morse 1959:58).

Finally, I would like to refer to one more element which has effected the character of social anthropology since its beginnings in the nineteenth century. It was my personal critical reaction to this element which gave the original impetus to the ideas expressed earlier in this paper. It is always present, sometimes clearly visible, sometimes just beneath the surface and, increasingly of late, buried beneath a heavy layer of restrained intellectuality. This is its romanticism. The historical fact that anthropology had its origins as a study of "leftovers", or as someone once put it, "the investigation of oddments by the eccentric" (Kluckhohn 1959:11), is clearly of some relevance; it tended to reinforce the romantic impulse.

Now I am not criticizing an interest in the strange and novel; it seems to me that a capacity to be excited by the exotic and the different is exactly what makes social anthropology so much more interesting than most social studies and is a perfectly legitimate reason for engaging in it. But romanticism has certain adjuncts and in anthropology it has always tended toward a general feeling of over-sensitivity for the preciousness of the native's culture. It also reveals itself in such things as the innumerable references to "my (or his) people." This need not be of great concern if it were not for the fact that, more often than not, it seriously blurs many analyses of social change, particularly with regard to those factors involved in the process of modernization. Specifically, the underlying romanticism in much anthropological work results in an overemphasis of the essential retentiveness and conservatism of a people's cultural traditions and in the view that this factor is of universal

and crucial importance in the political and economic processes involved in industrialization.

It would be stupid, of course, to deny any role to indigenous traditions in social change. What I do deny is that they are necessarily always of great significance — or indeed that, in some instances, they are even very important at all. This fact cannot be emphasized enough. A corollary thesis is that insufficient attention has thus far been paid to the *choices and alternatives* offered to the members of a society in the context of social change — in short, with the *possibilities* which are available within the situation itself.

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A Typology of Residents for Community Development

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WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF KENNETH R. DAVIDSON

Introduction

In a role theory approach to training workers for community development, four main roles have been differentiated — the observer, diagnostician, strategist and stimulator. (Connor, 1966:6-8) For effective performances in these roles, a typology of residents based on developmentally-oriented dimensions is proposed as useful and even necessary.

This paper outlines one such typology and indicates the distribution of the types of residents in an Atlantic fishing community. It suggests the prospects of a model which would relate (1) the proportional distribution of these types of residents, (2) certain types of communities and (3) specific strategies of development. While this work is still in an early exploratory phase, it may stimulate a more systematic approach to significant theoretical and practical problems involved in social and cultural change.

Typologies

The prospects and problems posed simultaneously by typologies have been developed by Znaniecki, Becker, Moore (Moore, 1959:842) and, more recently, by McKinney (McKinney, 1966). Whether in Merton's classic formulation of the localite and cosmopolite (Merton, 1957:387-415) or in the layman's subconscious categorizing of "good" men and "bad", persons faced with the full range of human variety will impose on it some classificatory system as a first step in confronting and relating to the data.

Unfortunately, many development workers tend to view a community of people in terms of relatively static variables such as age, sex, formal education, ethnic origin, religion, occupation, income and wealth. While these data provide some useful descriptive

information, they are relatively non-dynamic in prediciting the propensity of residents to involve themselves in various ways in the processes of community development. Experience indicates that persons who rate both high and low on these dimensions have played significant roles in the development of their communities. Have these variables, singly or jointly, much predictive power in forecasting who will act in a given direction in community development? What alternative dimensions may be more usefully employed?

Components for a Dynamic Typology

Some core components for a dynamic typology are proposed as follows:

1. The extent to which residents fully understand and accept the local community subculture and, in turn, are accepted by its principal proponents. In many cases, the *natives* of the community are most likely to be accepting and accepted; *non-natives* who have migrated to the community from some location, perceived as "foreign", are less likely to understand and accept the local subculture fully and may well be totally or partially rejected by many persons in the community.

2. The extent to which residents possess a broad knowledge of alternative ways of solving recurrent human problems, gained through extra-community experience and non-formal education, here conceived as the selective relief of ignorance (Connor and Magill, 1965:66). *Continuous* residents of the community are less likely to possess such knowledge and the liberal attitudes fostering its use; *discontinuous* residents, on the other hand, will have "marched to a different drummer", (or seen others doing so) and experienced the conjunction of opposites (Barnett, 1953:46-56). For a native, a period of residence beyond the home community may be taken as an indicator of an innovative disposition as well as a source of stimulating new experience i.e. as both a dependent and independent variable.

3 The degree to which residents are committed to the well-being of the community as a value which includes a considerable portion of their own identity. The *willing* residents of the community are more likely to identify themselves with the community

and be willing to invest themselves in its development whether as innovators, advocates or participants (Lapierre, 1965:103-211). The *unwilling* residents are less likely to become thus involved

When these three variables are combined, seven types of residents may be distinguished, as shown in Table 1. (The separation of Immigrant Professionals from Displaced Residents is made by the use of an occupational classification.)

TABLE I — TYPOLOGY OF RESIDENTS

Types of Residents	Place of Birth	Community Experience	Community Identification
Contented Resident	Native	Continuous	Willing
Reluctant Resident	Native	Continuous	Unwilling
Returned Emigre	Native	Discontinuous	Willing
Disappointed Migrant	Native	Discontinuous	Unwilling
Displaced Resident *	Non-Native	----------	Willing
Immigrant Professional **	Non-Native	----------	Willing
Reluctant Emigre	Non-Native	----------	Unwilling

* Non-professional or unskilled occupation
** Professional or skilled occupation

It is important in developing a typology of this nature that its components be indexed with operational ease and appropriate accuracy. Place of birth and continuity of residence are relatively easy kinds of data to acquire through records, key informants and conversation without generating an atmosphere of threat or hostility. Data on an individual's commitment to the community are more sensitive, but it is thought to be sufficiently critical to warrant the risk and effort required. In many cases, individuals will volunteer verbal or behavioural statements about themselves, and comments about others which will assist in this classification. If sufficient importance is allocated to the vital role of observer to acquire a systematic understanding of the community (Connor, 1964), it should be possible to obtain these motivational data.

What alternative or additional components might be employed in a dynamic typology of community residents for developmental purposes? How might these components be indexed and operationalized?

Types of Residents

The descriptions of the six types given below are the result of field experience and several studies of Nova Scotian communities, (Connor, 1963; 1966) but they must still be treated as tentative and illustrative: [1]

1. *Contented Resident*: This person was born and brought up in his present community and has lived in it all his life, except perhaps for a few brief visits elsewhere. He is a willing member of it, viewing the advantages of living there as out-weighing the attractions of distant places. In education, income and occupational class, he is likely to be average or below the average of the community. The view-point of this individual centres, typically, on his own community rather than any larger political or social group. Personal, informal and face-to-face kinds of communication are those he usually employs. Contented Residents frequently make up the stable core, physically and emotionally, of the community in contrast with some of the more mobile and less conservative types which follow.

2. *Displaced Resident:* This is a very similar kind of person to the above. He came from a community nearby because he wished to continue the type of life in which he was raised, but perceived this to be impossible in his community of origin, e.g. second son on a small farm. Apart from this, the Displaced Resident shares many of the characteristics of the Contented Resident, and may with time seem almost indistinguishable from him. But to the native born, he is likely to remain a foreigner and somewhat suspect, perhaps for several generations. He usually views the world in terms of the local community; he can add some weight to the stabilizing influence of the Contented Resident.

3. *Reluctant Resident:* While a native of the community and a continuous resident, this person remains in it unwillingly. He may be restrained from leaving by family obligations, the possession of unsaleable fixed assets or the lack of marketable job skills. He sees events in natural rather than local terms. He is likely to be a

[1] The following descriptive material is drawn largely from Connor, 1966; 27-30.

source of destructive discontent for process of development — the disaffected voice from the rear which shouts, "What's the use — it'll never work here" !

4. *Returned Emigre:* A native of the community and a willing resident of it, this person has much in common with the Contented Resident. Unlike him, however, he saw he could not establish himself in the community to his own satisfaction without some additional capital, experience or education. He therefore left the community for a time and then returned and settled where he was born, usually for motives more to do with emotions than economics. Many view him as successful — one who made good in the outside world, but who still believed in the values of the local community and its superiority as the best place to live. With his breadth of experience, he has seen alternative ways of solving traditional problems and is thus a potential innovator. He will often understand some of the development worker's thinking more easily than some other local people. His experience, capacity for empathy and commitment to the local community make him a key person for the development worker to identify and get to know — one who could have a great deal to contribute locally to the process of development.

5. *Disappointed Migrant:* This individual has much in common with the Reluctant Resident, being a native and unwilling resident who often views life in national rather than local terms. He left the community intending to migrate from it permanently. However, he failed to establish himself and was forced to return to his former home, often by unemployment, when his abilities did not match his aspirations. Many see him as unsuccessful. Like the Reluctant Resident, this individual is likely to be a negative figure for the process of development.

6. *Immigrant Professional:* This person is not a native, and therefore not a continuous resident, but lives here willingly; he also belongs to a skilled or professional occupation. His viewpoint is usually that of the national society; typically he has an above average income, education, social rank and formal leadership skills compared with other members of the community. While he has some commitment to the local community now, it is often not as powerful as many other residents. He is likely to be regarded as

a foreigner. Although he is often found at the head of various organizations because of his special skills, this does not mean he is necessarily a power in the community. He may be figurehead or spokesman for a powerful leader who prefers to remain out of the limelight for various reasons. The Immigrant Professional, like the Returned Emigre, has often a breadth of experience and capacity for empathy which the development worker will appreciate. He may have a useful part to play in the process of development, but does not have the same appeal for local people as the native son.

7. *Reluctant Emigre:* (This is the Returned Emigre, during the time he is absent from his community seeking the means to fulfil himself in it later.) He thinks largely in terms of the values of the community to which he hopes to return. While away from it, he often shows little concern for his present community. He may at times be a social problem for it, though usually an economic asset by hard work. Typically, he chose to migrate to it through the advice or presence of persons from his home community. He may be prevented from returning home by growing obligations, e.g. marriage and family, or a slow change of outlook.

An Empirical Test

Data[2] gathered recently in an Atlantic fishing community permits an illustration of the distribution of these types and a test of the predictive powers of this typology concerning the probable dynamic characteristics of the residents for community development.

Ecologically, a line village occupying both sides of a narrow estuary, the community has a total population of 278; of the 136 adults, there are 66 females and 70 males. The nearest major service community (5,000 pop.) is some 70 miles distant. While inshore fishing from motor-driven, 30-35 foot wooden boats is the principal industry, many derive supplementary income from cutting pulp wood, roadwork, berry picking and subsistence sources. The average

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[2] Data used illustratively in this paper are derived from Canadian Public Health Research Project #602-7-66 "An Investigation of Factors Influencing Community Co-operation in Developing a Program of Balanced Hospital and Alternate Care." The field research was carried out by Kenneth R. Davidson, M.A., Assistant Director of the Project.

adult male has an income from all sources of less than $1,700. The majority of the residents are adherents of the Baptist or United Church. An education of Grade Six is typical.

The general research design consists of a comparative study of this relatively isolated fishing community with a less isolated rural community by a combination of ethnographic and survey research techniques. Six months was spent in each community using participants observation, key informants and similar qualitative techniques for the first five months, after which a questionnaire was developed and administered to all the adults to quantify selected variables; the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck values questionnaire was also administered.

