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THE CHALLENGE OF IMPLEMENTING AN IRRIGATION PROGRAM IN AN EGYPTIAN VILLAGE

Organization Development and Leadership Training Needs in the EWUMP

by

James B. Mayfield[1]
Muhammad Naguib[2]

Egypt Water Use and Management Project
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[1]University of Utah

[2]EWUMP Staff

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Chapter 1

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OF THE EWUMP AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

The Egypt Water Use and Management Project (EWUMP) is based upon the assumption that appropriate communication with, involvement of, and participation among the local farmers and community leaders where it is being implemented must be an integral part of all phases of the project life.[1] There is much evidence that this program has been more successful than most in utilizing a team approach to implementation in which the technical staff in agronomy and engineering has worked cooperatively with staff experts in sociology and economics in an attempt to ensure that the technical recommendations, project goals, and suggested innovations will be understood and accepted by the farmer population.

It is also recognized that such an interdisciplinary approach to technical change programs requires an extensive commitment to continued efforts in communication and coordination of activities among the individual members of this team. Great care must be taken to strengthen this communication process. Technical experts still tend to pursue their own project goals without ensuring that their activities will neither interfere nor be inconsistent with those carried on in other sections of the project. Consequently, extensive coordination and careful scheduling are essential if program development, implementation, and evaluation are to proceed smoothly.[2]

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[1]Egypt Water Use and Management Project, Problem Identification Report for Mansouria Study Area, (EWUMP Technical Report No. 1, 1979).

[2]For some discussion on the problems of evaluation in a rural setting, see: James B. Mayfield, Some Considerations for the Establishment of a Monitoring and Evaluation System in Rural Egypt (Washington D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1978).

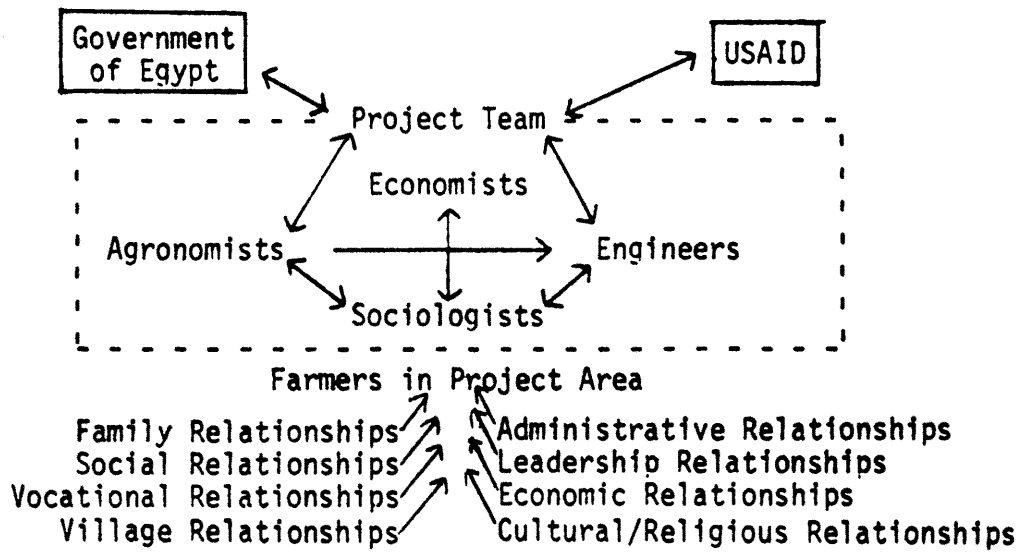
The major purpose of this project is to develop appropriate strategies procedures, and techniques which the farmers of Egypt will find useful and appropriate. Out of its research and testing phases will come specific recommendations for improving the on-farm management of irrigation practices in rural Egypt. However, Farmer Acceptance is absolutely essential. The project may develop many pages of useful information, data, and documentation, but if the farmers do not recognize and accept this information and use it, this particular project will be less than successful given its commitment to farmer involvement.

To make this project a success, continual coordination and communication on at least three different levels will be required: (a) between Egyptian Staff and American Staff; (b) between the Staff of one discipline and the Staffs of the other disciplines; and (c) between the technical experts on site and the farmers in the area where the project is being implemented.

There is built-in conflict at all of these three levels, especially since the project seeks to involve the local population in the process of decision-making. The potential areas of miscommunication and unintentional conflict are shown in Chart I-1.

Chart I-1

General Administrative Structure of the Project



The specific areas of conflict and stress which often characterize a rural development project team charged with integrating the specific points of view of managers, technical experts, and farmers are identified in Chart I-2.

Chart I-2

Contrasting Perspectives Between the Technical Staff, the Sociology/Extension Staff and the Farmers

Program Manager/Technical Staff	Sociology/Extension/Farmer
1. Great pressure to justify the expenditure of funds through quick and observable projects in order to ensure that the program will be continually funded.	1. Great pressure to go slowly to ensure that the farmers completely understand the purpose and goals of the project before it is implemented.
2. General awareness on the part of the project experts that the goals, techniques, and strategies being used are based upon solid scientific principles which have been empirically verified.	2. General awareness that regardless of how technically correct the project's goals might be, their continued use over time requires that the farmers themselves see the value and utility of these innovations.
3. The technical expert's tendency to assume that any rational program or project will easily be accepted by the farmers once it has been explained and demonstrated to them.	3. Recognition that the process by which farmers come to accept a change is not easy; that one or two meetings to explain a project can never be a substitute for the long-term need to allow farmers to observe the project in action, to experience some success with it, and to gain a complete awareness of why it is being suggested and how to use it.
4. The technical expert's genuine belief that he has something which the farmers will readily accept once it has been implemented. Thus, the crucial problem is getting the project completed as quickly as possible.	4. A strong belief that any technical innovation must be introduced into a social environment in which political, cultural, economic, and social pressures exist quite independent of the project. Patterns of influence which lead to its acceptance or rejection are not based on scientific information, but upon human values, perceptions,

Chart I-2 (Cont'd)

	and emotions which must be understood and carefully considered both before and during its implementation.
5. The technical expert's belief that the changes he is suggesting will be better for the farmers than the old way of doing things.	5. The feeling that the old way is the best way, or at least a good way, because it is consistent with their past experiences, their values and social norms, and the social realities of their community.
6. The general assumption that the innovations being suggested hold no risk for the farmer because the expert is confident that these changes will help the farmer.	6. The widespread anxiety that any shift from the "tried and true" way of doing anything may be disastrous, especially for the farmer living at the bear subsistence level.

These conflicting views of reality make coordination and communication difficult. The project team management must recognize the implications of these differing perceptions, for they suggest contrasting priorities of interest, time schedules, and strategies of implementation.[1] A great deal of effort is going to be needed if these points of stress and miscommunication are to be managed effectively.

In order to understand completely the multiple relationships impacting on the farmers (see Chart 1-2) and the positive and negative consequences of these factors for the success or failure of the project, much care must be taken to ensure that all technical decisions are coordinated with the data being collected by the sociology team. There will be times when technical decisions may have to be postponed until adequate social and farmer perceptual data are available. It is equally important that the sociologists on the project be sensitive to the

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[1]See James B. Mayfield, Local Government in Egypt: Some New Change Strategies and Training Opportunities (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1976), pp. 56-71.

technical team's need to demonstrate some progress and to complete the phases of its work in a timely way. Both groups of experts much recognize each other's problems, but the crucial focus must be on their joint awareness (1) that program success requires farmer acceptance and (2) that in an Egyptian village setting there are interrelationships and patterns of influence which must be understood and taken into consideration if the project is to be implemented successfully and maintained over time.[1] All project members must recognize that a very effective and efficient water management system can be established in this project area. However, if the farmers do not accept this system, if they have been manipulated or coerced into superficially adopting the new techniques and procedures, the long-term impact of this project will be less than hoped for. The technical potentialities of this project are exciting and harbor significant opportunities to improve the water use capabilities of the Egyptian farmer. One of the unique characteristics of this project has been the early commitment to involve the farmers in the entire process of implementation. Such a process of involvement can ideally help to ensure:

(1) that the best aspects of the farmer's present approach to irrigation are not ignored. Close communication with the farmer will help the technical expert to understand the rationale which underlines the farmer's present approach to irrigation. Much of what the farmer does may be completely relevant and technically appropriate given the realities of his environment;

(2) that the farmer clearly understands the goals, strategies, and purposes of the project. It is important that a communication system be developed to ensure that the farmer's concerns are identified, that no misunderstandings will

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[1]Edgar Owens, "Small Farmer Participation and World Agricultural Development," Public Administration Review, March/April, 1976, pp. 142-47.

disrupt the project, and that the farmer begins to recognize the utility and value of such a project;

(3) that there will be appropriate feedback from the farmer to ensure that the project design may be restructured or modified on a regular basis to make the project both technically and socially compatible with the realities of the Egyptian environment;

(4) that some type of informal water users' organization be established at the meska level (50-100 farmers) through an encouraged system of participation among these farmers. If the benefits of this project are to be maintained after its completion, much effort must be expended to involve the farmers to the point where they begin to consider the project their own, and begin to develop the organizational skills and cooperation needed to manage the system after the support team has gone. A long-term maintenance system in a meska will require some type of voluntary water users' association which can take responsibility for the management and maintenance of the water system developed.

Much effort must be expended to gather all relevant information on the many patterns of interaction listed in Chart I-1. Face-to-face interviews and indepth discussions are absolutely essential. The technical staff must recognize the utility of this data collection process and should take an active interest in the data being collected. An awareness of the family relationships, ownership-tenant relationships, formal and informal leadership patterns, sources of authority and influence, and a comprehensive view of how not only the farmers but also the recognized leaders and significant people in the village perceive the project. There is a great tendency for farmers to agree readily to suggestions and recommendations made by an "expert," "official," or "outsider." Once the outsider is gone, the promise to fulfill certain kinds of activities or procedures is forgotten or disregarded with the often-heard expression, "Ahu Kalam" (these are only words to be ignored).

In observing rural development projects in many countries, it appears that there are four basic obstacles (the four D's) which block their effective implementation:

1. Disinterest from the expert
2. Disincentive from the system
3. Distrust from the farmer
4. Discouragement from the results

These are discussed below.

Our purpose is not to criticize or place blame for a problem, but rather to identify a situation for which no one individual is to blame but which, in reality, may be the key obstacle to the success of this project.

1. Disinterest from the Expert

Very few rural development workers are really dedicated to rural development. Most see their work as a job which requires so many hours for so much money. Very few are willing to spend any extended period of time in a village setting where they would actually live in the village, eat in the village, work in the village, or interact with the villagers as friends and neighbors. Before we are accused of being insensitive to the problems of rural development workers, let us say that their tendency to live in the city and spend a few hours daily in the village is a world phenomenon not unique to Egypt; but nevertheless, it is one of the major obstacles to rural development. Even when some level of dedication does exist, the structure of work makes it nearly impossible for the rural development worker to spend more than three to four hours a day in the village. We have listed this obstacle as number one because this is where the change process has to begin--in the attitudes and minds of the people presently being employed to design and implement rural development projects.

2. Disincentive from the System

Very few rural development projects have sought to create an incentive system which would reward rural development workers for their efforts. Low wages, inadequate housing, little opportunity for promotion, and no recognition for the extremely important role such people can and do play (in some rare situations) in the national development of their individual countries. Most bureaucratic systems tend to provide disincentives rather than incentives. In a system which imposes a set of written reports and structured administrative procedures which may keep a field worker in his office four out of five days in the week, there can be little hope that an effective rural development process can ever be implemented.

3. Distrust from the Farmer

The peasant farmers of the world have very little reason to trust their governments. Government officials since the beginning of time have taxed them, drafted them into the military, confiscated their lands, manipulated and coerced them, and made promises that never seem to be fulfilled. Why should they expect anything different now? Many officials confuse agricultural development, irrigation development, or farm mechanization development with rural development. Yet for purposes of analysis they need to be distinguished. Agricultural or irrigation or machinery development implies the introduction of some new technique, technology, seed variety, or procedure into a rural setting without any effort to involve the farmer to the point where he might begin to take responsibility for its implementation. Rural development involves a great deal more than merely the introduction of a new technology, or the building of a new irrigation system, or the creation of a new cooperative. Farmer development is essential, where individual farmers begin to take responsibility for their own

lives, become less dependent on government-sponsored programs, learn to organize themselves, and acquire the skills necessary to identify problems, seek appropriate help, design solutions which are consistent with their own values and goals, and implement and maintain programs which provide these solutions. Rural development may be encouraged by a central government but will never be achieved by a central government. From our experience most rural development administrators agree with this definition of rural development. However, very few of them engage in the activities necessary to bring about such development among the farmers.

4. Discouragement from the Results

When the disinterest, the disincentive, and the distrust that characterizes most rural development projects are combined, it is not surprising that discouragement is a common result. Discouragement is listed as the final step in this process, but more appropriately could be considered as the first step--for discouragement reinforces the disinterest, the disincentives, and the distrust that characterizes so many of the rural development projects observed.

An awareness of these "4-D's" is not the end, but more appropriately the beginning of one's understanding of the process of rural development and how it relates to the EWUMP. Out of an awareness of these obstacles can come a new sense of what must be if the EWUMP is to be implemented in some effective way. Let us review four areas of concern that appear relevant to this project:

1. Staff Communication Patterns
2. The Vicious Cycle of Expert-Farmer Distrust
3. The Process and Utility of Data Collection
4. A Preliminary Strategy for Farmer Involvement and Training

Chapter II

COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS

An Analysis of Staff Communication Patterns

It is quite common in a bureaucratic environment for communication to be based upon a one-way system in which orders are given, plans presented, requirements announced, procedures established, and goals defined with little or no feedback from those below as to whether they have understood the orders, plans, procedures, or goals. They key assumption of this system rests upon the premise that if something has been said once, explained once, or distributed once as a memo, that should be enough.

Administrative systems seeking to improve their communication networks often adopt a two-way system which requires the receiving elements to acknowledge their understanding and awareness of the orders, plans, or procedures in order to give the sender of the directive some confirmation that the message has been understood

In recent years there have been some efforts to move beyond mutual understanding between two people in an organizational setting to a more profound level of communication--generally described as "shared awareness." This requires extensive staff training in team-building, interpersonal skill development, conflict resolution, problem identification, and role negotiation skills. Based upon some experience in conducting this type of training in Egypt, Tunisia, and the Philippines, the conviction emerges that administrative teams working in rural development can have their effectiveness greatly increased both in terms of working together and in terms of working with farmers.

The brief descriptive charts below identify the basic assumptions and the advantages and disadvantages of the three types of communication systems usually found in a rural development organization.

Chart II-1

One-Way System of Communication

Assumptions	Advantages	Disadvantages
A. Administrative Level		
1. If I say something once to a subordinate, that should be enough.	1. This system takes very little time to get information to subordinates.	1. The subordinate often has questions about the order or request which make it difficult for him to know exactly what his superior wants.
2. If I send a memo to a subordinate, then I have communicated with him; and if I tell someone what I want him to do, he will do it.	2. This system does not allow subordinates to question the orders given.	2. The subordinate has no way to explain some of the problems of which the superior is not aware that may exist at his level.
3. If I explain something to someone once, he should be able to understand what I want him to do or what I intend to do.	3. This system forces the subordinate to do what he has been told regardless of the subordinate's own priorities or problems.	3. If the subordinate has misunderstood the order he may do somedifferent from what the superior wanted.
B. Farmer-Expert Level		
4. Farmers need to be told what to do because otherwise they will do nothing.	4. You only have to go into the field once or twice or, even better, you can bring them into the project office.	4. Farmers may not understand what you are saying after only one or two discussions.
5. Farmers will do what we want if we just tell them. If we meet with the farmers once or twice, that will be enough to explain what we are trying to do.	5. Little time is wasted in talking to the farmers.	5. It generally does not allow the farmer to share his concerns or to ask questions.

Chart II-1 (Continued)

Assumptions	Advantages	Disadvantages
6. A very good example of one-way communication is a demonstration project. Let the farmer see, and he will accept the new ideas and methods.	6. There is no wasted time in trying to get farmers to agree upon a project before you begin. Just set up the demonstration and wait for the farmers to accept it.	6. There is much evidence in the literature that demonstration projects by themselves are generally not effective in inducing farmers to accept new ideas. This is especially true of the poorer, less-educated farmers.

Chart II-2

Two-Way System of Communication

Assumption	Advantages	Disadvantages
A. Administrative Level		
1. Communication requires that subordinates have the opportunity to ask questions and obtain clarification of what the order or procedure means.	1. Subordinates are more apt to comply with an order or procedure if they fully understand what is being communicated.	1. This kind of communication requires much more time.
2. Effective communication requires that the sender and the receiver of a message have the opportunity to exchange ideas on how they each interpret it so that both may see how the other understands its purpose and meaning.	2. Supervisors are more apt to have their subordinate do what they want if the subordinate has an opportunity to ask questions and seek clarification.	2. Even though the subordinate may understand the message, there is no opportunity for him to express his feelings or concerns about it.
B. Farmer/Expert Level		
3. When a farmer feels free to raise questions about the project and has certain parts of the project explained several times, he is much more apt to accept the ideas of the expert.	3. There is a higher probability that the farmer will truly understand what the expert wants done, and he will, therefore, be more apt to follow the latter's directions and ideas.	3. Even though the farmer may understand what the expert is trying to do, this basic two-way system does not allow opportunity for the farmer to disagree, express concerns, or bring up political, religious, social, or emotional issues.