Standard items in the questionnaire were used to index the three variables employed in the typology:

a. a comparison of place of birth and place of present residence separated Natives from Non-natives.

b. Continuous residents were those Natives who replied negatively to the question: "Did you ever live for 6 months or more in any other community?"

c. Willing residents were identified as responding positively to the question: "Do you *want* to remain living in this community for the rest of your life?" In the case of ambiguous or qualified answers, their response to a further question was employed: "Do you think of this community as 'home'?"

Findings

The distribution of the population on these variables is shown in Table 2. The overwhelming number of males who are natives of the community is in contrast to the proportion of non-native females. However, this difference is mitigated by the fact that most of the non-native women enter this community as wives who were born and brought up in neighbouring fishing villages with a similar subculture.

More than half of the men have never lived outside this community for more than six months; half of the native women have not lived beyond the community either. A further index of

TABLE 2 — TYPES OF RESIDENTS IN AN ATLANTIC FISHING COMMUNITY BY SEX

Components & Resultant Types	*Male* No. (N=57)	%	*Female* No. (N=60)	%	*Total* No. (N=117)*	%
Native	54	95	35	58	89	76
Non-Native	3	5	25	42	28	24
Continuous	31	54	17	28	48	41
Discontinuous	26	46	43	72	69	59
Willing	51	89	49	82	100	85
Unwilling	6	11	11	18	17	15
Contented Residents	28	49	17	28	45	39
Returned Emigres	21	36	16	27	37	32
Displaced Residents	2	4	16	27	18	15
Reluctant Emigres	1	2	9	15	10	9
Reluctant Residents	3	5	1	2	4	3
Disappointed Migrants	2	4	1	2	3	2

* The total adult population of 136 was reduced by the absence of 7 men working away from the community during the six months of field research; 3 men and 2 women were not interviewed for medical reasons e.g. senility; 2 men and 4 women were absent during the survey period; one man refused to be interviewed. Total non-respondents = 19.

geographic stability is provided by the fact that there are only 16 family names in the community and two of these account for half the adult population.

The very high proportions of willing residents, particularly among the men, is a distinctive feature of this community. This level of community identification is heightened when coupled with the predominance of native and continuous residents among the men, and male dominance to a high degree in this rather traditional community.

Types of Residents

Table 2 indicates that Contented Residents make up the largest single category, particularly amongst the men, followed closely by the Returned Emigres. The Displaced Residents are almost entirely women as are the Reluctant Emigres. There are few in the Reluctant Resident and Disappointed Migrant categories and none classified as Immigrant Professionals.

After individuals were designated by the indices of this typology, an opportunity to test partially the validity of this approach was

provided through an evaluation of the classification by the person who carried out the ethnographic and survey research in the particular community. (During the course of six months of constant close association with the residents, he has come to know them so well that his estimates of four of their value orientations is identical with indices derived from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck questionnaire in 70% of the cases.)

While this typology offers predictions of the types of developmental behaviour which can be anticipated from residents of a community, it must be understood that these predictions are on a *probability* basis only.

TABLE 3 — ETHNOGRAPHIC ESTIMATES OF DEVELOPMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TYPES OF RESIDENTS BY SEX

Types of Residents	*Male*		*Female*		*Total*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contented Residents						
Total	28		17		45	
As Predicted	26	93	14	82	40	89
Negative	1		—		1	
Positive	1		2		3	
Doubtful	—		1		1	
Returned Emigres						
Total	21		16		37	
As Predicted	11	52	12	75	23	62
Negative	3		2		5	
Neutral, doubtful	7		2		9	
Displaced Redidents						
Total	2		16		18	
As Predicted	2	100	14	87	16	89
Negative	—		1		1	
Positive	—		1		1	
Reluctant Emigres						
Total	1		9		10	
As Predicted	1	100	5	56	6	60
Positive	—		3		3	
Doubtful	—		1		1	
Reluctant Residents						
Total	3		1		4	
As Predicted	3	100	1	100	4	100
Disappointed Migrants						
Total	2		1		3	
As Predicted	2	100	1	100	3	100
TOTAL	57		60		117	
TOTAL AS PREDICTED	45	79	47	78	92	79

A comparison of the ethnographic estimates of individual's response to developmental stimuli with the predictions inherent in the typology are presented in Table 3. Contented Residents were hypothesized to be typically neutral, at least initially, to the introduction of developmental ideas and programs into their community. Field knowledge suggests that in fact most of the individuals so classified do possess this neutral attitude, though three were judged to be supportive of development, one to be negative and one to be a doubtful quantity in this regard.

Returned Emigres provided the greatest challenge to analysis. Three men and two women were characterized as "destructive, rebellious, alienated" as a result of close acquaintanceship during field research. A further seven men and two women were classified as neutral to constructive prospects in their community (i.e. similar to Contented Residents in their viewpoint) or difficult to assess in terms of their developmental potential. It is notable that the remainder of this category contains many of the active members and formal leaders of community organizations, e.g. both members of the regional Board of Trade, all but one of the members of a men's Lodge, key figures in a former local co-operative, the Baptist deacon, the Sunday school teacher, and both Presidents of the two church-related women's organizations.

The Displaced Residents seemed to be largely as predicted. Among the Reluctant Emigres, three women were judged to have positive attitudes towards development of this community even though they remain affiliated to another "home" community. The Reluctant Residents and Disappointed Migrants appeared to be largely as predicted.

In summary, this preliminary analysis indicates the distribution of these types of residents in this Atlantic fishing community and indicates ethnographic support for their predicted orientation to community development in 79% of the cases. Further analysis will be undertaken to relate these types of residents to certain socio-economic indices and to individual scores derived from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck values questionnaire. Data from this fishing community will be compared with those from another rural community.

Prospects for a Model

Model-building in the social sciences is not only fashionable but necessary if we are to explore, test, establish and use the systematic relationship between dynamic variables in applied social fields. Its general aim is to reduce the proportion of art in human development work and increase the proportion of scientific technology. Unless this can be effected, the prognosis for widespread and effective community development is not bright. This rationale is advanced to justify the rather speculative propositions advanced below :

1. In any community, its propensity for development (i.e. positive, purposive, processual, qualitative and/or quantitative change over time, particularly as achieved through enhancing local problem-solving capability) is a function of the social and ecological characteristics of the community.

2. The differential distribution of types of residents, as outlined previously, may be used to index the social characteristics of the community in dynamic terms relevant to development.

3. The ecological characteristics of the community may be defined in such terms as its relative size, isolation, resource base, etc.

4. Communities may be located on a continuum according to their propensity for self-induced (i.e. externally unassisted) development with reference to their social and ecological characteristics. For example a community least likely to experience self-induced development may be described as one with a high proportion of Contented Residents, Displaced Residents, Reluctant Residents, Reluctant Emigres and Disappointed Migrants and a low proportion of Returned Emigres and Immigrant Professionals, and ecologically, small, isolated and lacking in resources. A community with a high propensity for self-induced development would, on the contrary, be characterized by high proportions of Returned Emigres and Immigrant Professionals compared with the other types of residents and, ecologically, large, central and possessing a substantial and diversified resource base. (While designed with rural communities in mind, this model may be adapted to urban centres and their disadvantaged sub-communities.)

5. Development may be induced, typically by the introduction of a development worker supported by an agency external to the community, by selecting from amongst a score of specific strategies those which are appropriate for this type of community. (A further selection amongst these strategies must be made in terms of their suitability for the particular fieldworker given, agency and local problem (s) (Connor, 1967).

If and when models of this type or another variety are developed, they will only reduce, and not eliminate, the element of art in Community Development. This work is still in an early exploratory phase; it is presented in the hope that it will stimulate further research and administrative concern with a core problem in community development. Reactions and suggestions are warmly solicited.

Conclusion

This paper has outlined a typology of residents based upon components hypothesized to be relevant for community development, has described some social characteristics of each type and has illstrated the distribution of these types with data from an Atlantic fishing community. A tentative model has been proposed to relate the types of residents and ecological factors with certain types of communities according to their propensity for self-induced development and the relevance of some specific strategies of induced development to each type of community.

No categorical statements are made concerning this material which is presented mainly to stimulate the exchange of constructive ideas concerning important areas in the field of community development.

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Mutual Aid and Neighbouring Patterns: The Lower Town Study [1]

NORMAN SHULMAN

There has been widespread belief, in the popular view as well as in sociological literature, that the modern city is a cold and unfriendly place. In sociology this view goes back at least as far as the writings of Max Weber who said that "personal reciprocal acquaintance" (1958-65) of urban dwellers was not possible because of the characteristics of the modern city. Louis Wirth (1938:1-24) in a much-quoted essay said that urban interaction is "impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental." This, according to Wirth (*ibid* 11) serves as a device for protection "against the personal claims and expectations of others." This picture is often contrasted with the traditional rural neighbourhood which is viewed as a closely knit unit in which mutual aid was a normative element (Weber 1922: Heberle 1960). Since countries such as Canada now have more than two thirds of their populations in urban centers, we are led to expect that virtually no primary group behavior exists outside the nuclear family and that mutual aid is virtually non-existent in the modern city. More recently sociologists have modified this view. Sjoberg (1959:341) for example, points out that a major criticism of "Wirth and others of the Chicago school is that they have exaggerated, even for the United States, the degree of secularization and disorganization that supposedly typifies urban communities. Actually... many informal networks of social relationships exist that were overlooked by early writers..."

The relatively few empirical studies (Fava 1958: Smith *et al* 1954: Shuval 1956: Tomeh 1964: Mann 1961) that have been done also suggest that urban residents tend to know and converse with at least

[1] This study was part of the Lower Town Project carried out by the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology during the summer of 1966. The study was supported by a grant from the Canadian Council for Urban and Regional Research and from St. Paul University. Drs. P. C. Pineo and F. G. Vallee of the Department of Sociology, Carleton University made valuable suggestions.

some of their neighbours. These forms of neighbouring seem to increase with great distance from the center of the city. Most of these studies also indicate that neighbouring is greater in areas of higher socio-economic status. Stability of residence is also frequently related to neighbouring. While these studies do not deal with the question of mutual aid in the urban neighbourhood, they do suggest that the popular notion of the unfriendly urban neighbourhood is not accurate. Our purpose here then, is to examine the types of behavior that occur among urban neighbours and determine whether mutual aid exists.

The study described in this paper was carried out in Ottawa's "Lower Town East", an area of six city blocks by seven. Lower Town East is located east of Parliament Hill, and the area studied lay north of Rideau Street and east of Nelson Street; it was bounded on its other sides by the Rideau River. The area was scheduled for urban renewal in 1966. It is primarily a French-speaking, Roman Catholic, working class area, with almost 80% of its population belonging to this category.

Data[2] collected from over 1,400 families in this neighbourhood indicated that it was in many ways a typical urban neighbourhood and that interpersonal ties within this area were commonplace. With these assurances we set out to accumulate a more complete picture of interaction among urban neighbours and to look specifically at the question of mutual aid in this neighbourhood. This information was acquired through the use of fifty unstructured interviews which utilized a flexible interview schedule. The respondents were allowed to direct the course of the interview as much as possible so that the investigator's preconceptions would be less likely to bias the results. About 75% of the respondents were French-Canadians (this being close to the proportion of French in the neighbourhood), and about 70% were women.

Most previous studies have been concerned only with contact of neighbours. Since contact is a necessary precondition for interaction, it was a primary concern in this study. Considerable contact and acquaintance with neighbours was reported in Lower Town East.

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[2] These data were collected by the City of Ottawa's Planning Department who made them available to the writer for secondary analysis.

Less than 5% of the respondents reported no acquaintance with neighbours.

For some, knowing many of the people in the neighbourhood was something to be proud of :

> Oh I could name you hundreds of people who live in this area, tell you what street they live on, what they do, and about their family life.

A woman who had just moved into her new home boasted,

> You come back in a few weeks and I'll tell you all about them.

Meeting and interacting with neighbours, even casually, is a regular and important part of life for many people.

> I can't walk more than a block and not meet someone I know. When you're home all day it's nice to be able to go out and meet someone to talk to. If I couldn't do that, I wouldn't be happy.

Three general patterns of neighbourhood interaction can be distinguished in Lower Town East. We refer to these patterns as Privacy-orientation, Latent Neighbouring, and Manifest Neighbouring (Mann 1954).

About 15% of the respondents were classified as demonstrating the privacy-orientation. To them, privacy is highly valued and closely guarded. These people may exchange greetings with neighbours but rarely go beyond this. Anything more is considered interference.

> I don't interfere with the neighbours — it's not my business.
>
> I keep to my own side. I don't mix in to the neighbour's business.

This group of people usually have neutral feelings towards their neighbours, although in some cases, negative feelings were expressed. These people engage in only casual and minimal interaction with neighbours when they happen to meet.

The most common of the patterns, Latent Neighbouring, involves the verbal expression of positive feelings towards neighbours, as well as casual conversation with people living close by. Also, in time of crisis or special circumstances, these people engage in various forms of aid. About 55% of respondents demonstrated this pattern of neighbouring.

A response typical of this element is :

> The people around here are nice and everyone gets along, but we only talk outside. We don't go in each other's homes.

Normally then, these people engage in casual interaction and respect the privacy of the home. But under special circumstances, such as crisis, the people actively help neighbours.

> Like last night, a boy down the street got bitten by a dog — and everybody was outside ready to drive him to the hospital.

Special needs may also exist on a more regular basis.

> Neighbours help out. Like me ! I'm paralyzed now. My landlord lives across the street and he shovels all walks when it snows. Some of the other neighbours do it for others, like old people.

What is defined as a special situation varies from person to person, but the distinction is made. In this pattern, the watchword is "neighbourly, but not too neighbourly — unless it is something special."

The third pattern, which we call Manifest Neighbouring, applies to almost 30% of respondents. A typical response from persons in this category is

> We see most of them (neighbours) everyday. If the lady next door or two doors down, needs anything I go over to help. We go out with both our tenants and the people two doors away, and sometimes the people next door.

In addition to the more frequent contact that occurs among these people, mutual aid occurs on a more regular basis. The kinds of mutual aid which were found are rather similar to those found in the extended family (Sussman 1965), but there were some differences. Some of the common forms of mutual aid which were found are borrowing and lending goods, especially tools and equipment, child tending services, advice and information exchange and services such as gardening help and the like.

In addition to these specific forms of help, the chatting or visiting that occurs, especially among women, often serves as a form of supportive therapy in facing the tribulation of everyday life.

> We talk about a lot of things : what happened during the day, about the children . . . It makes you feel better to share these complaints with others who have to put up with them.

The kinds of information which are exchanged by neighbours help to save time, energy and often, money.

> We compare information : where did you get that and how much did you pay for it. There's a lot of advice giving. Mostly about food. I shop

at the market and some of them go to IGA, and we compare prices. You can save a lot like that.

Children are an important aspect in mutal aid. The presence of young children can make activities such as shopping or a medical appointment far more difficult. It is, of course, possible to hire someone to watch children but often the costs are prohibitive or the time period too short to make this worthwhile. To have a neighbour watch the children is a very adequate solution. Not only is the neighbour conveniently located, and free in a monetary sense, but also known and therefore more readily trusted.

My neighbour and I minded each other's kids, and if both of us were going out at the same time we'd get the same babysitter for both kids. If one of us goes out, one of the others takes care of the kids.

The range of items borrowed and lent by neighbours is a wide one.

Clothes, shoes thing like that.
We borrow flour, sugar, elastic, all kinds of things. . . .
I can go across the street and get money or eggs or anything.

Equipment and help in gardening and snow removal are frequently exchanged. Neighbours often take turns in shovelling the snow or watering the lawns.

Some people do shopping or other chores for neighbours.
If I'm going to shop, I ask if anyone needs something, and if someone doesn't have a car to go shopping or someplace, someone will take them. We do a lot of that here.

While there were a few cases of neighbours helping in times of sickness or the arrival of babies, such help is more usually provided by relatives. We had expected to find the use of aid networks in getting jobs and providing contacts for wholesale purchases of major items such as cars and furniture. Very little of this was found, perhaps because networks for such purposes are restricted to the middle and upper classes.

The manifest pattern of neighbouring then, involves several forms of mutual aid which save time, energy and money. For persons in all three patterns, but especially for those in the latter two, there is a marked tendency to gravitate towards relatives and friends, in choosing place of residence. Well over 70% of the respondents were in regular contact with relatives and half of these had relatives living

in the neighbouring or adjacent areas. Having relatives or friends in the area was an important factor for a large proportion of people in their move to this neighbourhood or in proposed moves to other areas.

> We know most of the people around here : two doors down, across the street; and my brother-in-law lived at the corner at that time.
>
> We know many people all around here... That's what made us decide on around there. We will live at number 15 and our friends are at number 21 and we know people at number 10.

Knowing people in a new neighbourhood can be very important.

> No ! I didn't know anyone when I moved in. The first year I was very lonely.

From the frequency with which this factor occurred in decisions of residential mobility, it seems clear that the presence of friends and relatives is of major importance.

The most common of the three patterns of interaction involves overt aid only in special circumstances. This might seem an important change from the traditional rural neighbourhood where mutual aid was said to be an integral part of social life. In any such comparison we must note that there has been a great increase in specialization and in the number of secondary facilities which provide for the needs of the people in the modern city. The rural resident of the past had no choice but to rely on his family and neighbours. Mutual aid was a necessary part of neighbourhood life since life was usually quite marginal. To meet the various needs of daily life, the diffuse nature of primary relationships had to be depended upon. But in the modern city, it is only in times of special situations, such as crises, that the specialized facilities fail and the diffuse primary arrangements come into play. This is consistent with the findings on the extended family (Sussman 1965) where the most common form of mutual aid occurs in times of sickness, which is a special situation. This is also consistent with Homan's suggestion that primary forms of behaviour exist along with the institutional or secondary forms and become apparent "where institutional arrangements have broken down or left gaps" (Homans *ibid* 390).

For almost all people, privacy is at some times highly valued. However, only a rather small proportion of people hold privacy

to be more important than the positive feelings they may develop towards those living near them and the needs that might be met by the resultant relationships. The people who did show such a preoccupation with privacy tended to have particular characteristics which set them apart. Most of these people were near or over sixty years old. A few were members of minority religions and a few were handicapped persons. We might expect that elderly and handicapped persons would be especially anxious to be involved in mutual aid relationships. However, it may be that these people have little to offer in return for any aid received from neighbours and therefore find it harder to get into an aid relationship. We also found that most of these people were closely involved with a single person such as a spouse who provided much of the required help. Bott (1957:60) indicates that people who have close ties with spouses, for example, will be less closely involved in more external relationships, since they will have less needs to be provided for and less time available. This may explain the privacy orientation of this segment of people.

Those who are involved in Manifest Neighbouring with its more regular mutual aid, tend to be younger people under forty years old. Most of these people had children in their home. The other important variable here is length of residence. (cf Pineo 1966) All but two of the respondents in this category had lived here for over five years, and many had lived here much longer. Since a primary relationship involves the right of one person to invade the privacy of the other, most people will require some assurance that such a right will not be abused, before entering into such a relationship. This assurance is gained through experience with the person in the course of the development of such a relationship.

> You can't be friendly right away. You have to be careful with neighbours, you know, to be sure that they aren't going to be in and out all the time.

The length of time required to develop a primary relationship varies with several factors. The more unmet needs a person has the less assurance he will require before entering into a primary relationship. Younger people develop these relationships more quickly since they tend to be at a lower point in their earning cycle and are therefore less able to meet all their needs by the secondary

arrangements which frequently cost money. Younger people are more likely to have children in the home and this too operates to reduce the time required for the development of a mutual aid relationship. Children provide a reason and a legitimate means whereby the parents can meet and interact. Having children also means added needs for the family, and children provide a shared interest and common concern which is frequently discussed by neighbours. Such factors can reduce the length of time required for the development of these primary networks, but generally a period of four or five years is required.

Since the Lower Town East Neighbourhood is a homogeneous French area, it is legitimate to question whether this fact influences the findings. Elsewhere (Shulman 1967) we have compared this neighbourhood on several variables, with the four areas studied by Rossi (Rossi 1965) and found consistent similarity. Further, there is no noticeable difference in the neighbouring behavior of French and non-French respondents in this study. As was noted earlier several previous studies (Tomeh 1964: Smith 1954: Williams 1958) have suggested that neighbouring is greatest in areas of high socio-economic status and those which are farthest from the core of the city. Since Lower Town East is a low income area and is located just east of the Central Business District, we should expect that the degree of observable neighbouring behavior would be less than in the average neighbourhood.

All this suggests that ethnic homogeneity is not a dominant factor in neighbouring.

In an age of rapid transit it is especially significant that people continue to attach importance to the matter of who lives near to them. This suggests that the neighbourhood is still a meaningful social unit. Through frequent contact and shared experiences which occur in the neighbourhood, there develops what Homans (1961; 37 and *passim*) calls "sentiment". This is a part of the process of the development of mutual aid networks.

The fact that these aid relationships exist and provide important services may explain in part why residents so often oppose urban renewal programs. It may be that by providing for the continuance

of such networks for people the opposition to renewal could be reduced.

To conclude, several major points need to be reiterated. First, this study adds to the evidence indicating that the earlier notion of the segmentalized, unfriendly city needs to be modified. Considerable interaction can be formed among urban neighbours. More than this, the kinds of interaction have been differentiated into three general patterns of neighbouring behaviour. The different patterns are related to various social factors such as age, presence of children, and stability of residence. Many urban neighbours engage in mutual aid on a regular basis, but more usually, it occurs only in special circumstances, since for most people it is useful only at such times.

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La Participation

JACQUES BEAUCAGE

Ce court exposé ne prétend pas définir ou expliquer l'animation. Ces quelques notions n'ont d'autre but que de stimuler la discussion.

Elles ne se présentent pas comme la seule réponse, la seule solution. C'est tout simplement un point de vue, qui invite à la critique.

Nous présupposons ici, au départ, qu'il ne saurait y avoir de participation véritable, sans la formation d'un leadership régional.

Et aussi que le leadership présuppose :

— la connaissance de la réalité du milieu

— les moyens d'influencer le milieu.

La participation ne sera donc possible dans ce contexte, que si :

1. l'information présente graduellement cette réalité;
2. l'animation donne au leader éventuel les moyens d'influencer le milieu;
3. le mariage information-animation n'a lieu que selon un rythme et un dosage approprié.