Chart II-2 (Continued)

Assumptions	Advantages	Disadvantages
4. Several meetings will be necessary before the farmers will truly understand what the experts are trying to do. This type of interaction is best conducted in the field with both experts and farmers explaining and sharing ideas, answering questions, seeking clarification, and confirming that both sides understand each other. Such communication is often associated with a "supervision in practice" system where experts work closely with farmers on a daily basis.	4. Again, two-way communication has one major goal--to make the farmer truly understand what the expert is trying to do. (Note that in a one-way system a command is issued, information is disseminated, and ideas or activities are demonstrated without too much concern as to whether the farmer has really understood the purpose of the expert.)	4. Although it is important that experts and farmers understand each other, this model of human interaction provides no effective way for the expert to know how the farmer really feels about the project. There is no easy way to create an environment of trust so that a farmer will feel comfortable in sharing his concerns, the subtle pressures that are coming from family, friends, and influentials, and the natural anxiety he may be feeling in adopting something new.

Chart II-3

Shared Awareness System of Communication

Assumptions	Advant Advantages	Disadvantages
A. Administrative Level		
1. Messages can be sent and people may understand each other completely, yet until people are free to share how they really feel about the message, true communication has not taken place.	1. If both the sender and the receiver completely share their feelings, there is a much greater chance that the sender will have a better sense of what to expect from the receiver and will be less apt to be disappointed when the receiver does not do what the sender expected.	1. It requires a great deal of time before there is enough trust and openness for both the sender and receiver to share their real feelings. Many people, especially in a bureaucratic environment, are unwilling to listen to those below them. They are accustomed to giving orders and have never learned how to listen.
2. Effective communication requires that people have an opportunity to experience a shared awareness. Until both people fully understand the other's point of view, his values, his perceptions of the situation, his concerns, his way of looking at the world, and how he sees himself, only a superficial kind of pseudo-communication has taken place.	2. When there is a shared awareness between two people, each is in a better position to understand the other's point of view and to take that point of view into consideration before attempting to plan and implement some project.	2. When a project is under some pressure to be completed as quickly as possible, a process of communication involving individuals sharing their feelings and concerns will be much too time-consuming.
B. Farmers/Expert Level		
3. Too many projects fail throughout the world because experts do not take the time fully to understand the farmer on his terms and not on the expert's terms.	3. Projects based upon a complete awareness of the farmer's environment and how he perceives it is much more apt to be structured in a way which allows the farmer to accept	3. There are very few experts who have the communication skills, the patience, or the willingness to involve the farmers in a total shared awareness experience. This is why most rural development pro-

Chart II-3 (Continued)

Assumptions	Advantages	Disadvantages
4. Only if the farmer is truly involved in the planning, designing, and implementation of a project is he apt to have developed the competences and skills which will enable him to maintain the project after the expert is gone. A primary goal of rural development is to make the rural development extension worker unnecessary.	4. A communication system which is characterized by shared awareness helps farmers and experts to see themselves as co-workers, and not as superiors and subordinates. Farmers will be encouraged to participate actively in the planning and designing of the project so as to ensure that it reflects their social reality and allows them both to identify with the project and to begin to see it as their own. This is the most effective way of ensuring that the farmers will take responsibility for the project and will actively work to make sure it will continue after the experts have gone.	4. Very few rural development experts throughout the world are committed to the time-consuming process which demands that they spend more time in the village, more time understanding the farmers, and less time issuing orders and commands. Until experts accept this challenge, rural development will continue to be ineffective and short-term in its impact.

General Observations

Most communication interactions observed at EWUMP tend to be one-way. Very few of the people involved appear to be aware that their own communication style is predominantly a one-way system. This tendency is not unique to EWUMP since it is the most common approach used in 90 percent of all superior-subordinate interactions personally observed in the United States, France, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Iran, India, the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia over the past twenty years.

It appears the EWUMP is aware of this problem. Serious efforts have been made to organize staff meetings with both Egyptians and Americans present in order to move to a two-way system of communication where policies, procedures, and project activities can be discussed and explained. English is the common language of exchange, but there is a wide disparity among the participants in their ability to understand it and to express their ideas in English. Consequently, the effort to structure a two-way system of communication is often thwarted by the difficulty some participants find in admitting that they have not understood. This becomes especially frustrating when the participants face the chairman of the meeting and speak rather softly. It was impressive to note in one staff meeting that when several of the Americans left the room, there was a quick return to Arabic with much greater spontaneity, good humor, and exchange than when English was the sole linguistic medium. This should be anticipated, for it will be true in any situation where the staff have different language backgrounds. Our point is merely to sensitize top management (both Egyptian and American) to the fact that this may be one cause of the confusion that often exists between staff members. Perhaps some alternative

systems of communication may be needed to ensure that the ideas, the concerns, and the feelings of the key staff people may be more completely shared. The American staff may be particularly guilty in this situation because many of them do not enunciate clearly, use unfamiliar English idioms, and generally make no effort to speak slowly or distinctly. Many Egyptians are reluctant to admit that they have not understood certain parts of a conversation--especially when they probably did understand much of what they heard. The problem, of course, exists in those parts of the conversation that were misunderstood or not heard.

It is our impression that great efforts have been exerted to provide training in team building, communication skills, and staff development in EWUMP since its beginning two years ago. Our comments are not to discredit these efforts, but merely to reinforce the obvious necessity to continue this type of training. The earlier comments which described the natural points of inconsistency and stress between the project manager/technical staff perspectives and the sociology/extension/farmer perspectives (see Chart I-1) hopefully dramatizes how difficult it is for staff people to communicate effectively with each other, understand each other's point of view, and coordinate with each other in a way which facilitates the logical and timely development of each component in the project.

Staff-Farmer Interaction Patterns--the Vicious Cycle of Expert/Farmer Distrust

While a great deal of effort is needed to improve the communication/coordination networks in EWUMP, both between top and middle management and between the various technical staffs as they implement their own particular component parts of the over-all project, still the major focus of this paper will be devoted to the relationships between staff and farmers.

We will try to outline what has been called the "vicious cycle" of expert-farmer distrust. Most farmers throughout the world function within a social reality that very few outsiders ever completely understand or can ever hope to appreciate. Much of this social reality is conditioned by a set of assumptions about the world in which they find themselves which over time have been proven to be correct, logical, and therefore, true. Out of these assumptions come behaviors which are perfectly appropriate and consistent.

The rural development expert who, generally, is unaware of the farmer's social reality and has no intimate knowledge of how the farmer sees his environment, must react to his behavior--the only observable social act available to the expert. Since the farmer's behavior often reinforces and confirms certain attitudes non-farmers have toward farmers, the expert's reactions to this behavior are also natural and logical. The problem, of course, is that the expert's reactions and his consequent behavior merely reinforces and confirms the original assumptions that the farmer already had about government officials.

Chart II-4

The Vicious Cycle of Expert/Farmer Distrust

Social Reality of the Farmer	Assumptions
1. Need to protect himself from government officials based upon his past experience.	1. Officials may cheat the farmer. Officials may take advantage of the farmer. Officials cannot be trusted completely. Promises officials make seldom come true. Much of what officials may say are only words (Ahu Kalam)

Chart II-4 (Continued)

Social Reality of the Farmer	Assumptions
2. Need to maintain his income in ways that appear best to him or which have succeeded in the past.	2. The way a farmer plants and irrigates is the best way. The past way of farming ensured a reasonably good crop--why change? If the new way suggested by the expert should not work, the farmer will have no crop.
3. Willingness to listen to friends and associates in his village more than to experts from outside his village.	3. Friends and neighbors are more apt to tell him the truth than are experts and outsiders. It is better to do what the local influentials suggest than what the experts may suggest.

Out of this social reality which is built upon accepted assumptions emerges a variety of farmer behaviors which, given the past experience of farmers with many outsiders, are quite natural:

1. Never tell the expert what you are really thinking because he will take advantage of you. Pretend to agree with the expert when you really don't.

2. Exaggerate your problems in order to gain more help from the expert. Promise to cooperate with the expert when you really feel it would be better not to do so.

3. Tell the expert what you think the expert wants to hear; e.g.--
Question from expert: Do you feel that this is a good project?
Answer from farmer: Oh, yes, this is a very good project.
Accept the ideas and observations of your family and village influentials because they can be trusted.

As a government official observes the behavior of farmers, it is not surprising that his assumptions about them are based upon his reaction to the behavior observed:

1. Farmers cannot be trusted--they will agree, then not do what they agreed on.

2. It is better to force them to do what you want--force is all they understand.

3. Farmers are stupid and uneducated, and that is why they won't accept the expert's advice.

4. It is better to ignore the farmer and just get the project implemented.

5. It is better to manipulate the farmer--don't tell him what the expert is really going to do because if the farmer finds out, he will cause problems for the expert.

6. Anger and frustration when the farmer won't cooperate are the inevitable reactions of the expert.

As one analyzes the social reality of the farmer, his assumptions about government officials, his behavior which is a logical and natural consequence of his assumptions, and the natural and logical reaction of the expert to this behavior, one begins to recognize the difficulty of establishing trust and cooperation between farmers and project experts. Such an analysis should sensitize the project expert to this difficulty and motivate him to reconsider his approach to the farmer. Is the expert's present behavior encouraging or discouraging trust?

1. Have I made promises which were not kept?

2. Have I tried to manipulate or coerce the farmer into doing something he may not have wanted to do?

3. Do I treat the farmer in such a way that he may feel that I consider him to be stupid or uneducated?

4. Do I hold meetings with him that have two purposes, one purpose expressed, the other purpose hidden and which may be confusing to him? I may tell the farmer I just want to make a social call: I really hope to convince him to accept the project.

5. Do I try to persuade the farmer to my point of view without acknowledging that his point of view may also be reasonable, logical, and valuable?

6. Do I act superior to the farmer and make him feel that he is inferior to me?

Most people are not aware of how their behaviors are being perceived and interpreted. Often what we intend people to believe will be just the opposite of what happens.

Chart II-5

Contrasting Perceptions Between Farmers and Experts

Expert's Intentions	Farmer's Perceptions
1. I want to promise the farmer something so he will be favorable to the project.	1. Here is another example of an official making promises that will never happen.
2. If the farmer knew what we were going to do, he would never agree; therefore, I must try to trick him or manipulate him into accepting what I want.	2. The expert is saying one thing, but it appears he has something else in mind. It is very confusing; therefore, I better not trust what he is saying.
3. I know the farmer is very intelligent in some ways, but in other ways he is very stupid and uneducated, but I must not let him know I think he is stupid.	3. Everytime the expert gives me advice or tells me what he thinks I should do, he makes me feel like I don't know anything about farming or irrigation.

Chart II-5 (Continued)

4. I hope this farmer will agree to our project. I know some other farmers may be opposed to the project, but I don't care what they think. I will only work with this one farmer.	4. This expert does not understand how decisions are made in our village; he appears to ignore the relationships that exist among farmers, families, influentials, and other officials in our village.

Given this very frustrating dilemma, let us consider some specific strategies which may be helpful in breaking through the "vicious circle of farmer/expert distrust":

1. A great deal of effort must be expended to become personally aware of the farmer's problems, concerns, and perceptions of his reality. In the beginning the major purpose of interaction with the farmer is to learn from him how he ploughs his land, prepares the seed bed, plants the seeds, irrigates, fertilizes, and uses insecticides. Why does he do what he does as opposed to some other method? At this point, the purpose is not to introduce new ways of farming or irrigation, but merely to understand his reasons for doing what he does now.

2. Attempt to understand what specific problems he faces as a farmer, how he defines these problems, and why he thinks they are problems.

3. There is a strong need to understand the farmer, not only in terms of his farm, but also in terms of his family and friends and those he goes to for help and advice. Who are his closest associates, what do they have in common, who does he trust to advise him, and why does he go to these people and not some other person in the village? This type of interaction is best understood as a shared awareness experience, rather than as a two-way system of communication.

4. Trust building does not come from four or five meetings with a farmer, but from an extended period of interaction which is characterized by behavior on the expert's past which is perceived by the farmer to be trustworthy, sincere, and consistent.

a. Promise to do some little things and then make sure you fulfill your promise.

b. Take an interest in his farm, his family, and his social community in a sincere way. One basic problem for the expert is that if he pretends to be interested and concerned when he really is not, the farmer will sense this insincerity. It is much more difficult to hide your feelings than you may believe.

c. Look for some specific problem which the project could help solve. Don't promise help if it is going to be six months or a year before help will come.

d. If there is something you can do to help the farmer, do it.

5. Before you implement any project task that may impact on the farmer, great care must be made to ensure that the farmer understands and agrees with the task. If one important goal of this project is to help the farmer become more successful and also to encourage him to take more responsibility for his own improvement, then the expert in this project must help the farmer to trust him, to want to cooperate with him, and to work with him. If the expert allows the old patterns of distrust to remain, the project will never have any long-term impact in helping the farmer to help himself.

The Process and Utility of Data Collection

One of the major weaknesses of many projects is their lack of documentation. Any project which is being implemented in a village setting should require all participants to keep a detailed diary of their experiences with the farmers. Everybody talks about how important documentation is, but very few keep a systematic record of their relations with the farmers. Below is an example of a very rudimentary set of field notes collected in June and July, 1980, which provides some background material on the farmers of meska 10[1] and their attitudes and perceptions of those they consider to be leaders and people of influence. Special care should be taken to collect information which helps an outsider understand how a farmer perceives his world, how he defines his problems, who he trusts and why, and what specific concerns he may have which the project might help him resolve.

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[1]The word meska refers to an area of several small strips of land all adjacent to a common irrigation ditch.

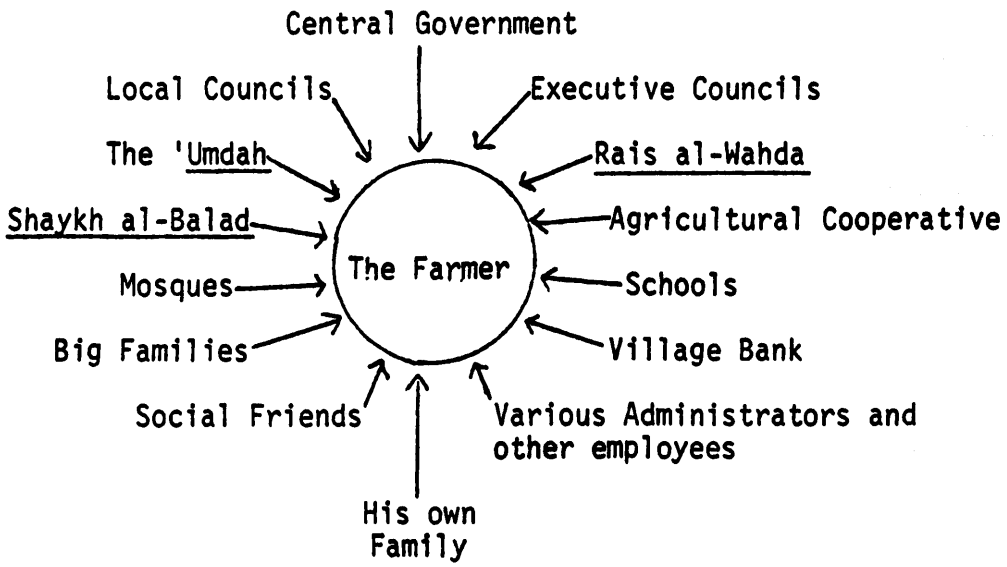
Chapter III

THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE FARMERS IN NAHYA VILLAGE

In an attempt to understand the administrative and social environment which presently impinges on the farmers of Nahya village, let us briefly outline some of the traditional and more modern institutions presently functioning in rural Egypt.

Chart III-1

The Institutions of Rural Egypt



The Local Government System in Rural Egypt

The Arab Republic of Egypt is divided into 24 governorates, 21 in the Nile Valley and 3 in the desert areas. Each governorate is further divided into some 150 districts (markaz), usually consisting of one major town and several (5 to 7) village council areas which would include roughly 40 or 50

smaller villages. A typical district has a population of between 150,000 and 200,000, and a typical village council area has roughly 30,000 people.

Under Public Law 52 enacted in 1975, local councils are to be elected at each of the three levels of the governmental hierarchy--the governorate, the district, and the village council area. At the district level 8 individuals are to be elected by the citizens in the district capital and 4 by the citizens from each of the village council areas. For example, in the Imbaba District, where the Nahya Village council area is located, there are 14 village council areas. The district council includes 8 members from the town of Imbaba and 28 members from the 14 village council areas for a total of 36. (See attached map, Chart III-3.)

At the present time there are some 805 village council areas in all of Egypt. Each area is represented by a village local council elected by the people within the village council area. Below is a rudimentary chart depicting the formal local government presently functioning in rural Egypt.