Sans animation, il n'est pas possible :

1. de connaître les carences des leaders éventuels : (crainte, agressivité, complexe d'infériorité, suffisance, etc.)
2. de savoir qu'elle est la nature et le dosage de l'information requise.

Sans l'information requise et demandée, il n'est pas possible d'animer.

Le processus donc, suit la rationnelle indiquée ci-dessous. Cette rationnelle elle-même, peut être paralysée ou stimulée par la série d'attitudes sous-jacentes. Le changement d'attitude (ou de mentalité) permet à la rationnelle de mieux opérer.

La formation au leadership présuppose à la fois, le processus rationnel et le changement de mentalité.

R : Pr — H — S — D — R — O

Att : Defr — Compl — R — A

R :	*Rationnelle*	*Att :*	*Attitude*
Pr :	Problème	Défr :	Défrustration
H :	Hypothèse	Compl :	Complexité des Problèmes
S :	Solution	R :	Rationnelle
D :	Décision	A :	Action
R :	Rôle		
O :	Objectif		

Je soumets donc à votre attention quelques notes explicatives concernant certains aspects de l'animation et, de préférence, celles qui permettent le mieux d'illustrer concrètement les obstacles à surmonter.

Considérons, si vous voulez, le point de départ :

Pr : La prise de conscience des problèmes :

On n'ignore pas que les véritables problèmes pourraient échapper aux leaders éventuels. On découvre ici :

1. Quel genre d'information leur est nécessaire et jusqu'à quel point ils le désirent;
2. Quel blocage les empêche de comprendre (ex. : selon eux l'influence du leadership traditionnel du milieu peut tout régler, ou au contraire peut bloquer tout).

A ce stade-ci, il appartient à l'animateur de faire découvrir au groupe, les problèmes qui n'ont pas surgi de la discussion, et aussi les relations existentes entre diverses séries de problèmes.

R : *Distribution des tâches (Rôles ou Fonctions)*

Comme il est très fréquent que les groupes s'arrêtent à la phase des solutions ou des décisions, sans considérer le :

— partage du travail à accomplir, et encore moins,

— à préciser les rôles nécessaires; (QUOI)

— ou aussi, quelle personne veut bien l'assumer; (QUI)

— ou enfin, quelle échéance doit être fixée; (QUAND)

— le processus d'animation ici aussi, est un facteur déterminant d'efficacité. (COMMENT)

Considérons aussi, une série d'attitudes, à développer :

Compl : *Complexité des problèmes*

Tant que le leader éventuel n'a pas réalisé cette complexité, il n'accepte pas le rôle des experts : économistes, sociologues, aménagistes ne sauraient donc l'influencer. Ils ne sont qu'une perte de temps et d'argent. En termes d'efficacité, l'animation crée le doute, qui éveille le sens de la réceptivité.

Défr : *La « défrustration »*

Dans toute phase initiale d'animation, la critique se manifeste contre l'homme public, le fonctionnaire et l'animateur lui-même : A ce stade, ils ne sont pas identifiés aux problèmes de leur milieu. L'animateur n'a pas le choix : l'orage doit passer.

A partir de là l'intégration de l'animateur au groupe permet de chercher ensemble, les problèmes, solutions, etc.

Structures susceptibles de favoriser la participation efficace de la population

Il s'agit ici de structures pour :

— un organisme de consultation (non de mise en œuvre d'un plan);

— couvrant un territoire;

— dans le contexte d'une approche global à l'aménagement.

On ne saurait recourir seulement aux corps intermédiaires qui déjà ont chacun un objectif défini, et dont l'ensemble des objectifs réunis :

— ne représente pas l'aménagement,

— et ne couvre pas nécessairement tout le territoire.

Si, cependant, les diverses communautés locales s'élisent un comité local, et l'ensemble de ces comités coordonnent les efforts

de chacun, sans y exclure les corps intermédiaires, il sera alors possible d'obtenir :

— une structure démocratique : chaque citoyen peut participer;

— une structure qui respecte les forces existantes du milieu : les corps intermédiaires y participent;

— une structure d'aménagement avec approche global : les activités sectorielles tôt ou tard intéresseront les leaders éventuels.

Sans cette forme de coordination, une partie importante du leadership d'un territoire donné échappera à l'organisme de consultation, et les aménagistes se verraient privés de tout un secteur d'activités, à organiser sans consultation aucune.

Les agents gouvernementaux du territoire ne feront pas partie de cette structure : ils sont invités à titre d'experts.

Ils sont cependant au service de l'aménagiste-en-chef (directeur des programmes), responsable de la mise en œuvre.

Cette acception présuppose une série de sessions d'« in-training » pour l'ensemble des agents gouvernementaux du territoire, afin qu'eux-mêmes redéfinissent leur rôle de « civil servant ».

Les relations entre l'animateur-en-chef (directeur des programmes) et la superstructure de participation présupposent un mécanisme de consultation systématique, à tous les niveaux, dont les deux parties susmentionnées sont les plus aptes à déterminer le rythme et la fréquence.

Dans ce contexte aussi, les animateurs relèvent des structures de participation, sans quoi ils deviendraient aussi comme les leaders, des propagandistes, au lieu d'être des éducateurs populaires. (animateurs).

Economic Realities and Political Development : The George River Case

SAUL ARBESS

George River, Quebec, is a small Eskimo community of 166 people, located on the southeast side of Ungava Bay, 12 miles up the George River from the coast itself. This population includes two *qalluuna* (white) transient families, one of which represents the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) of the Government of Canada, which is responsible for the administration of Eskimo affairs in Northern Quebec.[1] The other is that of the Federal Day School principal. For brief periods other DIAND personnel are resident in the village. Beginning in 1959 the people of George River went through an intensive period of social change, the results of which the author studied, first in the summer of 1964, then in the winter of 1966, which will be considered as the ethnographic present. The impetus for change came from the Government of Canada's program of social and economic development and had two main objectives; first, to gather the scattered Eskimo people together in settlements for administrative efficiency and to implement social and welfare services already existing in the rest of Canada, and second to reorganize and improve the economy based upon the formation of Eskimo co-operatives. George River, in 1959, became the first of these co-operative-based communities.

The first of these objectives has been realized with the building of the settlement of George River and the provision of permanent, wood-frame houses for all of the people, a school, a power-house and a Co-operative Development Officer of DIAND, who, despite his title, acts as government representative in all administrative capacities. The second goal has not been achieved. Several co-

[1] At the present time, jurisdiction over the Eskimo people of Northern Quebec is being petitioned for by the Province of Quebec. As yet, George River has not been affected by this event, unlike the larger population centres of Nouveau Québec.

operative projects have been undertaken, the most important of which is the commercial production of arctic char. Others, in order of their importance in the economy are: logging, arts and crafts, and boat-building. In 1963, a co-operative store was established with a loan from the Eskimo Loan Fund. No single project has succeeded in providing any kind of firm economic base for George River, nor have the combined projects. The village is kept afloat only by all kinds of welfare and relief measures as well as massive direct and hidden subsidies which give a surface impression of economic health. Therefore, while the people are able to support themselves largely off the land on the staples of caribou, seal and fish, there is a chronic shortage of cash to make all kinds of necessary purchases from flour, lard, tea and salt, to ammunition, outboard motors and ski-doos. Of course, in order to live off the land, one needs good gear with which to hunt the game, so cash is a necessary pre-requisite for the successful hunter.

It is against this background that we must view the political development of the George River Eskimo. I intend to show how the Eskimo leadership, responding to economic and political realities has evolved a political ideology which could be characterized as "welfare-statism" and a political strategy to realize the goals of this ideology. The major event has been the formation of a vocal and organized pressure group, whose major purpose is to gain increasingly large welfare, relief and other social benefits from the Canadian government as represented by DIAND acting through its local representative, and his superiors who have contact with the George River people. Thus, what I had viewed in 1964 as an incipient independence movement is not so at all in terms of political and economic autonomy. Rather, political activity is directed towards giving the Eskimo the major voice in determining government action in terms of policy and expenditures. The crucial point is that this political activity is not directed towards Eskimo economic viability in which the government is asked to provide financial and technical assistance until such time as the Eskimo people could re-assert their autonomy. DIAND is viewed as the underwriter of George River and the guarantor of Eskimo society. Therefore, even though jobs and training in various skills are positively valued, they are not considered any kind of a permanent

substitute for welfare, relief and government subsidy of all descriptions. The DIAND's role is considered to be a permanent one.

Therefore, it is seen that the political values of the contemporary Eskimo of George River depart dramatically from the aboriginal ones. Yet, all the available evidence indicates that, aboriginally, the Eskimo were among the most independent peoples known. Men co-operated with their kin to the limits permitted by the ecological setting, but, ultimately, no able-bodied man earned the esteem of his fellows if he could not provide for his own nuclear family and his other dependents. In this paper, I will view this phenomenon of a radical shift from independence to dependence, from autonomy to subordination as a rational political stance in response to the existing economic and political situation.

This ideology has been brought about by the convergence in time of three major sets of factors :

1. The application by DIAND of a combination welfare and community development approach to contemporary problems in which the welfare aspects were stressed much more than the development ones, and, in which relief and welfare payments were the most secure and reliable source of income in comparison to the capricious availability of jobs and training in the development program;

2. The existence of a caste-like social and occupational structure in which the Eskimo perceives certain occupations and lifestyles as belonging to white culture, e.g. teacher, nurse, administrator, and others as belonging to him, e.g. hunter, trapper, fisherman, maintenance work. The two occupational spheres have few points of correspondence and it is a rare event when occupational ethnic lines are crossed;

3. Eskimo socialization which produces an individual profoundly identified and integrated into both his primary and secondary groups in such a way that ambition, viewed here as a striving to be better than the members of one's own group, is de-emphasized and devalued.

1. Both the welfare and community development approach began together in 1959, but the welfare program was always pre-

eminent in providing the economic base of the community as something to fall back on. Besides the outright issue of relief, the widespread use of direct and hidden subsidy transformed a program, ostensibly of the self-help variety, into a disguised welfare program. Through the use of outright grants for house construction, the free provision of expensive equipment and payment of the labour which operates it, e.g. the diesel-powered boat and its crew of two, the saw-mill, a tractor and operator, the DIAND maintains the standard of living at an artificially buoyant level, and gives the illusion of economic viability.

The Eskimo Loan Fund provided the original $25,000 necessary to purchase the inventory for the co-operatively organized store. Of course, the goal was to pay back this low-interest loan as soon as possible out of the purchases by the co-operative membership. However, what actually happened was that the membership, applying pressure on a young manager and brother of the co-operative president, obtained extraordinary credit which permitted them to buy capital and luxury equipment through the store, with no prospect of paying it back in the forseeable future. In this manner, the government, in effect, made available to the people of George River, almost unlimited funds — interest-free and with unlimited terms. Finally, in January of 1966 a $100 ceiling was arbitrarily placed on every member of the co-op., regardless of credit rating. When a man reached this ceiling, he was instructed to go to the DIAND Development Officer and apply for relief. Thus, what appeared to be development on the basis of the economic strength of the community was little more than a massive subsidy.

2. There are two exceptions to the statement that occupational caste lines are never crossed. These are equipment operators, i.e. bulldozer, tractor, freezer and saw-mill operators, and mechanics. There are two mechanics at George River who can do fairly elaborate repairs to complex equipment, and equipment operators mentioned above are able to maintain and make minor repairs to their equipment. The important point here is that there is no formally operating caste system, but rather a cognitive view by the Eskimo that certain jobs are the prerogative and obligation of the *qalluuna* world, and are outside of Eskimo culture. People expect certain services to be performed by the *qalluuna* world such as clerical and

administrative work, liaison with the outside world, teaching and nursing. They do not perceive these occupational spheres are those which Eskimo can take over and function successfully in.

On the other hand, they take fierce pride in being able to function successfully on the land in the most trying conditions and will point up their superiority to the *qalluuna* here. They relish being in the position of helping *qualluuna* when they get into difficulty in activities involved in travelling on the land and subsistence pursuits in general. Hunting, fishing and trapping are Eskimo occupations which they perform best, and better than their *qalluuna* counterparts.

3. This third point is related closely to the second one. I can recount virtually no instances of Eskimo children expressing the desire to have a job or to receive the training necessary to occupy a job that is perceived of as a *qalluuna* one. One exception is the desire of males to become pilots, but no practical steps are taken to achieve this ambition. Objectively, the amount of training necessary is prohibitive, but the point is that no one enquires as to how he could go about becoming a pilot.

To grow up as an Eskimo is to grow up in a highly permissive, loving and supportive milieu, which produces a profound identification and immersion in one's social groups, radiating out from the nuclear family to embrace, in the case of George River, virtually the entire village. In this kind of setting, there is very little striving to get ahead in the sense of being better than one's fellows, to have more, materially than they do, or to be a personal success. Repeatedly, the response to a question asking whether or not the people of George River would be better off in the future than their mothers and fathers was that Eskimos do not want to be better than their parents. An alternative response, which had one of the figures in a story say he thought he would be better off in the future, was considered presumptuous and arrogant; in one case, a young man said that if he did have more than his parents, he would share his good fortune, thereby making everyone a little better off, but essentially equal once more.

Before continuing, it is necessary to discuss the nature of educational and vocational services available to the Eskimo and official en-

couragement in this regard. At the present time, the Federal Day School conducts two classes, both at the elementary school level, the highest grade being 5. This is in part due to the fact that formal education only began at George River in 1962. However, secondary education is available at Residential Schools, George River children going to Churchill, Manitoba. For the 1965-66 session, two George River boys attended this school. At the present time, these two, and the co-operative manager, are the only moderately fluent English speakers.

One George River man had gone to a mechanic's training school at Yellowknife, N.W.T. In the winter of 1966, the co-operative store manager attended a special course in co-operative management and fur trading at Churchill, Manitoba. This was the first course of its kind offered in the Eastern Artic.

Despite these sporadic attempts, there exists no systematic vocational program to train people to become clerks, accountants, mechanics or nurses, or any consistent encouragement of Eskimo youth to consider careers where this training would be obligatory. Therefore, one factor which forces a modification of the three points made above is the Eskimo perception of the inaccessibility of *qalluuna* occupations. Yet there is no agitation, no expression of interest on the Eskimo part. When, during my stay, there was an epidemic of flu, and medicines ran dangerously short, the co-operative president criticized the government, saying that the people should at least have adequate medicines, and have them when needed, particularly since they had no hospitals and not even a full-time resident male nurse. But he did not suggest, nor did anyone else, that the Eskimo people should receive the training necessary to become medical personnel, particularly nurses, and thus end their dependence upon DIAND. Further, when the motor of the freezer, used to preserve fish, broke down, threatening the entire fish catch for a summer season, the DIAND officer was summoned with great haste, but there was a delay in locating him. Finally, the motors were repaired in time, but no one suggested that an Eskimo mechanic be trained to service them.

The area of greatest stress in Eskimo-white relations is the issuance of relief. Here the DIAND personnel are supreme and are

forced to make decisions in a somewhat arbitrary manner. Yet no one has suggested that Eskimo clerical staff be trained to take over the administration of relief. Presumably, this would end one of the Eskimo's most serious complaints — *qalluuna* insensitivity to Eskimo needs. It would also make them aware of budgetary limits.

It can be seen from the above that lack of ambition can still be said to characterize the Eskimo personality, and is a vital factor influencing the direction of political development. For, given the validity of points two and three above, it is easy to see how the DIAND program which emphasized relief and welfare, and the provision of free services, was eagerly accepted by the Eskimo, and came to be regarded as absolutely essential to maintain what had become a new standard of living below which no man was expected to live.

This new level had been artificially created, but has come to be viewed as essential to human well-being. Tending to strengthen this view was the capriciousness of the DIAND development programs as opposed to the welfare program. Projects were late in starting, compared to the welfare scheme. Once begun, they were often inexplicably (in Eskimo eyes) dropped, only to be started again and no real industry was developed, this being only partially the fault of DIAND. The people did not know from year to year whether or not a given project would continue. Nor were there more than sporadic attemps to train Eskimo in purchasing and marketing with reference to the outside world, which accounts for their almost total lack of knowledge of these processes.

Therefore, not only did Eskimo socialization and the lack of training and education pre-condition the people to a welfare type of approach, but the absence or faltering progress of the socio-economic development program, and their lack of training, led them to rely on this program more and more. It can be seen, then, that this kind of adaption and the political strategy for being successful at it, is a rational adaption to existing political conditions, and has very little to do with a welfare type program where people "on the dole" supposedly become shiftless and dependent.

I will now give some examples showing how the Eskimos employ a strategy to realize political objectives. This material comes from

several cooperative meetings held during 1966, and, in all but one case, attended by me. Elaborate minutes were recorded.

In January, a DIAND senior official came to George River to inspect the cooperative store, and to make recommendations for its improvement. It became clear to him that credit in the store had been given in a highly indiscriminate fashion by the Eskimo store manager. Members with no steady income and little prospect of it were up to $1000 in debt from the purchase of capital and luxury equipment. Therefore, the store's finances were in extreme jeopardy, the possibility of repaying the initial $25,000 loan was remote, and there was no capital with which to purchase new stock. He then called a meeting to discuss the situation.

The cooperative president, Hilak, spoke up on behalf of the membership to explain the genesis of the store's economic difficulties. The reason for the high debts was that the people had received little or no relief for the previous year, and there was little income from other sources. So, if a man had an account at the store, his debt would rise steadily. Hilak also said that one man was refused relief outright (actually, because he did not qualify) so the others also thought they would be refused and did not request it. Hilak was doing two things here. He was placing the blame for the situation on the Development Officer's shoulders, since he had failed to inject enough cash into the economy in the form of relief, but more important is the fact that Hilak was applying pressure directly upon the Development officer's superior over the Development officer's head, to increase the size and frequency of relief issues. The problem was not seen to be one which could be solved by a viable economy, by jobs and by training and organization.

As a result of this meeting, there was a large-scale increase in the issuance of relief, and at a subsequent meeting held in March, attended only by Eskimos, the DIAND official who had been responsible for this was referred to as a "saviour" of the George River people.

At another point in the same meeting, the visiting official commended the Development Officer for the way he was handling an on-going flu epidemic. Hilak reacted to this by stating that there had not been enough medicines, and, if there had been,

everyone would have been well. At a subsequent meeting, when asked by the Development Officer what he had meant by this remark, Hilak elaborated by saying that, since the people have no nurse and no hospital, they should at least have adequate medicines. Yet, no one suggested that Eskimos be trained as nurses and no one encourages their children to seek such a career.

In another incident, there was a discussion concerning the availability of a boat for use in the summer fishing. The government official was instructed by an Eskimo, with the agreement of others, not to send the boat to the regional center for repairs since they would ruin it. This remark was a reaction to an earlier experience with boat repairs. But, again, nobody requested that George River Eskimos be trained as mechanics in order to service the boat.

These examples really only appear remarkable in historical perspective. If we look at minutes of meetings held prior to 1965, we see the DIAND personnel taking the initiative constantly, with the Eskimo leadership acting in compliance. Very few grievances were aired and the people maintained a strong suppression of their feelings. Criticism of the *qalluuna* world and the government was almost unheard of.

Several factors were involved in the rise of Eskimo power: 1. Conflict of interest with the Development Officer; 2. Direct face to face interaction between the people and the Development Officer's superiors; 3. The solidarity of the village as a body politic, and, 4. The role of the Province of Quebec.

As long as all activity was concentrated on the building of the village, the establishment of George River as a physical entity, there was a complete unanimity of interest between the Development Officer and the people, and the building program provided jobs for everyone; but as this considerable achievement was successfully completed, the issue of the economy and the standard of living became primary. The major conflict arose over the role of the government and the Development Officer and the extent of relief and other welfare payments.

Since the terms of reference of the Development Officer were to develop a viable and self-supporting economy at George River,

while at the same time he was charged with the dispensation of relief, it is very understandable that he viewed large scale relief as diametrically opposed to the goals he was to secure. Consequently, he issued as little relief as possible, so as to keep his major goals and efforts intact. The people, on the other hand, considered the maximization of relief payments to be their major goal, particularly after the building program, which had provided jobs and income, had been largely completed. Ultimately, this whole conflict could have been averted had, in fact, a viable economy been developed, but the problems here were insuperable.

Now, whereas it is certainly true that the Development Officer did create a favourable climate in which native leadership could emerge, this development was only encouraged up to a certain point — the point at which native leadership began to challenge his pre-eminence directly. When Eskimo community leaders began to develop a political strategy and a strong pressure group, and furthermore, were willing to apply the pressure over the head of the Development Officer to his superiors, so that they directly challenged his ultimate authority and became a voice in policy and decision-making, then the emergence of the native leadership was no longer encouraged. Two examples of the hostility that had been generated between the people and the Development Officer are the radically reduced frequency of informal visiting at his house between 1964 and 1966, and his attempt at rigid control of the Eskimo's use of the garage workshop, ostensibly a public building, which was under his jurisdiction. This is a building that people had used both to make repairs on equipment and to socialize in. It should be stated here that the Eskimos continued to use it whenever possible, even though they were "unauthorized personnel".

The interest of the Development Officer's superiors, as shown in meetings and in face to face contact with the membership, has encouraged the Eskimo leadership in its demands. Since there have been results achieved by bypassing the Development Officer, this technique has become a predominant one in the Eskimo strategy.

Central to any consideration of Eskimo politics is the remarkable solidarity of the whole village in its dealings with the government. There are no important factions with conflicting demands, and the

voice of the co-operative president is the voice of the people as a corporate group. This development is all the more remarkable when we contemplate the extreme atomization of Eskimo society in the recent past. An insult to the co-operative president is an insult to the whole village and when one man in the village is rightly or wrongly refused relief, then the whole village feels that it will be and has been deprived.

Since 1964, the Province of Quebec, in its bid to take over the administration of Nouveau Québec and proclaim its sovereignty there, has introduced a new political force onto the scene. In a series of annual meetings held since 1964, to which delegates from every Eskimo village in Nouveau Québec were invited, the Province has attempted to win over the Eskimo's confidence by outlining a program for their region, and indicating what results had already been achieved. The practice was to have the delegates report back to their villages. Although Quebec has constructed two buildings at George River, there is, as yet, no representative of the province in residence there, and only a few visits have taken place. But through the annual meetings, it has become apparent to the Eskimo leadership that Quebec is vying with Ottawa for the allegiance and support of the Eskimo, and doing so through the promise of both increased welfare benefits and more and better job-training and jobs themselves. I attended a meeting at George River in April, 1966 where the delegates reported back to the people. This meeting was attended by Eskimos only; I was the only other person in attendance. At the end of the meeting, the people were asked to vote their approval or disapproval of the Quebec program. Out of 35 men, 32 approved.