Chart III-2

Level of Government	Elected Local Council	Executive Branch
Governorate (Muhafasah)	Governorate Council in Giza (Maglis al-Muhafazah)	Governor (Muhafaz) Mahmoud Abel-Hafaz
District (Markaz)	District Council in Imbaba (Maglis Al-Markaz)	District Leader (Ra'is al-Markaz) Amin Al-Kholi District Executive Council (Maglis Tanfizi)
Village (Qarya)	Village Local Council (Maglis Al-Mahali)	Village Unit Leader (Rais al-Wahda) Sa'id Immam Musa Village Executive Council (Maglis Tanfizi)*

*The village Executive Council (Maglis al-Tanfizi) which is made up of key government officials representing the ministries of Health, Education, Social Affairs, Agriculture, Housing and Local Government is mistakenly called the Village Council (Maglis al-Qarya) by many of the sources in Nahya.

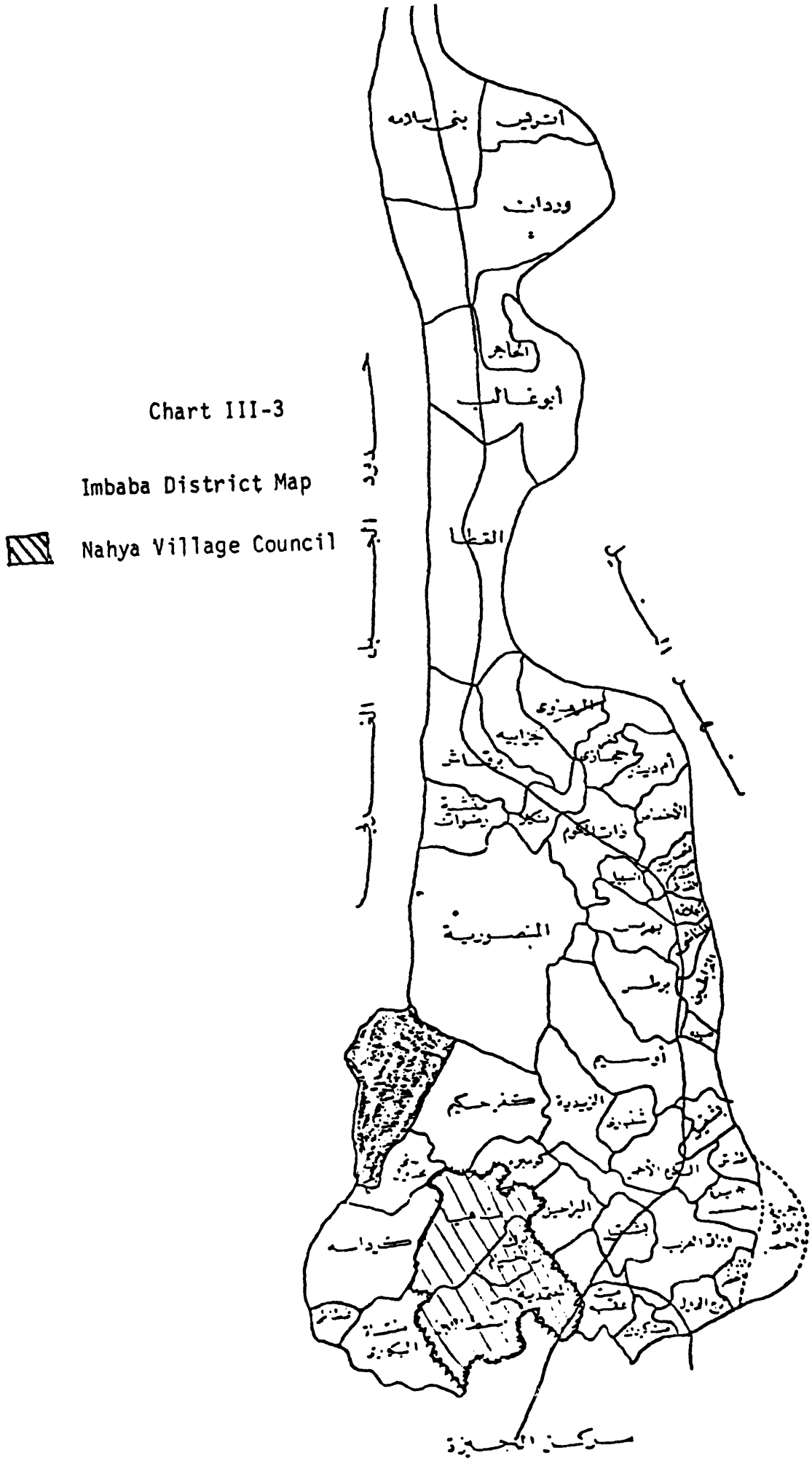


Chart III-3
Imbaba District Map
Nahya Village Council
بني سلامه
اترتيب
وردات
الحاجر
ابوغالب
القطا
البصورية
كفر حكيم
كرداسه
مركز الجيزة

Village Council in Nahya (Maglis Mahali)

Each village council area has a main village which will have at least four representatives, and a series of satellite villages, each with at least one representative. Each local village council must have at least 17 members, including at least one woman.

Potentially, a local council can play an important role in developing a deep sense of legitimacy and commitment among the citizenry for a functioning local government system.[1] It can provide a sense of participation for the inhabitants of a governorate, a district, or a rural community. A council provides an institutional structure by which local requests, complaints, and proposals can be channeled to higher governmental authorities. The truly effective council may develop a series of projects or programs of such obvious local value as to be a strong inducement to the local citizenry to contribute a significant portion of the financing.

Yet for a council to function in this manner, there must be a literate citizenry, a group of experienced and capable leaders who understand the strengths and weaknesses of a local government system, who appreciate the need for the local community to shoulder a larger portion of the costs, and who are willing to participate with the central government in reforming and developing the social, economic, and political conditions in the rural areas. Unfortunately, many of these factors do not yet exist in rural Egypt.

One significant question for the short-run effectiveness of the new village councils elected in November, 1979, deals with the amount of continuity

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[1]For a good description of the village councils' potential for rural development in Egypt, see: Abdolhossain Zahedani et al., The Basic Village Service Program: Technical and Financial Assessment (Washington, D.C.: Development Alternatives, Inc., 1980)

that exists between them and the former councils originally established under Nasser. Most village councils constituted prior to that election had a fair number of experienced council members going back to at least the mid-1960s. All of these were members of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) and tended to be re-elected several times.[1] A careful analysis of the data collected from interviews on the Nahya Local Council suggests that in this most recent election, only 5 of the 17 members were newly elected members with no previous experience in a village council. This tendency for the past members to be re-elected is consistent with most past elections.[2]

This new local council in Nahya is supposed to meet on the first Thursday of each month at 11:00 a.m. According to Law 43, each village within the boundaries of the Nahya Local area (see map) is allowed at least one member regardless of size, and more than one if the population warrants additional members. In Chart III-4 is a list of all the members in the Nahya village council.

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[1]James B. Mayfield, Rural Politics in Nasser's Egypt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971).

[2]While there has been a fair amount of continuity from one village council to the next since village councils were established by Law 124 in 1960, it appears that President Sadat did structure the 1975 elections to ensure that a new group of rural leaders were elected who would be more supportive of his government's new programs and policies. See: James B. Mayfield, Local Government in Egypt: Some New Change Strategies and Training Opportunities (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1976), pp. 16-34.

Chart III-4

Council Members

Name	Age	Education	Employment	Number of Feddans Owned	Status in Council	Comments
Nahya Village						
1. Muhamad Al-Shimi Habana	35	High School	Employee in the ministry of al-Waqt Farmer	None	Old	Chairman of the Local Council
2. Abdel Khaliq Abdel-Shafi	43	Primary	Farmer	10	Old	Member of Abdel-Shafi Family
3. Ismail Shahata	30	B.S.	Agricultural Engineer	Father (11)	New	Member of Shahata Family
4. Magdi Abu Al-Magd	31	B.S.	Employee in Social Affairs	Father (6)	Old	
5. M. Abdel Azziz Hamdi Mahi	52	Primary	Employee in Hospital	None	Old	
6. Naliman Al-Zumar	25	Primary	Housewife	Father (8)	New	Only woman--daughter of Ali Hussein Al-Zumar
7. Murad Al-Ziyada	32	High School	Agricultural Engineer	None	New	

Chart III-4 (Continued)

Name	Age	Education	Employment	Number of Feddans Owned	Status in Council	Comments
Barik al-Khayam Village						
8. Abd Salam Muhamad	35	Vocational School	Teacher	Father (3)	Old	
9. Abdel-Buhi	33	Primary	Worker in Factory	Father (2)	Old	
Ma'atamadiya Village						
10. Hassan Higazi	40	Primary	Farmer	7	Old	Belongs to a big family in his village
11. Faruq Sayed	53	Primary	Employee in a School	7	Old	
12. Hassan al-Fiqi	42	Primary	Worker in Giza Governorate	None	Old	
Safta al-Laban Village						
13. Taha Al-Yunis	37	Prep.	Worker in a Company	Father (6)	Old	
14. Asim Sayed	34	Primary	Driver	None	New	
15. Muhamad Al-Gamal	52	Primary	Cloth Merchant	None	Old	
16. Muhamad Said	43	Primary	Farmer	5	New	
17. Sha'aban Abdel-Azziz	45	Primary	Building Contractor	None	Old	

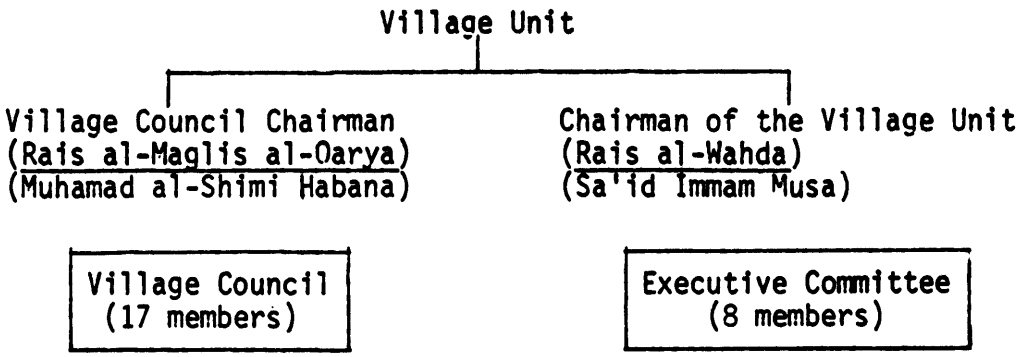
Chairman of the Village Unit

Article 72 of Public Law 52 establishes an administrative officer with power and authority over the financial and administrative activities of all local government organizations functioning in each village council area. The official title of this new local government leader is chairman of the village unit (rais wahdat al-qarya). He is selected by the Ministry of Local Government and is head of the executive committe whose other members are the chief administrative officials working in the village council area (doctor, social worker, school principal, agricultural engineer, police officer, and building engineer) and the village secretary.

The chairman of the village unit should be distinguished from the chairman of the village council who is elected by the council members. Thus, the chairmen of the village units are executive officers selected by the central government and responsible for the implementation of all government programs and policies within their area of jurisdiction. The chairman of the village council, on the other hand, is a legislative officer who presides over the village council meetings which are usually held once or twice each month. Given the central government's predisposition to control and direct most activities in the village council areas primarily through financial and budgetary regulations, the chairman of the village unit tends to have more administrative and budgetary power and authority at his disposal than does the chairman of the village council.

Chart III-5

Organization Chart of the Village Unit



A preliminary analysis of the data collected from specific interviews over the past five years with those officials who live and work in the Egyptian village provides the following kind of initial impressions of these village chairmen.

They tend to be mature administrators, usually with a college education and generally with over ten years' experience in villages. All of them had more than five years' experience as village council chairmen before the establishment of the new Public Law 52 in 1975. There is no consistent pattern which characterizes their place of residency, although a slight majority of those interviewed did live in a nearby town, rather than in the village itself. It appears that most of these chairmen have a good sense of their responsibilities in the village, although many of them admitted that additional training in planning, budget preparation, and management (supervisory skills) would be helpful.[1]

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[1]See: James B. Mayfield, Local Government in Egypt: Some New Change Strategies and Training Opportunities (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1976), pp. 11-15.

Some specific problem areas mentioned in the interviews are:

1. There is some confusion as to who is the chief authority in the village--the chairman of the village unit or the chairman of the village council. Those with the stronger personalities appear to dominate in their villages. Some of the chairmen of village units, who also happened to live in nearby towns, tended to let the council chairman take charge in the village.

2. Several chairmen of village units complained that village council members were inexperienced, untrained, and totally incapable of performing the duties assigned them under Public Law 52. The vast majority had no experience in village council work, having served only since their election in November, 1975. It appears that they will need continual guidance and training, certainly during the next year or two.

3. Some chairmen of the village units felt that their ability to coordinate and follow through had been curtailed now that they were no longer voting members in the village council. Most of them do attend the council meetings on a regular basis, but the village council chairman presides over these meetings in a fairly authoritarian way, and the chairmen of the village units have less influence in the council than they had under the earlier system.

4. All of the chairmen of village units complained that they did not have adequate supervisory or administrative authority over the members of the executive committee or even over ordinary employees and workers in programs financially and administratively under the control of a specific ministry. Officials and employees under the direction of the Ministries of Health, Education, Agriculture, Social Affairs, etc., still do not take directions or suggestions from these chairmen of the village units. The long tradition of strong centralized authority under fairly autonomous ministerial service delivery systems will not

easily be removed. It is anticipated that executive control and authority will eventually be decentralized down to the district level and should allow the district chairman to begin the process of integrating and unifying the service programs being implemented in the villages.

5. These chairmen of the yillage units have all had years of experience in a village environment which was clearly not the case among council chairmen ten to fifteen years ago. Most of their experience, however, has been within the structures and formal restraints that characterized local government under President Nasser. Most of them still work through other government officials or leaders of the main families. There is very little evidence that these chairmen clearly communicate with a broad cross-section of the village population. These professional village administrators need training in the general areas of community development, supervision, communication techniques, and popular participation and involvement.

The Rais al-Wahda (Unit Chief) in Nahya is Sa'id Immam Musa. He has held this post for eight years, is not from this area of Egypt, has no family connections in the village, and presently resides in Cairo with his wife and family. He has been working in the Ministry of Local Administration for 18 years, and for 10 of those years he has been a Rais al-Wahda. At this point, it is not clear how significant this administrator might be in the lives of the farmers on meska 10. No farmer interviewed knew who the Rais al-Wahda was nor mentioned him as an influential person in Nahya.

Although he is not related to any of the key families and is not widely known by the farmers, this does not mean that he could not be a useful supporter in legitimizing the project activities on meska 10. Additional research is needed to determine whether the Rais al-Wahda should be involved and to determine how he could best be used.

Under the direct administrative control of the Rais al-Wahda is a staff of minor village employees, most of whom are from the Nahya area or nearby.

Chart III-6

Administrative Staff

Title	Residence	Big Family Ties
1. Chief of Rural Development and Small Business (CRDEV)	Kerdasa	None
2. Cashier for Village Unit Accountant	Kerdasa	al-Makawi family
3. Store Keeper--Ministry of Supply	Beni Magdoul	None
4. Electricity Bill Collector	Nahya	al-Zumar
5. Water Bill Collector	Maatamidya	None
6. Water System Worker	Beni Magdoul	None
7. Secretary	Nahya	None
8. Assistant Secretary	Beni Magdoul	None
9. Agricultural Mechanization Worker	Nahya	al-Zumar
10. Three Electricians	Nahya	one is al-Zumar
11. Two Weavers	Nahya	None
12. Four Laborers	Nahya	None

The key governmental decision-making body in the village is the Executive Council, which is made up of the Rais al-Wahda, the village secretary, and representatives from the six major ministries that function most directly with the rural population: Health, Social Affairs, Agriculture, Housing, Interior, and Education. This council meets twice each month in Nahya on the first and third Thursdays. Its members are the chief administrative officers of the village unit area. They are responsible for the supervision of three clinics,

eight primary schools, one preparatory school, one agricultural high school, one social unit, one post office, and one youth club.

Chart III-7

The Executive Council in Nayha
(Maglis Tanfizi)

Name	Position	Ministry Representatives	Residence	Big Family Ties
1. Sa'id Immam Musa	Chairman of Village Unit	Local Government	Cairo	None
2.	Secretary of Village Unit	Local Government	Kerdasa	Al-Zumar
3. Dr. Qismat Abdel-Khālik	Head of Clinic	Health	Nahya	None
4. Ibrahim Ahmed	Social Worker	Social Affairs	Nahya (born in Kerdasa)	None
5. Abdul Rahman Ismail	Agricultural Engineer	Agriculture	Nahya (born in Kerdasa)	None
6. (Recently passed away)	Housing Engineer	Housing	Imbaba	None
7. Muhamad Abdel-Mina	Police Officer	Interior	Kerdasa	None
8. Immam Hussein	Head Master in Primary School	Education	Nahya	None

None of officials in this executive council (except the Secretary) has any family ties with the major families in Nahya. This is a typical pattern found in most villages in Egypt and reflects the government's tendency to place administrators in villages where they are not known.

The executive council is required to prepare an annual budget which must be approved by the Local Council.[1] The present budget of Nahya as four major areas shown in Chart III-8.

Chart III-8

Nahya Council Budget 1980

	Bab 1	Bab 2
	Employee Salaries (Egyptian Pounds)	Current Expenditures (Egyptian Pounds)
Local Unit Administration	7,000	3,100
Education	62,000	509
Health	21,000	3,075
Social Affairs	5,000	700
Total	95,000	7,384

Traditional Umdah System

The Umdah is the traditional government representative in the village. In the pre-revolutionary period he was often the supreme power in the village, and his word was law. It was not uncommon for the Umdah to be the largest landowner; his powers included the collection of taxes and the designation of specific farmers for the military draft and the corvee (forced labor groups to clean the canals). He was the representative of the village in all interactions with the central government.[2]

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[1]For a detailed analysis of the village executive council and its role in the administrative and budgetary process, see: James B. Mayfield, The Budgetary System in the Arab Republic of Egypt: Its Role in Local Government Development (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1977).

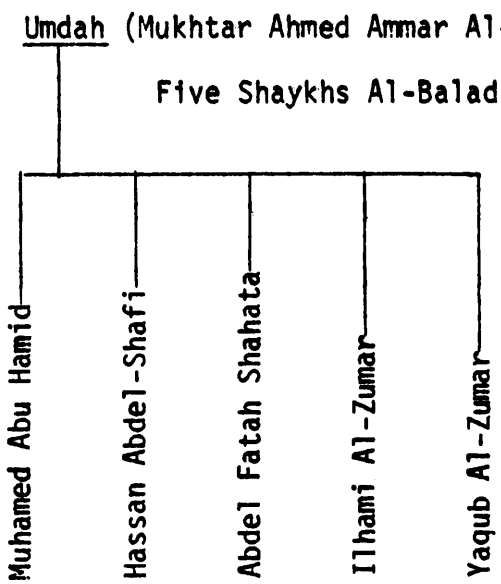
[2]For a more detailed description of the Umdah system, see: James B. Mayfield, Rural Politics of Nassar's Egypt (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 76-99; Gabriel Baer, "The Village Shaykh in Modern Egypt (1800-1950)" Scripta Hierosolymitama (Studies in Islamic History and Civilization), ed. Uriel Heyd (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1961); Robert L. Tignor, Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt 1882-1914 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

In Nahya the office of Umdah is presently located within the powerful Al-Zumar family, which historically has usually held this prerogative. However, there have been Umdahs in Nahya from two other groups--the Shahata family and the Al-Hamud family. For example, between 1967 and 1969, Muhamad Abu Hamud, one of the present Shaykh Al-Balads, was the Umdah in Nahya during the period right after the 1967 war when President Nassar was attempting to reorganize the power structures in various villages. Mukhtar Ahmed Ammar Al-Zumar, the present Umdah, was mentioned by five of the farmers on meska 10 as an influential person and one who would have to be involved before a project could be established or agreed upon in the village of Nahya.

The official powers of the Umdah have been curtailed in recent years, being limited for the most part to ceremonial activities, the informal resolving of conflict between farmers, and some general duties regarding the peace and security of the village. In many large villages the Umdah has been replaced by a police officer for matters of security. In Nahya, the Umdah still exists, but most of his formal governmental duties have been taken over by the government representative in the village (Rais al-Wahda), various government officials functioning through the maglis tanfizi in the village, and the members of the local council (maglis mahali). The subtle ways in which this traditional family-based system of the Umdah and the more modern bureaucratic system of the Rais al-Wahda interact in Nahya is extremely complicated and continually in flux. Care should be taken not to assume that one completely understands the implications of these relationships for the success or failure of the project to be implemented on meska 10.

In addition to the Umdah in Nahya, there are five Shaykh al-Balads, all of them coming from the four major families in Nahya (Al-Zumar, Al-Hamud, Abdel-Shafi, and al-Shahata).

Chart III-9



The entire agricultural area of Nahya is divided into five areas, and each area is headed by a Shaykh Al-Balad. Four of these five Shaykhs were mentioned by the farmers on meska 10 as being influential in the village. Any farmer within the area of jurisdiction of a Shaykh Al-Balad generally goes to his Shaykh if he has a problem, needs advice, or is seeking help on some matter. This position of Shaykh Al-Balad is recognized by the central government, and his role in the village is sanctioned both by tradition and the family system which perpetuates his power and influence in the village.

A Shaykh Al-Balad would be the obvious person to solicit as a supporter for an irrigation project being implemented in his area. Hassan Abdel Shafi'i is the Shaykh responsible for the area in which meska 10 is located. Additional research is needed to determine how best to use the Shaykh Al-Balad, what his present perceptions and attitudes toward the meska 10 project are, who can most effectively influence him,a nd who can be most effectively influenced among the farmers on meska 10.

Development of Local Government in Egypt: Some General Comments

A careful analysis of local government in Egypt over the past three decades demonstrates the existence of at least four stages in its development.

Stage 1: The "Umdah" system--highly centralized, generally very authoritarian, in which the one main representative of the central government, the village Umdah or mayor, ruled the community in a strong, highly centralized way. The major focus was on security and control, and most of the few functions of the various ministries were channeled through this office.

Stage 2: The "Unified Council" system--based upon the need to establish a village or town council which, because of its lack of experience, required fairly close supervision from the central government. The second stage included a local council made up of elected members (selected from the ASU committee), a few selected members, and the ministerial representative in the local area (doctor, social worker, teacher, security, and housing officials). This unified council tended to focus on political awareness through an active single-party system and close interaction and supervision of political elements by the more knowledgeable representatives of the ministries providing services in the local areas.

Stage 3: The "Two-Branch Local Government" system--established under Public Law 52. This new system envisions the creation of two interacting and coordinating institutions of local government: first an elected council of local representatives freely chosen by their constituents, and second an executive committee representing the various ministries providing services in the local area. Its focus is the need for the council to represent the people, to identify their needs, to develop a draft budget which targets these needs, to consider alternative plans and programs, and finally to conduct on-going monitoring and evaluation of the services and programs which the central

government is providing. Also, this new law envisions a strong executive committee which will coordinate and implement the plans and programs developed by the councils in conjunction with the central ministries. In this third stage, central control will remain dominant as the vast majority of laws and budgetary revenues will still come from the central government.

Stage 4: The "Local Self Government" system--which is expected to emerge in Egypt in the future. The local council will, because of the experience it gained in Stage 3, begin to assume greater responsibility for both legislative and executive functions. Adequate revenues will be made available to ensure that over 50 percent of the budget will come from local sources. The wages, current expenses, and capital expenditures will become more and more independent of central control, and the executive committee will gradually divest itself of many of its functions and activities, assigning them to the council itself.

Two innovations in Public Law 52 appear to be harbingers of a stronger local government system for Egypt in the future. First, articles 37, 54, and 70 announce the establishment of a special fund for services and development.[1] It is based upon locally generated revenues and will remain in the council for independent development projects designed both for additional services and income-generating activities. We make reference to this special fund as a reminder that the Egyptian government does appear committed to allowing the local councils to play the dominant role in the future for economic development and increased service programs in the local areas. The Ministry of Local Government will apparently play a key role in implementing and encouraging the

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[1]For a more detailed description of this special fund, see: James B. Mayfield, The Budgetary System in the Arab Republic of Egypt: Its Role in Local Government Development (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1977).

development of these "special funds." Let us now look more closely at some of the other institutions in rural Egypt.

The Agricultural Cooperative in Nahya

The agricultural cooperative in Nahya was organized in 1961.[1] At that time a general election was held among all 600 landowners in Nahya (roughly 450 actually voted) to select an 11-member board. There were 16 candidates, and the election was organized under the auspices of officials from the district (Markaz) cooperative office. Law 52 of 1959 provided that the Board of Directors of each village agricultural cooperative be elected for a three-year term. Over the past twenty years, as members of this board have passed away or resigned, leaders of major families have met to determine replacements. Although the elections are supposed to be general among all the present 1210 members of the Nahya agricultural cooperative, the more traditional method of selection is still used. Heads of major families meet informally and develop a list (slate) of candidates by consensus. Although other villagers may submit their names to be placed on the list, such individuals, not agreed upon by the

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[1]For a good review of the cooperative system in Egypt, see: R. W. Baber, Egypt's Uncertain Revolution under Nasser and Sadat (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Press, 1979); Samir Radwan, Agrarian Reform and Rural Poverty, Egypt 1952-1975, (Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office, 1977); Gabriel Saab, The Egyptian Agrarian Reform, 1952-62 (London, 1967); Fathy Abdel-Fattah, "Land and Peasant in Egypt, 1952-72, the Matrix of Land Ownership," al-Taliaa, October, 1972: A. Al-Tanamly, "Agricultural Co-operation in Egypt," al-Taliaa, October, 1972; M. A. Fadi. Development, Income Distribution and Social Change in Rural Egypt (1952-70), (Cambridge, 1975); James B. Mayfield, Local Institutions and Egyptian Rural Development (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1974); Gene Miller, Cooperative Marketing Project--Egypt (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, Project Paper 263-0095, 1979).

Chart III-10

Agricultural Board of Directors

Name	Occupation	Age	Education	Feddans Owned	Residence	Big Family Relationship
1. Abdel-Fattah Hassan Shahata	Farmer	56	Literate	6	Nahya	Shahata
2. Mahmoud Ali Al-Azam	Farmer	60	Literate	4	Nahya	None
3. Mustafa Tuson Abdel-Shafi	Farmer	52	Literate	3	Nahya	Abdel-Shafi
4. Rashwan Ahmed Mahmoud Isa	Farmer	65	Literate	8	Nahya	Al-Zumar
5. Fathi Isa Shahata	Farmer	50	Literate	9	Nahya	Shahata
6. Mahmoud Ali Shahata	Farmer	45	Literate	5	Nahya	Shahata
7. Ali Usman Shahata	Farmer	50	Literate	8	Nahya	Shahata
8. Ahmed Muhamad Hamsa al-Zumar	Farmer	65	Literate	4	Nahya	Al-Zumar
9. Muhamad Al-Sayed Nasar	Farmer	50	Literate	2	Nahya	None
10. Ahmed Abdel-Hafiz	Farmer	45	Literate	2	Nahya	None
11. Ahmed M. Abui al-Zumar	Farmer	36	Literate	2	Nahya	Al-Zumar

major families, are seldom elected. The person receiving the largest number of votes is declared to be chairman of the board. At the present time, Abdel-Fattah Shahata is chairman. He was mentioned by one of the farmers on meska 10 as influential in the village and also was mentioned as one who would be helpful in settling any conflict between a tenant farmer and his landowner.[1]

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[1]For an interesting analysis of the relationship between the major landowning families and tenant farmers in Egypt, see: Fathy Abdel-Fattah, The Contemporary Village: Between Reform and Revolution, 1952-70 (Cairo, 1975); M. Abu Mandour al-Dib, "The Relationship Between Owner and Tenant in Egyptian Agriculture," al-Taliaa, June, 1975.

It should be noted that three of the major families are represented on this board: four members of the Shahata family, three members of the Al-Zumar family, and one member from the Abdel-Shafi family. Three members come from what are considered to be minor families. Also note that non-major family representatives all have four or less feddans of land.

According to the official records of the cooperative, the largest landowner in Nahya is Mohamed Mansour Mahran, with 38 feddans, while eight other individuals have over fifteen feddans: yet over 35 percent of the 1210 members of this cooperative have less than one feddan. (See Chart III-11) The secretary of this cooperative, Mahmoud Ali Al-Azam, indicated that the Nahya village area, because of its proximity to Cairo, was free to grow whatever crops the farmers wanted. Thus, most farmers were growing vegetables and other cash crops, instead of the mandatory one-third cotton requirement of other areas in Egypt. The secretary also indicated that most loans for the purchase of fertilizers and insecticides were for a four-month period. He also insisted that all the farmers in the Nahya cooperative were up-to-date in their cooperative loan payments and generally had no trouble in making these payments because of the ready cash market available for their crops in Cairo.

Chart III-11

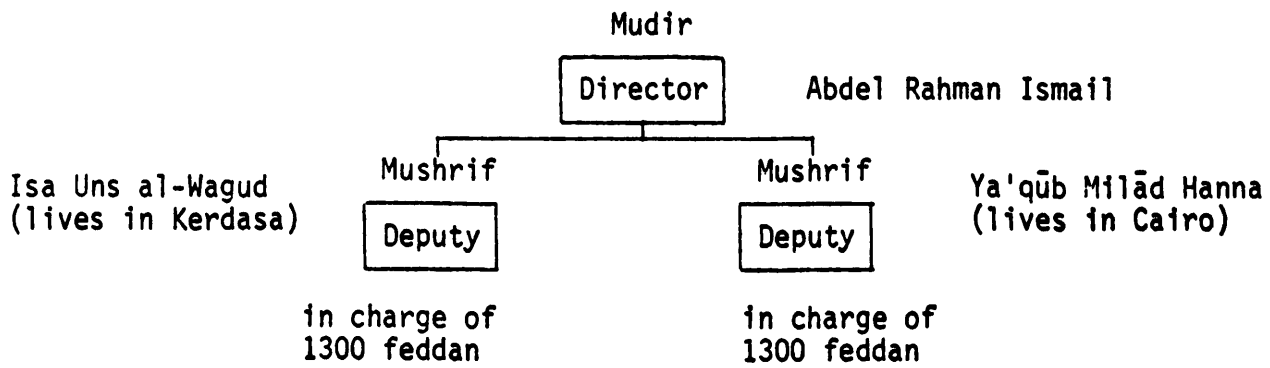
Members of the Nahya Agricultural Cooperative

Amount of Land (in feddans)	Number of Owners	Number of		Number of			Number of			Number of			Number of			Number of		
		Feddans	Karats	Tenants	Feddans	Karats	Tenants and owners in partnership	Feddans	Karats	Squatters on gov't land	Feddans	Karats	Squatters on owners' land	Feddans	Karats	Squatters on tenants' land	Feddans	Karats
Less than 1	241	137	8	109	63	14	27	18	1	2	1	2	2	1	8	-	-	-
1-3	459	853	17	149	257	4	104	219	14	1	1	21	1	2	-	1	2	6
3-5	35	135	13	9	33	22	17	60	13	3	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-10	22	164	-	5	28	2	2	12	10	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10-15	10	122	12	-	-	-	1	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15+	9	214	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	776	1,627	15	272	382	18	151	321	14	7	20	11	3	3	8	1	2	6

The governmental administrative system, which oversees the functioning of the cooperative, includes three government employees. None of these three officials has family connections in Nahya, since they are from outside the village. Nevertheless, their influence is, very important, given their position in the agricultural cooperative.

Chart III-12

Cooperative Administrative System



It is significant that not a single farmer of meska 10 who was interviewed acknowledged that he would seek help from someone in the agricultural cooperative if he had a problem with his crops or wanted to increase his yield. All preferred to contact a neighbor, a relative, or a close friend on the meska itself. Even when they were asked whom they would go to if they had a problem with insects, only five of the twelve responding to the question specifically mentioned the cooperative as a source of help.

Other sources interviewed in Nahya and other surrounding villages have suggested that the Nahya Agricultural Cooperative is "much, much better" than most other cooperatives, that while many cooperatives have a reputation for cheating and taking advantage of the farmer, the employees in the Nahya

cooperative are very well respected and appreciated for their willingness to help the farmers. These same sources even indicated that some farmers in other villages have tried to transfer their cooperative accounts to Nahya because the cooperative officials in Nahya "can be trusted."

This interesting, but contradictory, information (many sources saying that the Nahya cooperative is one of the best in the area vs. very few of the farmers on meska 10 saying that the cooperative would be a source of help) requires additional research in order to determine whether the cooperative in Nahya as a village institution could be used to encourage and strengthen the willingness of farmers on meska 10 to organize themselves into some type of voluntary water users' association.

Village Bank System

Since 1977 there has been a village bank branch in Nahya.[1] The chief regional bank has branches in the four villages of Nahya, Barik Al-Khayam, Al-Ma'atamadiya, and Saft Al-Laban, all located within the boundaries of the Nahya village council area.