It was made clear by the discussion and the questions asked before the vote was taken that the resounding affirmative vote given to Quebec was based upon the welfare aspects of the proposals, and the fact that benefits would be larger, particularly for families of many children, and old people. In addition, the proposal to have a permanent male nurse at George River for twelve months each year, and a hospital at the regional centre (Fort Chimo) was met with an enthusiastic response, stimulated, no doubt, by the recent epidemics at George River. The proposals for mining development were glossed over with a minimum of comment. The essential political interest of the George River Eskimo is revealed in yet another context.

This, then, was the political situation at George River when the writer left in May, 1966.

By way of summary, the main points made in this paper were :

1. The George River Eskimo have made a radical shift in political ideology and kind of political activity from absolute autonomy within the framework of atomistic organization to absolute dependence upon the Canadian Government, within a framework of community solidarity.

2. This shift is seen as a rational adaptation to the economic and political situation as perceived by the George River Eskimo.

3. To further their political interests, the George River people have forged a close-knit pressure group which presents a coherent and consistent strategy in its relations with the government.

Inventaire et Perspectives de l'Action Sociale Étudiante du Québec

CLAUDE MELANÇON [1]

INTRODUCTION

C'est dans un esprit de maintien d'une toujours meilleure action sociale étudiante que l'auteur de ce document, s'est permis d'envisager pour cet organisme des objectifs, et des principes de fonctionnement.

L'Action Sociale étudiante trouve son origine dans la dichotomie profonde suscitée par deux réalités frappantes de la vie moderne : malgré les progrès de la science et de l'industrie, des millions de gens sont privés des nécessités fondamentales de l'existence, considérées comme normales dans les pays prospères du monde civilisé.

Lorsque des gens voient leurs espoirs légitimes déçus et bafoués par suite de la pauvreté, de l'analphabétisme et de la maladie, les idéaux de notre système démocratique deviennent de pures fictions.

Déjà, nous avons pu noter au cours des dernières années qu'un peu partout à travers le monde et de façon plus particulière aux États-Unis, en Europe et au Canada, les gouvernements ont établi ou appuyé des organismes qui ont permis à des jeunes volontaires de rendre des services utiles et fructueux tant chez eux qu'à l'étranger. Rappelons-nous des succès notables remportés par le « Peace Corps » aux États-Unis, la « Conférence Internationale des Projets Inter-Américains » (C.I.P.I.A.), la « Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens » fondée en 1966 (C.J.C.), les «Travailleurs Étudiants Québecois » (T.E.Q.) dans la province de Québec.

La jeune génération du Québec, consciente du danger suscité par l'injustice sociale désire offrir ses services de façon à participer à

[1] Je désire remercier Monsieur Jean-Marc Lemire, Assistant à la recherche au Conseil canadien du bien-être, pour l'aide apportée à la rédaction de cette étude.

la solution de difficiles problèmes humains et sociaux et, ce faisant, à rechercher les occasions d'atteindre son plein épanouissement.

BUTS

Il importe de se donner une idéologie pour justifier notre action et identifier nos objectifs à long terme.

Le but global de l'action sociale étudiante est de collaborer avec l'État à l'édification d'une nation québecoise prospère où règnent la justice et la paix. Cette édification, tenant compte du potentiel étudiant, pourrait se faire sur deux plans: l'action et l'information sociale.

A) *Action sociale*

Notre but principal étant de lutter contre la misère sous toutes ses formes, il nous faut viser à établir une promotion sociale et économique de tous les individus, dans une mesure juste et équitable.

Au plan économique, nous devons envisager une répartition des biens qui doit se développer et s'implanter selon une planification juste pour autant soucieuse de respecter la liberté d'entreprise.

Au plan social, nous pouvons suggérer une promotion sociale de tous les individus surtout par les moyens de l'information qui permettra à toute la société d'accéder à un niveau d'instruction et d'éducation plus élevé.

Notre premier rôle devrait être de promouvoir l'action des organismes dont les objectifs répondent bien aux besoins du milieu, organismes tels les syndicats, les coopératives, les caisses d'économie, les ACEF, etc. Nous devrons ensuite nous employer, par les méthodes d'animation à réorienter l'action des organismes qui ne répondent pas adéquatement aux besoins de la population.

B) *Information sociale*

i) *Au niveau des citoyens* : Notre société a besoin d'une expérience globale dynamique; pour que cet effort soit vraiment efficace, il nous faut alerter l'opinion publique sur ces problèmes. L'action sociale doit viser à promouvoir la participation des individus et des groupes partout où leurs intérêts sont mis en jeu ou susceptibles d'être affectés. Cette participation doit être effective, c'est-à-dire

qu'elle doit conduire à la prise en main par ces groupes pour qu'ils puissent eux-mêmes en définir les solutions.

Toujours, nous devrons éviter le dédoublement occasionné par la création d'institutions déjà existantes.

ii) *Au niveau des étudiants* : L'action sociale doit enfin permettre l'intégration de l'étudiant dans la société et l'ouverture de l'Université aux problèmes sociaux. Non seulement les étudiants mais aussi les professeurs doivent s'intéresser aux malaises sociaux et travailler à corriger les injustices sociales.

Plus explicitement, l'action sociale doit éveiller les jeunes aux problèmes de la misère et satisfaire les besoins de ceux qui cherchent des moyens plus appropriés pour faire profiter les défavorisés de leur talent et de leur sens de l'idéal.

STRATÉGIE

Au cours des expériences passées, l'on a mis au point certaines méthodes d'action sociale étudiante. Il s'agit de les utiliser en tenant compte des objectifs globaux. Nous analyserons ici quatre techniques qui peuvent être utilisées dans la poursuite des buts fixés.

A) *Organisation*

La faiblesse des classes défavorisées vient en grande partie du fait qu'elles sont inorganisées, qu'elles ne parviennent pas à faire entendre leurs voix et qu'elles n'ont pas les moyens de défendre et de promouvoir leurs intérêts.

Nos efforts devront donc se porter sur la formation d'associations ou de groupes de pression pour que les classes actuellement marginales disposent aussi d'instruments politiques pour prendre leur place dans la société. Les hommes sans voix acquerront ainsi un moyen de revendication et d'expression. Les étudiants, instigateurs de cette nouvelle situation, pourront alors se retirer. Ils auront été des catalyseurs efficaces.

Les problèmes à résoudre sont immenses; chacune des régions du Québec pourrait mériter de notre part autant d'attention. Pourtant, si nous voulons exercer une action en profondeur, il faut éviter de disperser nos énergies.

Si notre travail doit se poursuivre l'année durant, il ne pourra évidemment être fait que dans les milieux proches des centres universitaires, ceci au début du moins. Car, on peut espérer qu'avec la création des centres universitaires et des instituts, d'autres régions pourront éventuellement être atteintes.

Notre action s'inscrira d'abord dans un cadre purement local (quartier, paroisse) pour s'étendre ensuite au niveau régional : puis, lorsque ces deux niveaux seront consolidés, nous pourrons passer à une action sur le plan national. Il ne s'agit pas pour nous d'agir vite, mais d'agir en profondeur.

B) *Éducation*

Les gens manquent souvent des connaissances pour se défendre contre l'exploitation et, en général, pour se tirer d'affaires et obtenir les mêmes avantages que d'autres groupes sociaux. Les éléments qui leur manquent pour comprendre leur situation et définir les moyens à mettre en œuvre pour améliorer leur sort, doivent leur être enseignés. Cette éducation devra toujours être entreprise à partir des besoins les plus immédiatement ressentis; ce point de départ ne devra cependant pas être un terme, mais devra ouvrir sur l'éducation économique et politique pour s'attaquer aux véritables problèmes.

Ainsi les cours d'éducation syndicale, l'éducation coopérative, et l'éducation budgétaire doivent être propulsés et enseignés par des participants compétents. Tous ces cours doivent pourtant s'intégrer dans des cours d'éducation populaire où il faudra de plus en plus mettre l'action sur une éducation sociale, économique et politique visant à un engagement éclairé et efficace de la populace dans ces domaines névralgiques.

Si la part principale de notre action doit porter sur les classes défavorisées, il ne faut pas pour autant oublier les classes moyennes et bourgeoises. Celles-ci détiennent actuellement le pouvoir économique et le pouvoir politique; si nous voulons faire avancer la société, il faut trouver le moyen de les influencer. Nous ne pouvons le faire qu'en leur faisant prendre conscience des misères et des injustices sociales engendrées par le type d'organisation sociale qu'ils cherchent à maintenir. Cette action exige un programme d'information bien conçu et très élaboré.

C) *Collaboration*

Nous devrons toujours travailler de concert avec les forces sociales à l'œuvre dans le milieu en acceptant pleinement les influences réciproques qui ne manqueront pas de se faire sentir.

Au début, certaines associations revendiquaient l'indépendance complète en face des organismes et recherchaient même un travail en marge de ceux-ci. Maintenant les impératifs de la permanence nous dictent plutôt une collaboration poussée avec les organismes pour que ceux-ci continuent notre action.

C'est ce dernier type de relations que nous devrons désormais adopter, d'autant plus que nous devrons travailler à l'année longue avec les organismes.

Nous essaierons cependant d'amener toutes les associations, tous les groupes et toutes les forces sociales avec lesquels nous travaillerons à accepter les mêmes objectifs globaux et les mêmes méthodes démocratiques d'action.

D) *Animation*

L'animation est une méthode qui se développe de plus en plus et qui a été utilisée avec succès dans le cadre de l'action sociale. Cette méthode consiste à créer un « leadership » dans un milieu et en faisant prendre conscience aux gens de leurs responsabilités face à tel ou tel problème. Ayant acquis un sens social plus aigu, les personnes impliquées seront prêtes à étudier des situations et à prendre des décisions en vue du bien commun. Les étudiants doivent donc être de plus en plus renseignés sur les techniques d'animation, et à cet effet il faudrait que chaque participant ait au moins assisté à une séance d'animation sociale d'une semaine avant d'être lancé sur le champ de l'action.

Pour accentuer l'importance de cette formation, qu'il suffise de noter que c'est à partir des besoins les plus immédiatement ressentis par les gens, budget, condition de vie, habitation, loisirs, etc., que l'animateur doit faire découvrir aux gens leurs vrais problèmes. A partir de ceci, il pourra leur faire prendre conscience de leurs intérêts véritables et les guider vers les meilleures solutions.

L'action sociale doit devenir tout autre chose qu'un travail de vacances; bien plus, la distinction entre projets d'action sociale pour l'été et projets pour l'année scolaire doit disparaître. Tous les projets doivent se situer sur un continuum année scolaire-été où nous ne distinguerons plus que des temps forts.

Il ne faut pas oublier, en bâtissant nos plans, les nombreuses contigences qui limitent notre action; car nous sommes avant tout étudiants et notre rôle est avant tout d'étudier. Cependant, nous croyons possible de concilier pleinement notre travail social avec nos études, à condition que les projets d'action sociale soient suffisamment bien préparés et planifiés pour que chaque étudiant n'ait pas à consacrer plus de 10 ou 15 heures par semaine à ces activités. Quand les projets deviendront considérables, un étudiant pourra être engagé à plein temps comme coordonnateur régional et verra à planifier la réalisation du travail sur toute l'année.