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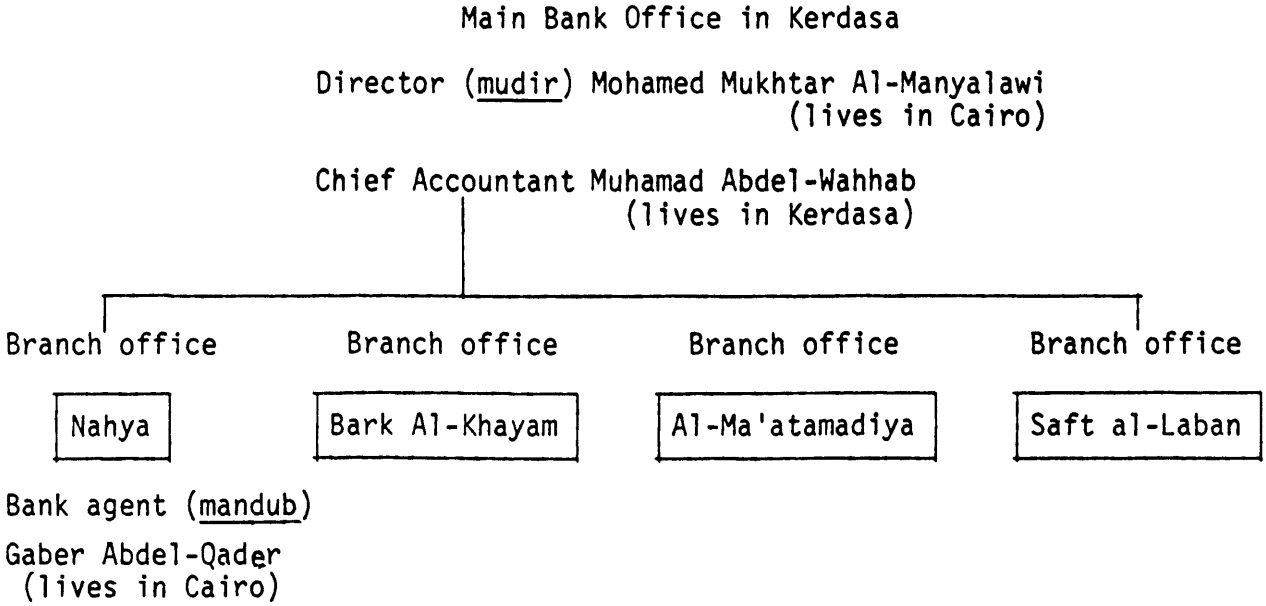
[1]For a good analysis of the new village bank system in Egypt, see: Asaad Nadim, The Role of the Village Bank in the Rural Community (Cairo: al-Azhar University, International Islamic Centre for Population Studies and Research)

Chart III-13

Village Bank System



Mr. Gaber Abdel-Oader, the bank representative in Nahya, was mentioned specifically by two of the farmers on meska 10 as a person they would go to for help if they had a problem with insects. Several other sources indicated that the farmers trusted Mr. Gaber and appreciated his help. Gaber has been associated with the Nahya cooperative for eleven years and more recently with the village bank during the past three. Mr. Gaber acknowledged that the present banking system is working much better than the old cooperative system. Under the old system there was a very informal relationship between the farmers and the cooperative. Often, 30 to 40 percent of the farmers would not repay their loans, dishonest officials were easily bribed, and both large and small farmers often disregarded the cooperative demands for loan repayment.

Under the new system, with the village bank being separated from the cooperative, the relationship between the farmer and the bank is much more formal and subject to legal sanctions. The present rate of interest charged on all money borrowed is 4 percent, and some 980 of the 1210 farmers in the area have taken out loans. The other 230 farmers buy their seeds, fertilizers, and insecticides with cash in order to save paying the interest. Mr. Gaber also confirmed that none of the farmers in Nahya was delinquent in repayment of any bank loan, again because of the ready market for cash crops in nearby Cairo.

Chapter IV

LEADERSHIP PATTERNS AND PERCEPTIONS AMONG THE MESKA 10 FARMERS

In an attempt to gain some understanding and awareness of how the farmers on meska 10 identify and define influentials, leaders, and other significant persons in Nahya village, some 12 farmers were selected from among the 58 working or owning land there. The purpose of the interviews was not to ensure a perfectively representative sample, but rather to allow a group of farmers on meska 10 to define and identify the characteristics, skills, and behaviors of individuals whom they consider to be influential, powerful, helpful, and generally competent in various areas important in these farmer's lives.

Each was asked the following kinds of questions:

> What are the names of these influentials?
>
> What occupation or profession do these influentials have?
>
> What family relationship do you have with these influentials?
>
> What family relationships exist among these influentials themselves?
>
> What specific activities, skills, behaviors, and characteristics best explain why you consider these people to be influential?

For the purpose of analyzing the responses, the questions asked were later categorized into five broad indices of competency:

A. Power Competency (three questions)

1. Who are the 3-5 most influential people in Nahya?
2. Who are the 2-3 people in Nahya who must agree before a decision can be made about introducing a new project, making a change in the village, or doing anything in this village which is new or different?

3. What one person in the village do you believe is an influential person with officials in the district (Markaz) or the governorate (Muhafazah)?

The following five people in Nahya were mentioned most often by farmers on meska 10. Their scores were determined simply by adding the number of times they were listed in the three questions asked above.

	Score
1. Ali Husayn Al-Zumar	15
2. Ahmad Nasar	9
3. Abdel-Khaliq Abdel-Shafi	7
4. Muhamed Al-Shimi Habanna	5
5. Mukhtar Ahmad Ammar Al-Zumar	5

It is important to recognize that these data are not to be interpreted as an objective indication as to who are the most powerful people in Nahya. These are the ones who are perceived by the farmers as the influential people. It now becomes the responsibility of the researchers to confirm or disconfirm these perceptions and to determine how the information may be useful in designing an implementation strategy for the project on meska 10.

B. Conflict resolution competency (three questions)

1. Who in the village do you go to when you need help or advice on how to solve a conflict with another farmer on meska 10?
2. Who in the village do you go to when you need help or advice on how to help solve a conflict with your landowner (or government official)?
3. What one person in the village do you believe is a good compromiser between two people who have a conflict?

The following five people in Nahya are perceived to be the most helpful in resolving conflicts:

	Score
1. Muhamad Gazar	14
2. Hassan Al-Adawi	7
3. Ali Husayn Al-Zumar	5
4. Abdel-Khalik Abdel-Shafi	5
5. Abdel-Hamid Abu Saud	4

Again, it is important to remember that these are not necessarily the most effective compromisers in a conflict situation, but these appear to be people the farmers on meska 10 acknowledge as good resolvers of conflict. The utility of such people in the inevitable conflicts associated with any project implementation process should be obvious.

C. Village betterment and service competency (three questions)

1. Who in your village are most interested in making this a better village, who are trying to introduce progress, or who are trying to help people solve their problems?
2. What one person in the village do you believe is a good, religious man?
3. What one person in the village do you believe is really trying to help the very poorest farmers in the village?

The following five people in Nahya are perceived to be most interested in improving the village and helping the people to improve themselves:

	Score
1. Abdel-Shafi Nasar	9
2. Ali Husayn Al-Zumar	8
3. Ahmad Nasar	7
4. Muhamed Ali-Shimi Habanna	6
5. Hassan Ali Abdel-Shafi	3

D. Agriculture competency (four questions)

1. Who in the village do you go to when you need help or advice on how to improve your crop yield?
2. Who in the village do you go to when you need help or advice on how to increase the amount of water you need?
3. Who in the village do you go to when you need help or advice on how to eliminate a pest or insect?
4. What one person in the village do you believe is a very progressive farmer (uses new seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, techniques, etc.)?

The following five people in Nahya are perceived to be most competent in various agricultural activities.

	Score
1. Muhamad Gazar	13
2. Abdel Khalik Abdel-Shafi	10
3. Fathi Isa Al-Shahata	5
4. Abdel-Hamid Abu Saud	4
5. Muhamad Ziadi	4

It should be noted that the first two individuals mentioned have land on meska 10. There is a definite tendency, as will be seen later, for farmers to select relatives, close neighbors, and friends when they need help or assistance in matters dealing with agriculture.

E. Non-agriculture competency (five questions)

1. Who in the village do you go to when you need help or advice on how to help someone in your family who is sick?
2. What one person in your village do you believe is an honest merchant with fair prices?
3. What one person in your village do you believe is a government official who is trying his best to help the village?
4. What one person in your village do you believe is a good teacher in the school?
5. What one person in your village do you believe is a young person (under 30) who you think will be an influential person when he is older?

The following six people in Nahya were mentioned the most times by the farmers on meska 10.

Name	Score	Position
1. Gaber Abdel Qader	10	Village bank agent in Nahya
2. Ali Al-Warraqi	8	Teacher and Ma'zun*
3. Taha Abu Sina	7	Grocery merchant
4. Abdel Shafi Nasar	5	Farmer and Khatib**
5. Muhamad Shanan	5	Seed merchant
6. Dr. Halfawi	5	A doctor in the village clinic

* Prepares marriage contracts for the people in the village

** An informal religious person who recites Koran, gives speeches in the mosque.

Multi-Role Analyses in Nahya

A careful review of the data collected suggests that many individuals play more than one role as they interact with their fellow villagers. In addition to analyzing the various roles different individuals in Nahya may be playing (decision-maker, compromiser, innovator), it may also be helpful to identify those individuals who are perceived as functioning in many different kinds of roles. Each individual listed by the farmers on meska 10 was scored on the basis of how many different kinds of roles he was perceived to be playing. There is some evidence to suggest that those village leaders able to play a variety of different roles are much more apt to be helpful in the implementation of rural development projects. Obviously, this is a hypothesis that would have to be tested by the farmers on meska 10. Below are the individuals perceived to be functioning in at least four different types of roles:

	Score
1. Abdel-Khalik Abdel-Shafi	8
2. Ali Husayn Al-Zumar	7
3. Abdel-Shafi Naser	6
4. Ahmad Naser	6
5. Hassan Ali Abdel-Shafi	6
6. Muhamad Gazar	5
7. Muhamad Ali-Shimi Habanna	5
8. Muhamad Al-Azam	5
9. Fathi Isa Shahata	4
10. Hassan Al-Adawi	4
11. Abdel-Nabi Abu Hagar	4

Chart IV-1 is a list of all the individuals mentioned by at least four farmers on meska 10. Note how some leaders are perceived to play many roles, and others are perceived to be playing only a few.

Chart IV-1

General Influentials in Nahya Village

Name	Position	Variety of Roles*	Number of Farmers Mentioning Each Individual					
			Power Competency	Conflict Resolvation Competency	Innovation Competency	Agricultural Competency	Nonagricultural Competency	Tota Time Mentio
Ali Husayn al-Zumar	Shaykh al-Balad	7	15	5	8	--	--	28
Muhamad Gazzar	Farmer on meska 10	5	--	14	1	13	--	27
Al-Khalik Abdel-Shafi	Farmer	8	7	5	1	10	--	23
Abdel-Shafi Nussayer	Khatib in mosque	6	4	--	9	--	5	18
Ahmad Nassar	Judge in Cairo	6	9	--	7	--	1	17
Muhamad Habanna	Local council chairman	5	5	1	6	--	--	12
Fathi Isa Shahata	Farmer	4	1	1	3	5	--	10
Hassan Al-Adawy	Farmer on meska 10	4	--	7	--	3	--	10
Gaber Abdel-Qader	Village bank agent	1	--	--	--	--	10	10
Hasan Ali Abdel-Shafi	Shaykh al-Balad	6	4	--	3	2	--	9
Ali Al-Waraqi	Teacher/Ma'zun	3	--	--	1	--	8	9
Abdel-Nabi Abu Hagar	Farmer on meska 10	4	3	2	2	--	--	7
Taha Abu Sina	Grocery store owner	1	--	--	--	--	7	7
Mahmoud Al-Azam	Farmer	5	2	1	2	2	--	7

art IV-1 (Continued)

Name	Position	Variety of Roles	Number of Farmers Mentioning Each Individual					
			Power Competency	Conflict Resolvation Competency	Innovation Competency	Agricultural Competency	Nonagricultural Competency	Total Times Mentione
M. Shanan	Seed merchant	3	--	--	1	1	5	7
Abdel Hamīd Al-Saud	Farmer	3	--	3	--	4	--	7
Ahmed 'Ammar	Umdah	3	5	1	--	--	--	6
Muhamad Ziadi	Farmer	4	--	2	--	4	--	6
Magdi Mahmoud Husayn	Military officer	4	4	--	--	--	1	5
Dr. Halfawi	Doctor	1	--	--	--	--	5	5
Mahmoud Hamza Al-Zumar	Farmer	2	2	2	--	--	--	4
M. Husayn Shahata	Rich farmer	1	--	--	--	4	--	4
Abdel Halim Giyushi	Farmer on meska 10	3	1	1	--	2	--	4
Mr. Dawaba	Tamargi (employee health clinic)	1	--	--	--	--	4	4
Saad El-Shahaymi	Employee in Al-Azhar	1	--	--	4	--	--	4
Abdel Fattah Shahata	Chairman of Agriculture Coop. board	3	2	1	--	--	--	3
Mahmoud Hassan Al-Zumar	Rich farmer	2	--	1	2	--	--	3
Mahmoud Abdel-Hamīd	Shaykh Al-Balad Dallal Misaha	2	2	1	--	--	--	3
Abu Saria al-Fazani	Farmer	1	--	--	--	3	--	3

Chart IV-1 (Continued)

Name	Position	Variety of Roles	Number of Farmers Mentioning Each Individual					
			Power Competency	Conflict Resolvation Competency	Innovation Competency	Agricultural Competency	Nonagricultural Competency	Tota Time Mentio
Dr. Karam Nashīd	Doctor	1	--	--	--	--	3	3
Imam Husayn Al-Adds	Doctor	3	--	--	1	--	2	3

* Among the five broad categories of competency, there are a total of 15 different roles that potentially could be played.

Family Pattern in Nahya Village

Although it was quite impossible during the short time devoted to this field research project to document the intricacies of family interactions in Nahya, still some general observations are possible.

1. There appear to be at least four major families in this village, at least as defined by the farmers on meska 10 (see Chart IV-2).

2. It appears that the al-Zumar family and the al-Shahata family have been in conflict with each other for several years. For example, in a recent election Ali Hasayn Al-Zumar and Ahmad Nasar (supported by the al-Shahata family) both sought a position in the Egyptian National Assembly. Although neither candidate was able to win, the conflict and anomosity which characterized this election both reflected their past differences and reinforced their present feud. In visiting Ali Hussayn Al-Zumar's home, it was interesting to note that he had a revolver and some ammunition on his living room table![1]

3. The Abdel-Shafi family appears to be neutral in the conflict between the al-Shahata and Al-Zumar families. Several sources intimated that the Abdel-Shafi family exerts a moderating influence in the village. It is important, also, to note that the Abdel-Shafi family has land on meska 10.

4. It is crucial for any effective researcher in Nahya to document carefully the various family relationships that exist among the farmers and the perceived influentials. Such relationships are a significant part of the social reality found in any Egyptian village and should not be ignored.

5. Although we have identified over 30 individuals who were listed (see Chart IV-1) at least three times by the farmers on meska 10 and have attempted

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[1]This type of information is only appropriate for field notes, but it can be helpful for later researchers who may come onto the project. An awareness of these conflicts is absolutely essential for someone working in Nahya.

Chart IV-2

Influentials Within the Four Major Families

Zumar	Shahata	Abdel-Shafi	Hammud
1. Ali Husayn Al-Zumar (28)	1. Ahmad Naser (17)	1. Abd Al-Khalik Abdel-Shafi (23)	1. Mahmoud Abu Hammud (3)
2. Mukhtar Ahmad Ammar Al-Zumar (Umdah) (6)	2. Fathi 'Isa Shahata (10)	2. Abdel-Shafi Nassar (18)	
3. Magdi Mahmoud Husayn Al-Zumar (5)	3. M. Husayn Shahata (4)	3. Hassan Ali Abdel-Shafi (9)	
4. Mahmud Hamza Al-Zumar (4)	4. Abdel Fattah Shahata (1)	4. Mohamed 'Aid (2)	
5. Muhamad Husayn Al-Zumar (3)	5. Mahmud Shahata (2)	5. Hassan M. al-Luthi (1)	
6. Abdel Latif Al-Zumar (3)	6. Ali Usman Shahata (1)	6. Hasan Al-Laisi Abdel-Shafi (1)	
7. Abdel-Zaki Al-Zumar (1)	7. Hamad Shahata (1)	7. M. Husayn Abdallah Abdel-Shafi (1)	
8. Abdel-Aziz Murad (1)	8. Hassan 'Isa Shahata (1)		
9. Mahmoud 'Isa (1)			
10. Abdel Latif Osman Al-Zumar (1)			

to delineate some of the family relationships of these individuals, it should be apparent that much more information is still needed.

(a) What additional family relationships exist which might determine close interpersonal interactions?

(b) What are the friendship patterns among these individuals?

(c) What are the strong patterns of conflict that exist among these individuals and what is the potential of these conflicts for disrupting the project on meska 10?

(d) What possible systems of alliance might be developed among the key influentials which might be most helpful in obtaining support and commitment from the farmers on meska 10?

Analyses of Leadership Traits Perceived by Farmers on Meska 10

In order better to understand how the farmers on meska 10 define leadership, the following direct quotes from these farmers are listed.

1. Who in your village has influence at the district or governorate levels of government?

   a. Ali Husayn Al-Zumar--"He knows the right influential people in Cairo."

   b. Ahmad Naser -- "He is very rich and powerful; he has good friends."

   c. "No one in our village has powerful friends."

   d. "If you have the money (fulus), you will have the influence."

   e. Ahmed Naser--"He is a judge and can help you in a trial, and he expects only a small amount of bakshish.

   f. Sayed Mansur--"He has many friends and is willing to help people in Nahya."

   g. Magdi Mahmud Husayn Al-Zumar--"He is very sincere and being the son of Ali Husayn helps him make arrangements."

   h. "Your money (irshak) is the only road to influence in Nahya."