STRUCTURES

L'action sociale étudiante, qui s'appuie déjà sur quelques années d'expérience, a tenté en vain de se donner des structures vraiment efficaces. A la lumière de ces tentatives, peut-être pourrions-nous suggérer certains points d'amélioration au système.

Quant à la direction

Force nous est de constater que la « direction » de l'action sociale étudiante a été trop souvent, dans le passé, bien intentionnée mais peu efficace. Ce phénomène s'explique surtout par le fait que la bonne volonté n'est pas la seule clef du succès. Il faut être bien éclairé et posséder le temps et les moyens pour organiser une action efficace.

Le manque de temps vient du fait que la « direction » est souvent écartelée entre des responsabilités scolaires et d'autres entreprises aussi exigeantes.

Il faudrait envisager la mise en place d'une « direction » étudiante permanente qui, par sa disponibilité, deviendrait plus efficace.

D'autre part, si le facteur temps fait surgir le problème de l'inefficacité, le facteur compétence y joue aussi un grand rôle. Ici,

la première solution à envisager en vue de régler ce problème qui ébranle l'organisation interne, c'est la nécessité d'un information systématique. Selon nous, ces renseignements proviendraient d'une équipe de consultants de type professionnel engagée selon la durée et l'importance des projets en cours.

Traçons sous trois grandes responsabilités le rôle de la « direction » :

a) Plan préparation: elle doit s'assurer que les projets sont préparés de façon sérieuse et planifiée.

b) Plan réalisation: la direction doit s'assurer que le travail des équipes est accompli selon les responsabilités envisagées. Elle doit, de plus, favoriser, à ce niveau, une communication harmonieuse et étroite.

c) Plan idéologie: elle doit collaborer avec le « comité des consultants » en vue d'évaluer l'action sociale à venir comme les mesures qu'il sera nécessaire d'établir.

Quant aux équipes :

Toute l'action sociale étudiante repose sur et ne peut se départir du socle que forme « l'équipe ». Cette affirmation s'appuie sur le fait que sans les équipes il n'y aurait aucune réalisation des projets.

Afin de bien réaliser les tâches qui lui incombent, « l'équipe » devrait se nommer un coordonnateur compétent. Celui-ci pourrait accomplir le rôle de président d'assemblée et voir à ce que les décisions de l'équipe soient suivies.

De même, les multiples équipes travaillant dans un certain milieu devraient s'élire un coordonnateur régional. Celui-ci aura un rôle de liaison entre les équipes et la direction. Il verra à ce que les politiques régionales soient réalisées et planifiées. Néanmoins, son rôle de coordonnateur régional ne devrait pas lui donner le droit de réduire outre mesure les principes d'autonomie qui motiveront les travailleurs.

Quant aux « travailleurs étudiants »

Si l'on examine les différentes organisations étudiantes existantes, l'on constate que leurs participants accomplissent un travail très

efficace et dynamique lorsqu'ils jouissent d'une certaine indépendance. Ceci s'explique par l'influence qu'a l'autonomie de pensée et d'action sur l'exercice des responsabilités et les preuves d'initiatives et de créativités.

D'autre part, si les cadres doivent permettre une liberté assez large des participants, il faut éviter le vice d'une autonomie excessive qui engendrerait un individualisme non-productif.

Il faut donc envisager une limitation de l'autonomie des participants dans une organisation qui demeurera démocratique.

CONCLUSION

Il faudra se rappeler qu'il importe de sauvegarder le caractère authentiquement étudiant de l'action sociale tel que nous l'avons entreprise, même si nous sommes amenés à modifier profondément les structures existantes. De plus, il est essentiel que les étudiants possèdent toute l'initiative nécessaire dans leur travail et qu'ils aient la responsabilité de leur projet. Sous ces aspects, l'action sociale deviendra pour l'étudiant un véritable engagement significatif pour l'évolution morale et technique de notre société.

Recensions – Book Reviews

Tradition, Values, and Socio-Economic Development. (Ed) RALPH BRAIBANTI and JOSEPH J. SPENGLER. Durham, N.C. Duke University Press. Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center. Publication Number 13. Third printing, 1965. 305 pp. $6.00.

The United States "discovered" the so-called underdeveloped countries in 1949, when President Truman made an inaugural speech about them. In the past eighteen years an enormous amount of money, time and effort has been devoted to aiding the "underdeveloped nations" by the "advanced nations". And from this experience has come a flood of literature at every level — case studies, theoretical formulations, essays on model building, blasts against waste and government folly, success stories. Much of the literature has suffered from the same fault as the aid programmes — it has attempted to assess the results of programmes and projects by using western standards. The aim of many development projects has been, implicitly at least, to make the people in traditional cultures "just like us". The attempts to export the fruits and the philosophy of the Industrial Revolution (quantity, uniformity and cheapness), the Democratic Revolution (liberty, equality and fraternity) and the Welfare Revolution (equal shares for all) and to apply them in other cultures has often resulted in frustration as the forces of tradition impeded the best laid scheme of planners. If only the local people would save their money, instead of splurging it on weddings and festivals! If only the women would use birth control devices! If only the peasants could be persuaded to use an improved plough! This has been the burden of much of the literature on socio-economic development. Brought up in the world of the success story, of the triumph of man over all obstacles and over his environment, convinced that only material ends matter, most westerners (and this includes the Russians) have been baffled as they found the old ways persisting and reducing their best efforts to nought, like the tide washing over a child's sand castle.

The general aim of socio-economic development programmes is to raise standards of living — at the national level (increasing the Gross National Product) and at the individual level (increasing the *per capita* income). Considerable gains have been made, but one message is coming out clearly in the literature and from the experience in the field. Traditional peoples are seeking a synthesis of old ways and new ways, rather than attempting to recreate the world and the ways of the west in their own countries.

Traditions and values are neither inimical nor favourable to socio-economic development. They just *are*, and can help or hinder socio-economic development, depending on the nature and scope of the programmes and the degree of understanding that the planners, administrators and others involved in the programme possess of the traditional culture. In the understanding of

traditional cultures, a knowledge of the value system of the local people is an essential prerequisite to action.

The book under review is an outstanding contribution to the literature on socio-economic development. It is scholarly (there are some five hundred footnotes in the text, citing as many as fourteen references), well written for the most part, and offers both theoretical formulations and empirical evidence on development. All the authors are leading authorities in their fields, and all demonstrate that imponderable thing called wisdom, without which no scholarship can be called meaningful. The nine essays cover the fields of anthropology, economics, history, political science and sociology. Five are theoretically oriented, and four deal with development problems in particular areas and cultures. The initial essay, by Joseph J. Spengler, discusses "Theory, Ideology, Non-economic Values and Politico-Economic Development". The quotation at the head of this chapter, from Francis Bacon, sets the tone for the paper. It reads:

> "All perceptions, as well of the sense as of the mind, are according to the measure of the individual and not according to the measure of the universe. And the human understanding is like a false mirror, which, receiving rays irregularly, distorts and discolors the nature of things by mingling its own nature with it"

Wilbert Moore writes on "The Social Framework of Economic Development" and Bert Hoselitz discusses "Tradition and Economic Growth". Both essays are written in clear, crisp prose; Moore's piece is well planned, while that of Hoselitz wanders all over the place, discussing development in India, France, Greece and Japan. Melville J. Herskovits, writing on "Economic Change and Cultural Dynamism" also tends to ramble. He criticizes ethnocentric economic models of development, and points out that the ecological setting in development is frequently overlooked. Ralph Braibanti writes on "The Relevance of Political Science to the Study of Underdeveloped Areas" and discusses six issues relating to the analysis of the political conditions of economic development. These issues concern the transfer of western ideas and institutions to developing nations. Braibanti notes "The lacuna in the discipline is the absence of systematic attention to the question of transfer of these ideas to Asian nations beyond the emotive assumptions which underlay notions of manifest destiny, Christian arrogance, and Anglo-saxon administrative superiority". Two papers by Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi discuss some trends in Islamic Political Thought and "Islamic Elements in the Political Thought of Pakistan". These two contributions provide a refreshing, non-western perspective on the problems of development that underlines what the other writers have to say about the ethnocentric assumptions underlying the discussions and activities in the field of socio-economic development.

John Montgomery's paper on "Political Dimensions of Foreign Aid" should prove an invaluable antidote against the naive idea that foreign aid consists

merely of giving away money. His realistic assessment of the foreign aid situation, based on wide experience, presents a number of possible ways to handle aid as well as recounting errors made by donor nations. In a final essay, Mason Wade compares the myths and realities of "Social Change in French Canada". It is not too long ago that the Quebec government tried to lure industry into the province by advertising in the American financial press, as one of Quebec's advantages, "cheap, docile labor". This is a fine, vigorous piece of writing and highly relevant to Canada's continuing debate on biculturalism.

This book packs an enormous amount of information into three hundred pages. Canada is moving slowly but surely into a deeper involvement in foreign aid programmes. She has no image as a colonial power to live down. But it is possible that she may create an image in the world as a well-meaning, but bumbling and fumbling nation if those involved in foreign aid programmes ignore the American experience in the developing world. This book should be required reading for all involved or interested in foreign aid programme and socio-economic development. At the theoretical and practical levels it has a great deal to offer. It does not make for light or easy reading. But a few hours spent reading these papers may well prevent catastrophic and expensive mistakes.

JIM LOTZ

Essays in Economic Anthropology. JUNE HELM, editor. Proceedings of the 1965 Annual Spring meetings, American Ethnological Society. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1965, iii-139 pp. $3.50.

This volume of eight essays is dedicated to the memory of Karl Polanyi, and the first essay, by George Dalton, is specifically a review and critique of his ideas and contributions. One of Polanyi's themes was that in precapitalist societies, economic institutions were generally "embedded in" or subordinate to social institutions. The notion of "Economic Man" is an invention of Western industrial society, valueless in understanding more primitive cultures because in them, economic goals and actions are inextricably interwined with social goals and actions. The analysis of non-western societies in terms of classical economics ends, for the anthropologist, in frustration, and hence this tool is rejected as inadequate, by itself, for the job.

This theme, above all, is the unifying thread of the ensuing essays, and because of it the reader is left with the impression not of a random collection of papers but of a concerted attempt to clarify and develop economic anthropological theory. This is one of the strengths of this volume. However, an introduction or resumé, even if only a few hundred words, setting out more specifically the purpose of the volume and what the editors thought this collection of papers achieved, would have given these essays even more unity.

The essays are quite varied, using cultural examples from the subarctic to the humid tropics; some examine the economic institutions of specific societies,

while others discuss certain economic practices cross-culturally. Kennard describes briefly recent economic change among the Hopi Indians, and June Helm discusses inter-household allocation among the Dene Indians of Northern Canada, and the significance of the role of the trading chief of the fur trade days to this pattern. Thomas Harding's essay gives a comparison of trading systems in New Guinea and Papua, and stresses the need for analysis of regional trade ties and patterns in addition to the local economic structures of family and kinship. By doing so he shows in this case how local political processes and long distance trade are related.