2. Who is someone in your village who is good at resolving conflict and working out a compromise?

a. Abdel-Khalik Abdel-Shafi--"He is respected and trusted, and people go to him."

b. Ali Husayn Al-Zumar--"He has status and influence; people go to him for help."

c. Muhamad Ali-Shimi Habanna--"He is a member of the local council and is very respected."

d. Hassan Isa Shahata--"A farmer who is fair and seeks what is right (Khayr).

e. "The Umdah is good at compromising because of his status and formal position."

f. Mahmud Al-'Azam--"He has resolved conflicts for many people--both within families and between families."

g. Mahmoud Hamza Al-Zumar--"He is respected and not feared."

h. Mahmoud Hamza Al-Zumar--"He never lets a problem continue; he seeks to solve the problem immediately in its time (fi waktaha).

i. Abdel-Khalik Abdel-Shafi--"Go to him, and the problem will be solved."

j. "I prefer to go to a neighbor or friend."

k. Muhamad Gazar--"He is respected and is old enough to have wisdom."

l. Muhamad Gazar--"He works on the meska and is good at solving problems."

m. Muhamad Gazar--"He is the oldest and most respected man on our meska."

n. Abdel Khalek Abdel-Shafi--"People go to his home when they have a problem to solve."

o. Abdel-Nabi Abu Hagar--"He sits down with us at sunset and discusses the problem with us."

p. Mahmoud Husayn Al-Zumar and Muhamed Laisi Abdel Shafi--"They often go together and solve the very serious problems between families in our village."

q. Muhamad Abu Hammud--"As the Dallāl Misaha (traditional village surveyor), he knew all the boundaries between the landowners and could settle many disputes."

r. Muhamad Gazar--"He used to be the dallāl misaha and is very good in solving problems between people."

3. Who in your village is a good, religious man?

a. Abdel-Shafi Naser--"He is not a formal immam, but is the khatib* in our mosque from time to time."

b. M. Al-Shimi Habanna--"He is very religious and he says his prayers often."

c. Ibrahim Ziada--"He collects the youth together and preaches (Yew's) to them."

d. Abdel-Shafi Naser--"He knows God and resists wrong behavior in our village."

e. Ibrahim Ziada--"He is a graduate of Al-Azhar."

f. Saad Al-Shihaymi--"He is an Azhari; he loves the good (al-Khayr) and has been active in building new mosques in our village."

g. Abdel-Shafi Naser--"He is known for his good behavior."

h. M. Farag--"He has a beard and follows the sunna like Muhamad. He often recites the Koran, and all his sons are religious. He is not from a big family and, therefore, has little influence. Thus, the children sometimes make fun of him because of his piety."

i. M. Abdel-Bishlawi--"A farmer who is very religious and knows how to settle conflicts."

j. Sayed Abu Said--"He is always in the mosque for prayer."

k. Mahmoud Al-Azam--"He helps in building the new mosques."

l. Abdel-Nabi Abu Hagar--"He is the Khalifa (local leader) for the Rifaiya sect of Islam here in Nahya."

m. Abd Al-Hamid Al-Shihaymi--"He recites the Koran (muratil) in the mosque."

n. Abdel Shafi Naser--"He fights for Islam, he is always in the mosque, prays often, collects the youth, and gives them advice and instruction."

o. Sa'ad Al-Shihaymi--"He is an employee of Azhar, always willing to help in religious projects; he is willing to collect money and to persuade people to support the building of a new mosque."

p. Sa'ad Al-Shihaymi--"He knows God and serves in the mosque."

q. M. Husayn Al-Zumar--"He always participates in the prayers."

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*Speaks in the mosque on Friday--gives the sermon.

4. Who in your village has an especially good relationship with the poor in Nahya?

a. Ahmad Naser--"He is the first one they go to; he always helps the poor."

b. Abdel-Qader Abdel-Shafi--"Their home is always open, especially during Ramadan."

c. Abdel-Shafi Naser--"He fears God and loves the poor."

d. Muhamad Gazar--"When I was sick, Gazar ploughed my land and planted my crops and never asked for any money."

e. Abdel-Nabi Abu Hagar--"He is always willing to help the poor and gives generously to help build a mosque."

f. Mohamed Al-Azam--"He is very generous."

g. Fathi Isa Shahata--"He is well known for helping the poor in secret. I have seen him taking food to a poor family late at night."

5. Who do you consider is a progressive farmer in Nahya?

a. Sayed Abu Igla--"He has extensive lands and likes to try new things."

b. Mahmoud Al-Azam--"As a member of the coop. board, he spends much time in the coop. and is aware of new seeds and fertilizers."

c. Hassan Ali Abdel-Shafi--"He is my cousin, and he likes to try new things. He was one of the first to try to cultivate sugar cane in this area."

d. M. Husayn Shahata--"He is a rich farmer with much land (Amlak Kabira), and therefore can risk some experiments."

e. M. Shanan--"He is a merchant of seeds who knows about new varieties."

f. M. Husayn Shahata--"He has a big farm and a hard heart (Qalbu Gamid). He is not afraid to take a risk with new things.

g. Fathi Isa Shahata--"He has extensive lands (Amlak Wasa), he spends much time in the coop., and he tries the things when they arrive."

h. Abu Saria Al-Fazani--"He has good land, and he is always willing to try new things, and his yields are always high."

i. Abu Saria Al-Fazani--"He has good land; he can risk a new thing without fear."

k. J. Husayn Shahata--"He has lots of money and is rich (Malyan) enough to try new things."

It is interesting that most farmer equate progressive farming with the bigger and more affluent farmers. Note how often the notion of risk is mentioned. The implication is that a poor farmer can never take these types of risks.

6. Who is a good government official in your village who is trying to help people?

   a. Gaber Abdel Qader--"No one comes to the coop. and then leaves (Za'lan) angry."

   b. Gaber Abdel Qader--"He is famous in all Nahya for his fairness."

   c. Gaber Abdel Qader--"All the people love him. May God help him."

   d. Gaber Abdel Qader--"You can send your wife or your daughter to the coop., and he will treat them with respect."

   e. Gaber Abdel Qader--"He is like a postage stamp--predictable and sure."

   f. Gaber Abdel Qader--"He works without routine, annoyance, or bakshish."

7. Who is a good merchant in Nahya?

   a. Taha Abu Sina--"He serves both rich and poor and is patient with the poor when they cannot pay."

   b. M. Shanan--"He is honest and fair. He is well known for his honesty."

   c. Abdel-Mungid Al-Rashidi--"He knows what is right (Al-Haq)."

   d. M. Shannan--"His prices are fair. and the quality of his goods are high."

   e. Hanafi Al-Afifi--"He will never cheat you (Yislam), and his word is his bond. He has one word (Kilma Wahda)."

   f. Mahmoud Abbas--"He has honesty (Zima) and will never take what is not his."

   g. M. Shanan--"He earns his wage (Halal) fairly. He only charges what is fair."

   h. Taha Abu Sina--"He always sells at a fair price. He charges the right price, not the blackmarket price."

Farmer's Perceptions on Meska 10 Concerning the Project

1. What do you believe is the real purpose of this project?

   a. "I don't know about the project. No one has explained it to me."

   b. "It will be a good thing for the country." (The vagueness of his comment suggests he knows very little about the project.)

   c. "To improve the irrigation system in Egypt. To save the Nile water so more land in the desert can be cultivated to allow the water table to drop Yagafif Al-Ard (to dry the earth)." (This rather complete description of the project was given by one of the larger landowners on meska 10.)

   d. "An effort to improve the soil by making it dry. Make the water in the canals for the farmers."

   e. "To line the canals for the farmers."

   f. "Improve the general conditions of irrigation and make more water available."

   g. "Improve the agricultural conditions of Egypt."

   h. "To line the meskas in this area."

   i. "To make us raise the water."

   j. "The project will improve our water and our agriculture."

   k. "It will provide continuous water and line the meskas."

   l. "Line the main canal and make the soil dry."

   m. "Everything about the project is good." (Is this an example of the farmer telling us what he thinks we want to hear?)

   n. "The project's aim is not to harm us (Mish Yidurrina)."

   o. "Help the farmer and provide continuous water."

2. What do you like best about this project?

a. "It has lined the main canal."

b. "It has built us a new main canal."

c. "Water is now continuous."

d. "It is guiding (Yirshid) or helping the farmer improve his land."

e. "The main canal is now lined--this is good (Mazbut)."

f. "The main canal is now clean and provides continuous water."

g. "It helps save much water (Waffar Maya)."

h. "It is lining our canals and gives us continuous water."

i. "The main canal is lined, which makes it easier to clean."

j. "It has lined the canal and is rendering service to the farmers."

k. "The canal is lined, and it is making the soil dry."

l. "The main canal is lined."

3. What do you like least about the project?

a. "The narrow hole (Masura dayika) at the meska entrance."

b. "The pipe is too narrow. If two farmers are working, there is not enough water."

c. "The canal opening is too small."

d. "The pipes from the main canal are too narrow."

e. "We have some anxiety--worry (Khayfin) about what you are really going to do."

f. "The lined meskas are too narrow--not wide enough, and if three sakias are working, there is not enough water."

g. "The cement blocks used to line the meskas are too thin; they easily break when a cart or tractor drives near the edge."

h. "No comment." (There was the impression that he was afraid to say anything negative about the project.)

i. "The lining of the meska is too thin."

j. "I don't like to irrigate by gravity. Gravity is no good." (Here is a beautiful example of where a researcher could probe more deeply in
k. "an attempt to understand the assumptions and perceptions that lead to this conclusion.)

k. "The amount of water available is now much less."

l. "The Ashmawi branch does not provide enough water for the farmers in that area."

m. "The meska lining is too weak, and they tend to cave in."

n. "The opening of the meska is too small."

o. "The opening of meska 10 is too narrow--not enough water."

4. If you were in charge of this project, what changes would you make?

a. "I would make the opening to meska 10 wider and make the road along the meska wide enough to have a cart or tractor."

b. "Make the openings on the meskas bigger--increase the amount of water and improve the path along the meska better."

c. "Take all the small pipes out and replace them with larger pipes."

d. "I would be careful with the water and protect the interests of the farmers."

e. "I would make it easier for farmers to get fertilizers and insecticides."

f. "If you want to be respected by the farmers, you must help them with their water, fertilizers, and insecticides."

g. "Make the pipes wider and make the canal lining thicker and stronger, so if a tractor passes, it won't break."

h. "Make sure there will be continuous water."

i. "I would line all canals and meskas."

j. "Make it easier to have fertilizers."

k. "Make more water available in the hot summer months."

l. "Nothing has happened in the past year after much talk about helping meska 10. I would try to do something for the farmers in meska 10.

It is important that we understand what the main problems are as perceived by the farmers. But it is much more important that we gain a greater awareness for why they feel the way they do, that we express a great sympathy for their concerns, and that we make some attempts to try to understand their point of view. Once the farmer feels that you understand his concerns, there is a much greater opportunity to discuss potential solutions to these problems.

All of these responses need to be studied carefully. Much greater research is needed to determine how the farmers really feel and how best to involve the farmers in implementing a project for meska 10.

Chapter V

FARMER INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION: A NEW STRATEGY FOR LEADERSHIP TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

Farmer involvement and participation has long been recognized as a key component in any successful rural development project, yet there is still much confusion on how best to work with the farmers. Three strategies presently being considered by EWUMP have been used in other projects with mixed results.

Project Demonstration

A key assumption of this approach is that if we can demonstrate to the farmer what we are trying to do, he will come to accept our message. While it is important that the farmer actually sees the project's results, this by itself may not be enough: initally, just seeing a demonstration is seldom enough to motivate a farmer to try something new; secondly, those who do try the innovation tend to be the large-scale, richer farmers, while the smaller scale, poor farmers are hesitant and less committed; and thirdly, a demonstration generally does not give a farmer the chance actually to develop the knowledge and skills needed to implement the project.

Practice Under Supervision

In an attempt to reduce the basic weaknesses of the demonstration approach, EWUMP is encouraging staff personnel to work directly with the farmer in his own field. The key focus of this approach is that the expert spend considerable time with the farmer, teaching him how to use the information developed in the project. Yet this approach also has its limitations: (1) there are generally never enough dedicated extension workers available to work with all the farmers who need help;

(2) this system does tend to reinforce a dependency relationship in which the farmer continues to wait for the expert to help him; and (3) the approach does not stimulate the farmers to begin organizing themselves and taking responsibility for their own needs.

Voluntary Farmers Associations

In recent years it has become apparent that effective rural development is going to require more than demonstrations and one-on-one extension activities. Today there are several experiments being carried out in the Philippines, Indonesia, India, and Thailand on how best to help farmers organize themselves. Only when farmers as a group begin to take responsibility for the solution of their own problems will a self-reinforcing process of rural development emerge. Many of the interaction patterns described in the self-awareness system of communication (see chapter II) are pertinent here. Below is a fairly theoretical, yet hopefully relevant, outline of how farmers may move from a situation of apathy and inertia to one of participation and involvement. The key ingredient of this process is local leadership development and training.

A New Focus for Rural Development

The thrust and direction of rural development theory has been sharply revised and reformulated in recent years. Various agencies and institutes around the world have participated in articulating a new doctrine of rural development which insists that the fundamental objective must be to enable the masses of rural population who are now in poverty to earn by their own efforts the means to acquire the basic human needs of livelihood. Centralized governmental bureaucracy which sponsors programs and policies cannot do the job by itself for the millions of poorer rural people. It is true that

dynamic government action can provide required investment capital for needed infrastructure, appropriate technical innovation and information, and the maintenance of a stable marketing system of costs and prices which structure a fair balance of rural-urban terms of trade. But the final achievement depends upon the initiative and self-organization of the poorer people themselves and the demands which they make upon government.

This "reformist strategy" seeks to shift the focus of initiative from the central government to the village and is based upon the assumption that there are untapped opportunities within most existing political communities to achieve significant improvement in the productivity and welfare of the rural poor. This strategy tends to focus first on the need to strengthen local efforts through participation and empowerment of the rural poor through self-organization, and second on the need to improve agricultural production through the appropriate introduction of technology and infrastructure.

While the form of local organization needed depends on factors specific to each society, two kinds of organizations are identified: local public authorities which are governed closely by law and supervised by agents of the state; and small associational groupings organized informally around common tasks of mutual interest to members, but with the capacity to expand, in time, into formal, but voluntary organizations serving large numbers of participants.

Many proponents of this local organization strategy acknowledge that the state should aid and support such farmers' groups, especially those oriented to production, but must avoid the temptation to assume control of them. But in order to work with and through such grass-roots organizations, state bureaucracies oriented to agriculture and rural development must be drastically reformed and improved. The assumption of this whole approach is that the rural poor must

develop greater self-reliance, that too prominent a state bureaucratic presence, even when well intended, creates debilitating dependency. Local groups should be encouraged to develop on their own and in their own good time without outside interference, except for carefully trained extension workers and/or short-term volunteers who can serve as catalysts and resource persons.[1]

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[1]Paul Devitt, "Poverty-Oriented Rural Development," in Extension, Planning and the Poor, edited by Paul Devitt, Guy Idemtis, and Janice Jiggins (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1977).

A Process for the Development of Local Farmer Organizations

The long-range goals of a program seeking to encourage the development of voluntary peasant organizations should be: (1) identifying, recruiting, and training village-level leadership, and (2) designing and stimulating mechanisms to reinforce the process of participation among all subgroupings (landowners, landless peasants, women, youth, etc.) of the village community. Within these goals are the words leadership and participation, which represent a set of significant preconditions which must be met if the other needs and problems of a village community are to be solved.

The word leadership is very difficult to define. It implies initiative, enthusiasm, awareness, direction, motivation, planning, implementing, evaluation, involvement, cooperation, accomplishment. Leadership tends to emerge; it is not forced. It can be encouraged and fine-tuned by appropriate training, but the heart of leadership comes from within. It is active and goal-directed, but will never be long-lasting without meaningful participation and involvement of the followers.

An analysis of the process of leadership suggests an unending cycle of motive (M), action (A), consequence (C), reaction (R), motive (M), action (A), consequence (C), reaction (R), motive (M).... This "MACR process" should sensitize any observer of leadership to the following implications."

1. The motives (M) which stimulate an individual to accept or engage in various leadership behaviors may be varied and unexpected--all the way from a sense of duty or obligation, a coerced request from the government, a desire to serve the community, a steppingstone to higher office, better access to governmental services and benefits, a fear of losing face, a wish to obtain training

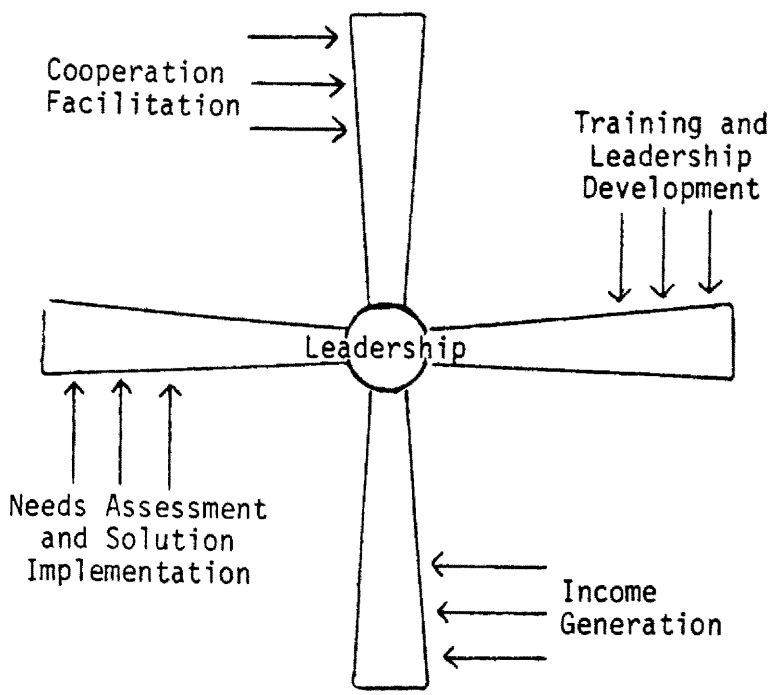
skills, the possibility for more income and allowances, and the desire to dominate and control.

2. The actions (A) which stem from these motives may be effective or ineffective, honest or dishonest, characterized by high levels of energy and enthusiasm or low levels of energy and apathy. The actions may only reflect what is required or they may reflect an initiative and willingness "to go the second mile." The actions may be short-lived or long-term, they may be carefully planned and thought-through or haphazard and ill-defined.

3. The consequences (C) of these motives and these actions may solve problems or cause problems, may generate support and cooperation, or may lead to disunity and demand for better leadership. Consequences are the environment from which motives to engage or not engage in leadership behaviors emerge.

4. The reactions (R) which emerge from the consequences establish the environment in which leadership must function. In a social milieu of the village which historically has been characterized by domination, authoritarianism, exploitation, and dependency, it should not be too surprising that the initial reactions to any effort which seeks to develop leadership would be viewed with some apathy and/or suspicion. The common reactions of the village people to the past motives, actions (behaviors) and consequences of outside intervention must be approached with patience and understanding. Any attempt to understand why there is or is not leadership, why there is effective or ineffective leadership, must understand what consequences from past motives and actions dominate the villages today. No amount of training will generate leadership in the villages until the motives, actions, consequences, and reactions are synchronized to reinforce and support the incipient and early attempts at leadership behavior which can be observed and are being gradually developed.

Based upon extensive experience in a wide variety of village settings, the following conclusions can be drawn. It appears that local leadership and farmer participation require an interactive process, perhaps characterized as "the Windmill Effect." Each blade represents one aspect of the process that must be stimulated and developed if the self-sustaining institutions envisioned in this report are to be initiated: the emerging process of leadership may be related to this windmill analogy as the breath of energy which stimulates and develops each of the following four activities: (1) a program to facilitate cooperation between the villages and various government agencies which may be able to provide services and solutions to their problems; (2) a program of training and leadership development to encourage local leaders to acquire the skills needed to help themselves and to release the energy to make themselves autonomous and more self-reliant; (3) a program of income generation to provide the capital needed by village institutions to finance their own programs and services; and (4) a program of need assessments and solution implementation to motivate the village people with a sense of cooperation and unity.



The Windmill of Village Leadership

The significance of this analogy is that leadership, if it is to be motivated, encouraged, and developed, will probably not start with just training or with just the development of better cooperation, but rather will require a carefully integrated plan of effort. Below are a series of items that might be included in each of the four programs being suggested.

A. Cooperation Facilitation

If some type of village organization (water user association, cooperatives, local village decision-making groups, etc.) is to be developed, there is need for the establishment of some type of rural extension/facilitator/trainer cadre (REF) to help initiate the process.[1] For example, there would be a need to help the farmers at the meska level to learn how to interact effectively with the village/district-level bureaucracy. Some type of training to bring the village people and the government officials in their area together is needed.

1. Identify all sources of external support and aid (both private and governmental) at the village, district, provincial, and national level.

2. Determine a schedule of visits and contacts and the individuals within the EWUMP Staff responsible for such visits. If the Field Operation people were brought into this program, additional staff people would be available.

3. Organize a workshop to develop and train REFs in the roles, procedures, goals, techniques, schedules, obstacles, etc. which will be needed if effective cooperation is to be established with these government and private agencies.

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[1]For example, in the EWUMP project, which is seeking to establish water users' associations among the farmers participating in their irrigation development program, it would be appropriate to designate a certain number of their staff to be the rural extension facilitators (REFs) in this project. Extensive training would be needed to help these members of the EWUMP Staff become effective rural extension facilitators (REFs).

4. Implement initial visits and follow these visits up with a feedback workshop to share experiences, identify problems, map out new strategies, and coordinate new information learned.

5. If, for example, all REFs were to set aside two or three days each month to contact village district and/or provincial-level officials responsible for areas of their interest, a logical process of cooperation development would probably include: (1) first, establish a contact; (2) seek to develop a friendship or warm relationship; (3) help the official to be more aware of EWUMP and the villages involved; (4) seek to stimulate an interest in working together in mutually complementary activities; and (5) generate a commitment in the official to cooperate in meeting the needs and solving the problems that exist in the villages. It would be appropriate for the members of the REF Team to schedule a monthly follow-up staff meeting to report on their contacts, share information, plan new strategies to involve outside sources and officials, and provide staff training in the interpersonnel and professional skills needed to facilitate this cooperation. As personal relationships are developed, it is hoped that the REF Team would help both village leaders and government officials to be aware of programs, needs, and services that are available and needed. Village people need training in how to interact and work effectively with government officials who have programs and services needed in the village.

6. A program to legitimize this process

   a. REFs come to identify and understand the problems, needs, and concerns of the village leadership. (Both formal and informal leaders)

b. REFs gradually (as a relationship is developed) bring these village needs to the attention of government and private agency officials.

c. A quarterly meeting to coordinate and plan joint projects might be established where village leaders and government and private officials would be encouraged to meet regularly every three months.

d. Efforts might be made for the REFs to invite and to take government and private officials actually to visit the village. Also, village leaders might be taken to government offices to familiarize them with the structure and procedures of the government offices.

e. Develop, implement, monitor, and evaluate programs established.

7. This process of assisting the village people to interact more effectively with the various agencies would be very helpful. The REF Team, in building bridges between the rural areas and the service delivery systems of government, could clearly give the village people the skills, confidence, and awareness needed to generate their own initiative, to release their own energies, and actively to seek the things they need in the form of roads, health facilities, schools, water, etc.

B. Training and Leadership Development

Training and Leadership Development is obviously a crucial and significant part of the EWUMP's desire to help develop local water users' associations in rural Egypt. Below are a series of items to consider:

1. Develop a typology of training needs.

a. Institutional, legal, structural training which focuses on training leaders in the authorities, function, powers, and obligations they have under law.

b. Communication skills needed for building rapport, trust, and interest - needs assessment skills, brainstorming, team building are all skills needed to help local leadership groups work more effectively together.

c. Action Research training which facilitates planning, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating skills. These management skills are essential if leadership groups are to develop projects and programs actually achieving some successes.

d. Develop greater awareness for the need to coordinate and integrate the activities of the various leadership groups to develop skills in contacting and working with local government agencies (note the section above on Cooperation Facilitation) and the value of working together in the accomplishment of goals.

2. Determine schedules of training, participants to be involved, and individuals to be responsible for the training. It is important that the REF Team be sensitive to the fact that training will be much more effective if it is structured to meet a perceived need, rather than as a process to create the need. Being sensitive to when the village people themselves identify and request a specific type of training will be much more effective, even though this requires greater flexibility on the part of the training staff and close and continuous communication with the village people themselves.

3. Workshop to train trainers is greatly needed if appropriate and innovative techniques and approaches are to be used.

4. Implementation of training programs.

5. Crucial to the long-run effectiveness and relevancy of training is the need to have evaluation and feedback sessions where village people's perceptions of the training can be identified, where good and bad experiences can be discussed, where old approaches can be redesigned and new approaches can be developed.

C. Income Generation

Local initiative and a sense of responsibility will never develop until village institutions have independent sources of income which can be developed and prioritized through a formal budgetary process. The sense of independence and local enthusiasm needed for leadership to function effectively will only tend to emerge when these village institutions share some financial autonomy. The REF Team will play a significant role in rural reconstruction and the development of self-government if an income-generating mechanism can be encouraged in the villages:

1. Special efforts are needed to help local leaders be aware of the laws and processes associated with tax collection in the villages. Often many sources of revenue for rural villages are unused simply because the local leadership is unaware of the law. Sensitivity is needed in training these leaders to use these powers carefully, to demonstrate quickly to the village people an immediate service for the taxes collected. This is often a slow and difficult process. Only when local taxing is perceived as a legitimate way to finance needed services in the village will this collection process be perceived as legitimate.

2. If the earlier "cooperation facilitation" process is developed over time the REF Team may help the village leaders identify sources of financial support from government and private agencies. Great efforts should be made to provide this type of "seed money" as it will develop a sense of enthusiasm and accomplishment. There is no stronger motive for developing leadership and a sense of cooperation than the perception that resources are available, that maybe something can be done, that through their efforts specific needs can be met and specific problems can be solved.

3. Several strategies in other countries suggest that local village councils (also Farmer, Women and Youth groups) may be encouraged to organize and develop income-producing projects in their area. Some of this income can be funneled back into the Village Council--eventually to be used for salaries, service projects and other needs required by the community. It is clear that many leadership groups in the village lack the ability to utilize a financial incentive as a good way of stimulating commitment and generating higher levels of activity. Such financial incentives are not only useful, but often essential if local councils are to have "sustained interest."

D. Needs Assessment and Solution Implementation

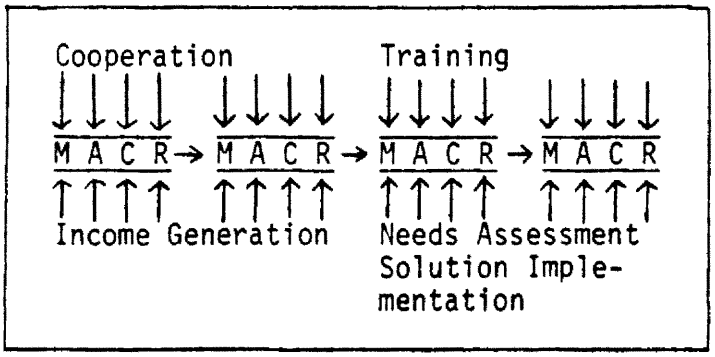
The above-mentioned three activities (Cooperation Facilitation, Training, and Leadership Development, and Income Generation) will have no cumulative impact on the leadership motives of the village people unless there is more action and less talk--unless real needs can be identified and then specific steps are taken to meet those needs. All the talk about facilitation, training, and income will not only be useless, but may even be harmful in the sense that unfulfilled expectation may lead to greater cynicism and reinforced apathy. These reactions,

so typical of rural people throughout the world, are natural consequences of the motives and actions that have characterized too many rural reconstruction programs. It is imperative that the REFs effectively interact with all members of the EWUMP to ensure that projects started are monitored carefully, that appropriate resources are made available, that local initiative and effort be utilized in implementing these projects. It is better to have a few small real successes than to encourage huge projects that may be only partially successful. Returning to the Action Research skills, which, it is hoped, will be developed in the training workshops already mentioned, it should be a cardinal principle of the REF Team that training skills need much reinforcement and careful encouragement. It is probably better that these new organizations tackle a smaller project in the early efforts of implementing an Action Research strategy. It will be the sense of accomplishment and the feeling of success more than any other motive that can sustain the interest and generate the confidence needed to reinforce and develop the leadership required in village-level organization. No rural development program will be self-perpetuating and cumulative over time without the development of self-motivated and highly skilled village leaders. This is the opportunity and the challenge of the EWUMP in the years to come.

Summary

From the above discussion, it should be clear that leadership development should be conceptualized as a process of evolvement and not the achievement of some end, and that leadership may increase or decrease in a village, depending upon the motives, actions, consequences, and reactions that emerge. Four specific Action-Research oriented programs have been suggested and may be useful in providing the reinforcing and cumulative impact needed to stimulate leadership in the village.

The Process of Leadership Development in the Villages



Note that each phase in the MACR cycle is susceptible to influences and reinforcements from each of the four programs:

A. Motives

1. Cooperation--A government agency induced to provide a specific service or to solve a specific problem in the village may give the village leaders just the encouragement needed to try something themselves.

2. Training--A specific training program may provide a village leader with the planning skills to gain the cooperation and support of his village and, thus, the recognition he may need.

3. Income Generation--The development of an adequate budget and available funds to pay the village council members' transportation costs might be just the incentive to ensure better attendance at council meetings among members who need some financial incentives.

4. Needs Assessment/Solution Implementation--A greater awareness of village needs and the sense of accomplishment which comes from the identification of a real need and its solution may develop a sense of community consciousness that no other process can duplicate; thus, the emergence of stronger and better developed motives.

B. Actions

1. Cooperation--Showing village leaders how to contact and work with government agencies will generate greater activities in this area.

2. Training--Once a village council understands its functions, organizational structures, and the options available to it, then this village institution is more likely to engage in various activities and specific actions.

3. Income Generation--There is no doubt that if appropriate sources of income could be developed, village leaders would be more apt to be active. Once resources are available, the opportunities for action are stimulated.

4. Needs Assessment and Solution Implementation--There is a truism that action breeds action and success leads to more success.

C. Consequences

1. Cooperation--Once a village leader feels comfortable in contacting a government agency and once a government official has developed some rapport with different village leaders, the consequences of this interaction should be positive.

2. Training--The obvious consequence of training is a greater awareness of options and opportunities and a greater confidence in being able to solve problems and accomplish goals. Of course, while effective training can have positive consequences, ineffective training will have negative ones.

3. Income Generation--The availability of financial resources can have either positive or negative consequences--depending on how and for what purpose the funds are used.

4. Needs Assessment and Solution Implementation--If problems are actually identified and if such problems are indeed solved, the consequences could be the reversal of a whole historical trend which emphasized stagnation, poverty, illiteracy, disease, and dependency. The challenge is clearly identified.

D. Reactions

1. Cooperation--An environment of cooperation between local villagers and local government officials could be established which would encourage both groups to work more cooperatively together.

2. Training--The emergence of effectively trained local leaders should help develop a greater sense of competency in the village leadership and should generate a greater sense of confidence among the villages for their leaders.

3. Income Generation--As specific funds are developed in a specific village setting and local leaders gain control over how these funds are to be allocated and dispersed, the significance and importance of local leadership positions becomes enhanced and legitimized.

4. Needs Assessment and Solution Implementation--If we assume a positive orientation to the processes of cooperation, training, and income generation, which hopefully builds upon a self-sustaining set of motives, actions and consequences, it is entirely conceivable that

the reaction to these developments could be a reduction in the feelings of dependency and apathy and a rekindling in the hearts and minds of rural people to begin to take responsibility for their own lives, to seek an interdependency orientation toward the central government, and to initiate the processes by which they come to organize themselves for self-help projects and institutions.

A Conceptualization of the Village Leadership and Management Training Process

In providing a useful understanding of the leadership training and development process for rural villages, it may be helpful to conceptualize the responsibilities of rural extension facilitation (REF) in terms of the following categories:

1. There is a need to help develop within each group of village participants the following awareness:

   a. Awareness of where they are now.

   b. Awareness of why they are where they are now.

   c. Awareness of where they want to be in the future.

   d. Awareness of what skills and resources they need to achieve their future.

2. Most successful training programs in leadership and organization development require the following general steps:

   a. Awareness of their present behavior, attitudes, perceptions, values, opinions, and goals, and an understanding of which of these may be obstacles and constraints on the effectiveness of the group of people being trained.

   b. Awareness of alternative behaviors, attitudes, perceptions, values, opinions, goals, and an understanding of how these may be facilitative and useful in helping the group being trained to be more effective.

c. Opportunity to practice the skills needed to utilize the alternative behaviors, attitudes, perceptions, values, opinions, and goals to the point where the group being trained may, in fact, be more effective.

d. Opportunity to receive feedback on how well the members of the group being trained are actually utilizing these new skills, behaviors, attitudes, perceptions, values, opinions, goals, and understanding so the person developing these skills will know that he/she is or is not making progress. (3-6 months)

e. Opportunity for the members of the group being trained to internalize THESE NEW SKILLS, behaviors, perceptions, etc. to the point where they become a part of their leadership and interpersonal style.

3. In terms of understanding where the village group is now, it may be helpful for them to experience the meaning of some concepts which reflect a variety of "interaction patterns" among individuals residing in a village.

a. Independency--In this situation each family goes its own, separate way. There is little cooperation or unity in the village. There is little willingness among different family groups to help each other.