Hunt examines the institution of the family business in rural Mexico from the point of view of the family cycle. The structure and functions of the family business are described in detail, and it is then shown how succession to the owner-manager position is effected, and how the heir-apparent is socialized in this role. The means of adjustment to sometimes conflicting economic and social goals are discussed. The essay is an excellent demonstration of how the anthropologist's insight can make an essential contribution to the understanding, and hopefully the solution, of the problems of economic underdevelopment.

Mexico is also the locale of David Kaplan's inquiry, although his focus is on the institution of the market place (a phenomenon which he distinguishes quite clearly from the classical economic concept of the market, whose preconditions and mechanisms are in large part absent from the isolated, regionalized economies of rural Mexico). The study compares the market place of Colonial Mexico with present day conditions. The discussion of the factors influencing price in the absence of classical market mechanisms is excellent, and will be of interest to anthropologists dealing with the problem in primitive societies anywhere in the world.

Perhaps the most significant essay in the volume is "Exchange-Value and the Diplomacy of Primitive Trade" by Marshall Sahlins. This includes a wide ranging review of various facets of primitive exchange. The factors affecting the timing, volume and direction of the flow of goods in primitive exchange, especially between groups (although such exchange is frequently effected through individual trading partnerships) are discussed. Some of these factors are ecological, some are spatial, and some are political or diplomatic, and consideration of these can shed light on trading patterns which otherwise have no apparent economic rationale. The main question is how, in the absence of anything resembling a classical market situation, are exchange values arrived at? And how are they, under certain conditions, responsive to shifts in supply and demand, since in primitive trade such shifts are frequently absorbed in other ways, at least in the short run? Some stimulating hypotheses are set forth in attempting to solve this problem. They are certainly not the end of such inquiry, and of course more testing is required. It is this type of endeavour, however, which will help economic anthropology develop a body of penetrating analytical theory. For it is not sufficient to reject classical economics as inapplicable to anthropological problems; rather the discipline must develop in its own right.

The final essay, by Lang, was acknowledged the best student paper read at the meetings, and concerns the transition to an industrial class system on an Ecuadorean sugar plantation.

To sum up, the reader will find some very high quality economic anthropology in this volume. The essays indicate that the field is certainly a worthwhile discipline. Yet they also exhibit some of the shortcomings of that discipline, although I must admit immediately that as a geographer my biases here may be apparent. Economics ultimately concerns the disposition of scarce resources. This has been said thousands of times, but we could do with more emphasis on the resources part. In the study of preindustrial societies, this usually means a much more careful look at the ecological basis of the group in question. Geographers are prone to looking at it without adequate understanding of the socio-economic aspects of resources use and disposition. Anthropologists usually look at it very briefly, and outline it in an introductory fashion, without appreciating that the options in resource use open to a group can be much more complex than supposed. How and when these options can be taken up, and which ones are taken up and why, is a topic worthy of more study, not only for its intrinsic interest but also because it sheds light on many of the things that economic anthropologists investigate.

Patterns of resource use can be analyzed in terms of economic, social or ecological goals, preferably all three simultaneously. These goals are sometimes contradictory, and this has ramifications not only for resource use patterns but for the entire social and economic structure as adjustments are effected. The achievement of economic anthropology is that it tries to analyze the first two goals and the interconnection of activity related to them. If anthropologists and geographers start talking to each other a little more, perhaps a discipline will grow which looks at all three.

PETER J. USHER

Change and Habit; The Challenge of Our Time. ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. London, Oxford University Press. 1966. 240 pp. $5.00.

Arnold Toynbee sometimes seems to be more like a presence than a person, a sort of spirit that hangs over the world, examining the world's civilizations, like some celestial schoolmaster.

In this book, Professor Toynbee looks at the problem of change in the world to-day. As H. G. Wells once remarked, the history of civilization is that of a race between education and extermination. Professor Toynbee has made a sizeable contribution to the cause of civilization by putting the whole matter of change and habit into historical perspective. He has done so with a combination of Olympian objectivity and human concern. He ranges (wanders might be a better word) over a wide field, writing always with a style that combines lightness with erudition. He must be the only author who never gives the source for a most obscure allusion, but who finds it necessary, when he quotes a Biblical phrase, to cite chapter and verse. Toynbee looks back

down the corridors of time and examines the stable elements in human nature, the accelerated processes of change, divisive and unifying movements in history, the need for order in politics, and the scope for freedom in religion. Looking ahead for two billion years, the expected length of time that man will inhabit this planet, the author makes a plea for a world state. "In this book it is being contended that, in the Atomic Age, mankind has to choose between political unification and mass suicide." This is the same point made by another powerful modern thinker, Buckminster Fuller, who sums up the choice as "Utopia or Oblivion".

The author looks at the record of world states in historical times and remarks that such a state, "once established, dies hard". Then he examines the feasibility of a world-wide state. He sees the need for the cement of a common culture to construct such a state, but also states flatly that "world authorities for controlling atomic energy and for organizing the production and distribution of food will be ineffective if there is not . . . overwhelming force behind them".

This statement may sound a jarring note, but it comes from a man who has examined the whole sweep of man's recorded history. The theme of the book is one of realistic idealism — understanding the limits of man and his operations in the past, and endeavouring to look ahead on the basis of this towards a humanistic world order. Toynbee is no determinist, as he has been frequently portrayed. He has a strong human sympathy and concern, and points out possibilities rather than probabilities. In a short book he has covered the whole span of human history. He sheds light on such diverse aspects of history as the relation between the head and the heart, Marxism, the present reversal of China's traditional universalistic outlook, the behaviour of de Gaulle, and the origin of the world "intelligence".

He states that "The annihilation of distance through the progress of technology has now brought all the living societies on the face of this planet into direct contact with each other". Echoing McLuhan, his message is more moderate. He stands between those people like McLuhan and Fuller, who have both feet firmly planted in the future, and the majority of mankind, who, by Toynbee's reckoning, are still mired in the ideologies of nineteenth century nationalism. This book will be useful to everyone interested and involved in bringing about social change. It will provide a sense of proportion and sense of history to even the most isolated attempt at social and cultural change.

Social scientist won't view too kindly some of the statements in the first chapter, with its implications about the unpredictability of human behaviour. Toynbee writes "It may be agreed that there cannot be a science of human affairs, if by science we mean (as we usually do mean by the word nowadays) a method of study that yields a possibility of infallible prediction". This is not what science is "about", at all.

But this sentence is the only poor one in the book. Usually the author's style is vivid and alive and pointed. Some of the sentences sound like aphorisms. "The first and most obvious reason for allowing religious liberty is that it is morally wrong to try to bring about by force a conversion which can be genuine only if it springs from a spontaneous conviction" and "The language of religion is not the language of science and technology; it is the language of poetry and prophecy," are examples of the balanced, harmonious sentences that fill this book.

JIM LOTZ

Co-operatives; Notes for a Basic Information Course. ALEKSANDRS SPRUDZS. Ottawa. Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University. 1967. 60 pp. $1.00.

This is the first in a new series of Handbooks for Developing Peoples, and is intended to serve as a simple introduction to the principles of co-operation and co-operatives. The book developed out of a training course for Eskimos given by Mr. Sprudzs.

Few "how-to" books deserve to be reviewed in learned journals, but this one merits the attention of professional social scientists as well as practitioners in community development, for two reasons. First, the author has had extensive field experience in setting up co-operatives among peoples in many different locations and cultures. It is instructive to see how this experience in varied circumstances is used to provide generalized advice, not only about technical matters, but also about human relations. Secondly, Mr. Sprudzs makes much use of the cultural idioms and thought models of northern Indians and Eskimos. The author's presentation, written in simple yet unpatronizing English, at times appears to be a translation *from* the Eskimo or an Indian language *into* English. This reviewer knows scores of Eskimos, Indians, missionaries and government people, struggling against heavy odds to establish or consolidate co-operatives during the past decade or so, who would have walked miles to get a book like this. Now they can get it by mail.

FRANK VALLEE

Abstracts

ARBESS, SAUL. "Economic Realities and Political Development: The George River Case." *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 65-76, 1967.

In the face of a scarcity of earned income derived from jobs and the absence of a consistent job-training programme, but in the presence of government relief and welfare monies and large-scale subsidies, the people of George River, a small Eskimo village on the east coast of Ungava Bay in Nouveau Québec, have organized themselves into a close-knit pressure group whose aim is to increase the availability of these monies and subsidies. This paper illustrates how the George River Eskimos have adopted a political ideology characterized by "welfare-statism", and shows how a political strategy has developed to further the goals of this ideology.

BEAUCAGE, JACQUES. « La participation. » *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 61-64, 1967.

A short outline of the processes involved in social animation. The formation of leaders, distribution of tasks, the creation of structures that enable the population to participate in socio-economic development programmes are discussed.

CONNOR, DESMOND. "A Typology of Residents for Community Development." *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 37-49, 1967.

When a community development worker enters a community, he almost inevitably applies some kind of typology in categorizing its residents. Typical dimensions include age, sex, education, occupation, ethnic origin, religion, income and/or wealth. While useful for some purposes, this paper starts from the premise that such variables are relatively non-dynamic in predicting the propensity of residents to involve themselves in various ways in the processes of community development. Instead a typology based on nativity, migration experience and identification with the community is employed to generate seven types of residents. Data from a fishing village in Eastern Nova Scotia and a section of the southwestern part of the province are used to illustrate the typology.

FELDHAMMER, LOUIS. "Social Anthropology — Mechanized or Humanized?" *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 29-35, 1967.

A review of some current trends in social anthropology that attempts to stress the need to avoid scientism. The importance of a correct understanding of the scientific method in the social sciences is discussed, and the dangers of professionalization of anthropology are examined. Romanticism in anthropology is decried, and the concept of choices and alternatives available to members of a society is presented as a realistic way for the social anthropologist to approach the problems of social change.

LAGASSÉ, JEAN. "A Review of Community Development Experience in the World, 1945-1967." *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 15-28, 1967.

A survey of world trends in community development with particular reference to experience in India, the Philippines, Ghana and Mexico. The variety of approaches to community development is stressed, and the relationship between community development, economic development and national planning is examined.

LOTZ, JIM. "Introduction; Is Community Development Necessary?" *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 3-14, 1967.

Traces the history of the community development movement as it relates to world trends towards increasing urbanization and industrialization. The paper suggests that a naive and oversimple view has been taken of the complexity of traditional and modern societies, and that much community development work has not taken cognizance of this. A definition of community development in advanced, and some prospects for community development in Canada are outlined.

MELANÇON, CLAUDE. « Inventaire et Perspectives de l'Action Sociale Étudiante du Québec. » *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 77-84, 1967.

The aims, structure and strategy of student social action in Québec are presented. The reason for student social action is discussed, and some ideas on the orientation of student social action so that it is effective over the long term as well as in the short run are put forward.

SHULMAN, NORMAN. "Mutual Aid and Neighbouring Patterns: The Lower Town Study." *Anthropologica* 9(2) : 51-60, 1967.

The widespread view of the modern city as a cold and unfriendly place is again challenged by the data collected during a study of Ottawa's Lower Town. In addition, the types of interaction which occur among urban neighbours are found to fall into three general patterns. The particular pattern in which persons are found are related to various social factors such as age, presence of children, and stability of residence. Mutual aid relationships are found to exist among neighbours and can be found most frequently under special circumstances such as crises.

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