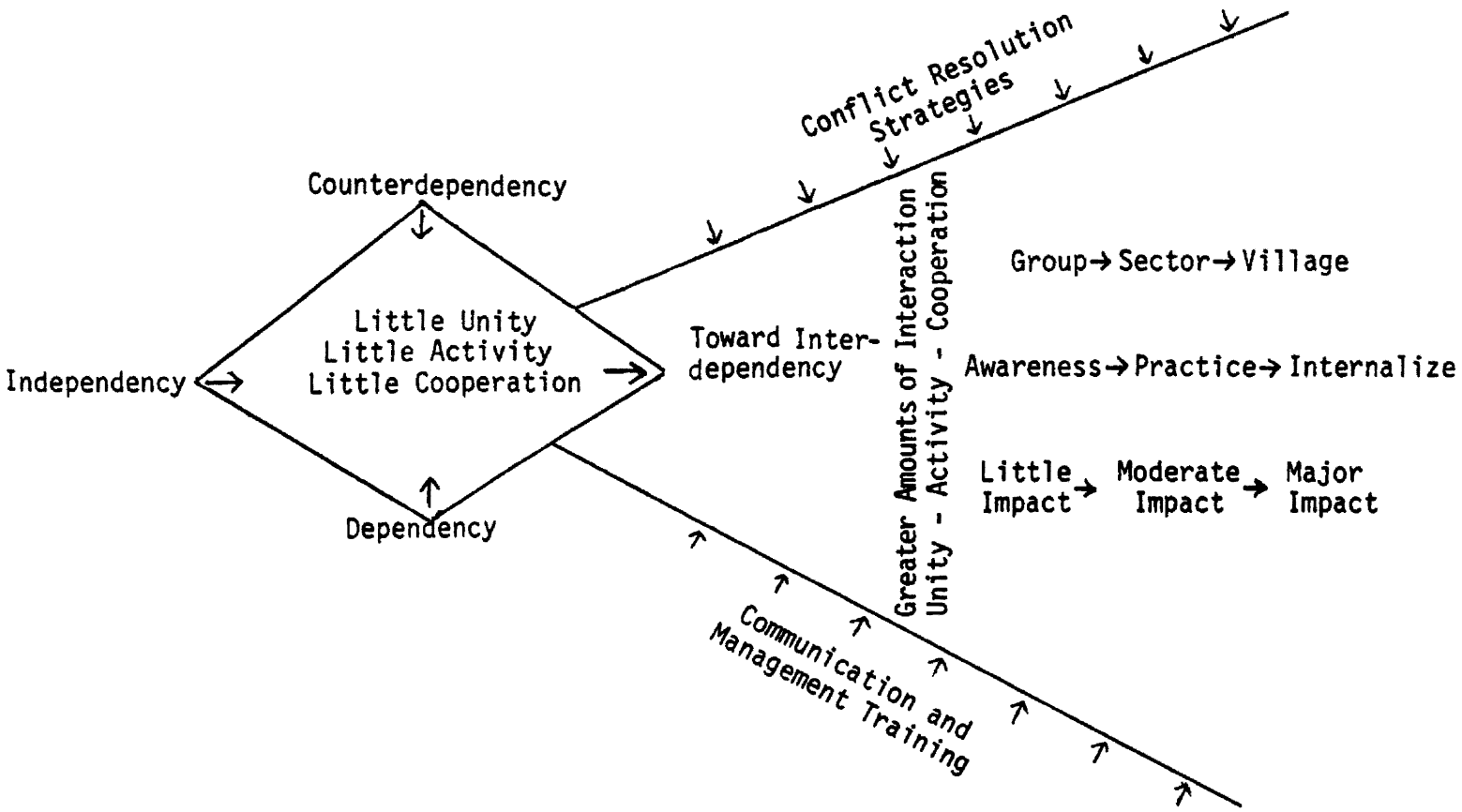
b. Dependency--In this situation the people of the village tend to be apathetic. They are waiting for someone else (government, the landowners, officials, etc.) to solve their problems for them. Everybody assumes it is somebody else's responsibility to find solutions for their problems.

c. Counterdependency--In this situation the village people are divided into two or more conflicting groups. There is much anger and hostility in the village because of past fights and misunderstandings. If one group makes a suggestion, the other groups automatically reject it and try to make it fail.

d. Interdependency--In this situation all the people of the village are united and feel a sense of responsibility to solve their own problems. They may seek help from other sources, but they don't stop just because such outside resources are not available.

The critical issue for a group of village people to consider is where they are in terms of these four concepts and what are the consequences of these interaction patterns for their own villages. Much research in social psychology has shown that the first three types of interaction (independency, dependency, and counter dependency) restrict activity and are serious obstacles to the effective working-together of any group of villagers.

Figure V-1



Once a village recognizes where it is now and has some awareness of why it is where it is, then some efforts can be made to help it see where it might want to be in the future and how to get there. Villages characterized by counterdependency must seek to reduce feelings of anger, hostility, disunity, and fear through some type of conflict resolution training. Villages characterized by dependency and independency must seek to reduce feelings of apathy, isolation, inactivity, and frustration through some type of communication and social awareness training.

4. It is helpful for the REFs responsible for leadership training and development to be aware that an effective training program is a continual process which seeks to encourage: first, awareness of the skills needed; second, an opportunity to practice these skills; third, feedback from others on how well the trainee is doing in these skills; and fourth, the opportunity to internalize these skills. It is important also to recognize that the very process of training must go through several phases and that different emphases and strategies are needed depending on at what point the village people being trained are in the process itself.[1]

Introducing a training program into a rural setting is always very difficult. There is a need to be aware of feelings and behaviors (F) on the one hand and on the other, the need for a structure or system of procedures and organization if rural extension workers are to be effective. Too often rural extension facilitators (REFs) focus only on the structure and procedures (how to organize, what procedures to use in making decisions, what shall be the responsibilities and functions for the members of the group, etc.) rather than on what

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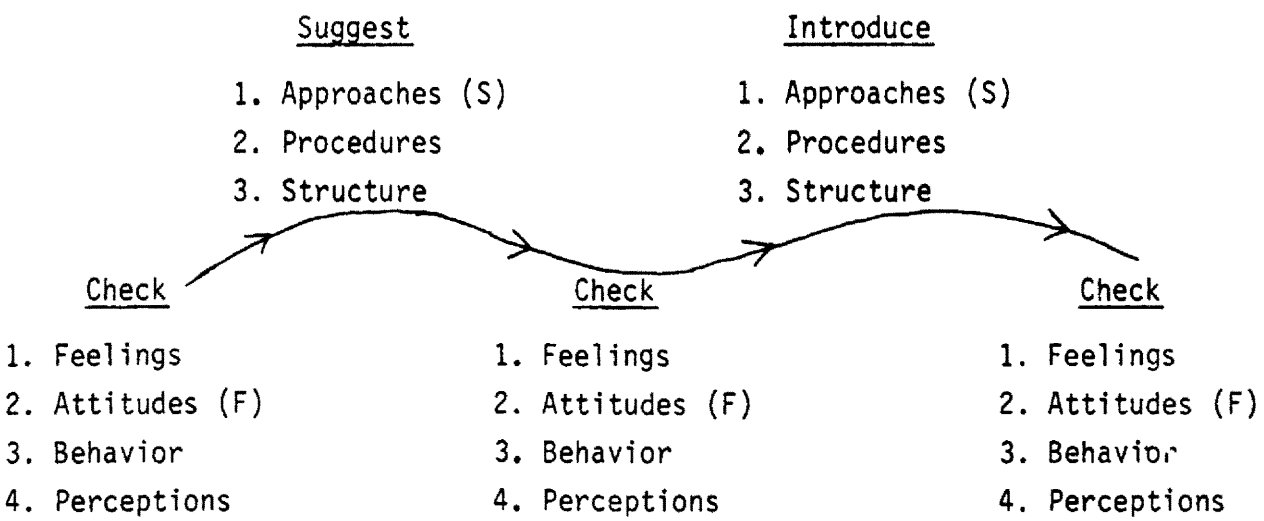
[1]Please note that the theoretical model of leadership training and development described here should sensitize the EWUMP staff to the issues and problems that must be considered in establishing water users' associations in rural Egypt. The actual implementation of this model, for example in the Nahya Village area, would require extensive pretraining preparation for the participants.

the village people are feeling, thinking, or perceiving. There is a need to train the REFs to be sensitive to the feelings, the behaviors, and the perceptions of the village people before they begin to emphasize the problems of organization, rules, regulations, and procedures. In fact, it is crucial that the rural organization building process go through a continual cycle (Figure V-II) of first checking feelings (F) and attitudes; suggesting techniques, approaches, procedures, and systems (S); checking again on feelings and attitudes; introducing additional techniques, approaches; and then again checking feelings, attitudes, etc.

Figure V-II



Often the REF is so eager to introduce new approaches, procedures, and structures, that she/he forgets first to check the attitudes, the perceptions, and the feelings of the village people.

For purposes of providing a better understanding of the process by which leadership training and development may be introduced into a village community, Figure V-III has been designed. It is assumed that a community may seek to introduce a project, a technology, an approach, or a new institution at: (A) the small group level of interested villagers (all the farmers on a meska, for example); (B) the sectoral level, which would include a significant portion of some sector (the farmers, the mothers, the village council, and the executive council, etc.); and (C) the total village level, where the project, the program, or the approach would impact upon the entire village. It is assumed that small group projects (such as a water users' association on meska 10) in the short-run would have little impact on the total village, while sectoral level projects (an organization of all farmers in the EWUMP area) would have greater impact, and village level projects (some type of total village organization) should have the greatest impact, especially in the long run. If the introduction and successful completion of projects is to be reinforcing and sustaining over time, it is assumed that it is better to implement a small project with a high probability of success than a large project with a low probability of success.

Figure V-III

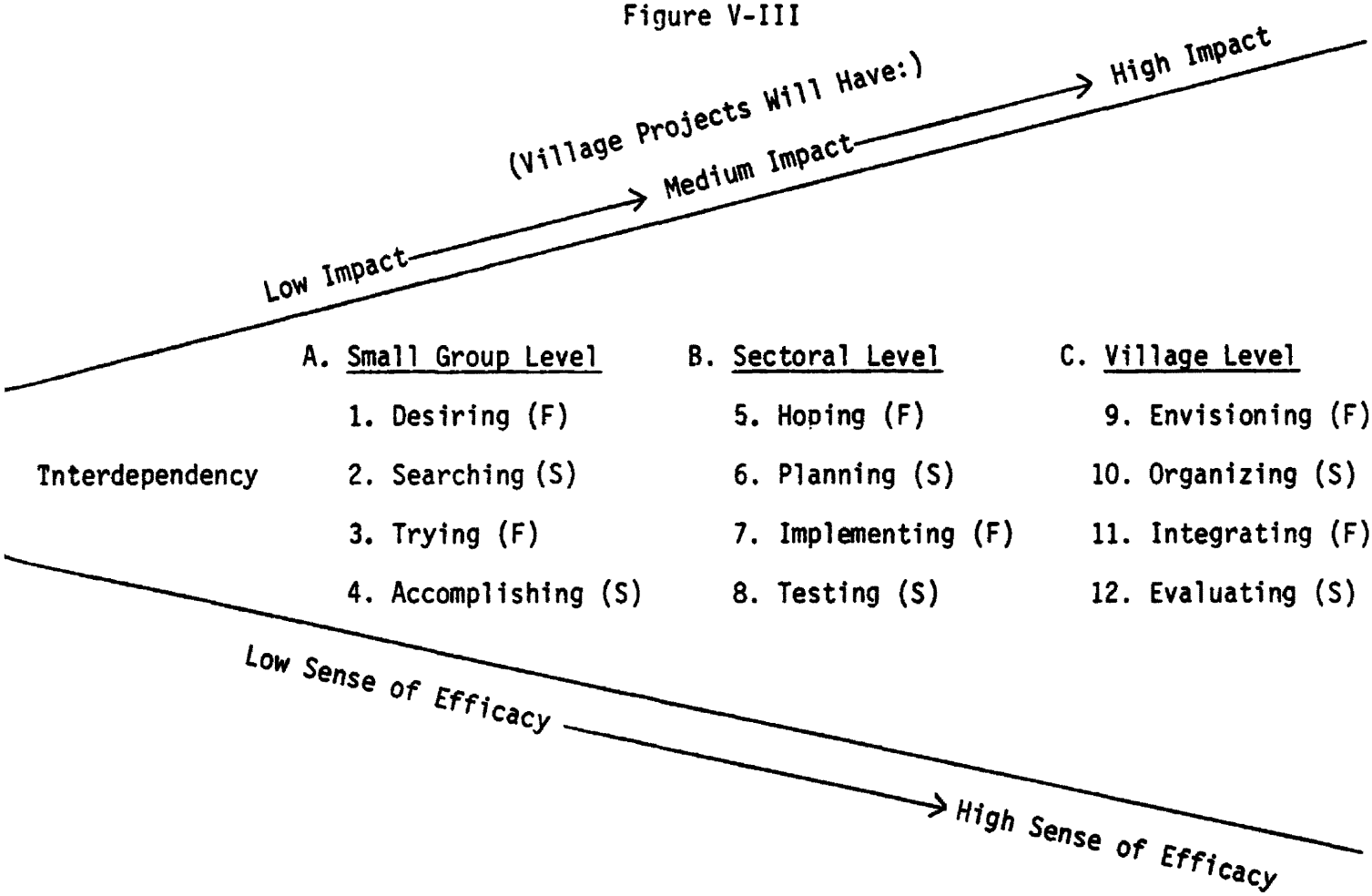


Figure V-III suggests a series of steps which may be appropriately considered as the rural extension facilitator (REF) seeks to introduce projects first at the small group level, then the sectoral level, and finally at the village level. Each step implies a series of skills and training experiences which must be developed prior to moving to a higher step. For example, the first step suggested is Desiring (F). It is assumed that the worker with a small group of village people (say on meska 10) must first help to develop a desire on their part to change some situation in their village. This step is designated as a feeling (F) step since the REF must focus on feelings, attitudes, and perceptions of the group

members. The skills needed in this step include the ability to share feelings, perceptions, ideas, goals; the ability to brainstorm without the ideas generated being criticized or evaluated; the ability to communicate more effectively, employing the skill of active listening; and the ability to use the ways of increasing group effectiveness--more openness, more trust, more awareness of each other, and the processes of communication, decision-making, and conflict resolution which charaterize the group. As the sense of group awareness begins to emerge, it has been found that a desire to initiate some activity begins to emerge.

The second step involves searching. This is designated as a system (S) step since the REFs will begin to introduce a system (a set of procedures, suggestions, methods, and approaches) which will facilitate the process of searching for a project and the means to accomplish it. At this step the group will seek to consider alternative projects and goals and to search out the availability of resources and funding (both within and outside of the village.)

The third step is trying--again designated as a (F) feeling step because it is important that the REF work closely with the village group to ensure that this early attempt to try some new project is successfully monitored, encouraged, and supported. Such monitoring and supporting requires very close communication between the REFs and the village group to ensure that the feelings, concerns, desires, and perceptions of the village people are continually considered. This is an extremely important step in this early phase of leadership training and development because this is the point where a village group actually embarks upon some project and tests the REF's ideas that effort and activity can lead to its successful completion.

The fourth step is accomplishing, designated as a system (S) step since its discussions, records, and evaluation imply a commitment to some type of system

or procedure. This is the difficult step of assessing whether the goals and purposes of the group project have been, are in the process of being, or have not been accomplished. The REF will try to help the members of the group evaluate what they have done, why they were or were not successful, the lessons they have learned, and what the situations, skills, procedures, and relationships are which need to be developed or changed if the project is to be more successful in the future and if it is to be expanded to the sector or village level.

In analyzing the first level of the small group approach, it is important to recognize the following four characteristics:

1. Although each step is designated as an F (feeling) step or an S (systems) step, it should be emphasized that these are not mutually exclusive concepts. Thus, the REF's sensitivity and awareness of feelings, attitudes, and perceptions must be checked and considered in all four steps, just as in each one some systems procedures, approaches, rules, techniques, and methods must be utilized and implemented. The point is that both feelings data and systems data must continually be considered. However, it appears that different steps require a different emphasis and mixture of the two types of data.

2. There is no inevitability about any of these steps. It is just as possible that a specific step may be a success as it is that it may be a failure. This whole approach invites the REF to go back again and again to earlier steps if it appears that the latter steps are not successful.

3. At the group level the role of the REF is very crucial. Here REFs play a key role in teaching, encouraging, monitoring, and evaluating the skills and new procedures needed to help the group achieve the envisioned goals.

Training at the group level is still mainly at the awareness stage. It is during the first four steps (desiring, trying, searching, and accomplishing) that the REF helps to make village people aware of the skills and procedures needed. At the sector level, the next four steps, 5 through 8 (hoping, planning, implementing, and testing), tend to provide village leaders with the opportunity to practice the skills and to receive feedback on how well they are doing. The village level, which includes the steps 9 through 12 (envisioning, organizing, integrating, and evaluating), provides village leaders with an opportunity to begin to internalize the skills and approaches needed to make the village programs self-sustaining.

4. At the group level, the REF is generally responsible for training. At the sector level, the REF begins to help the earlier trained leaders to become trainers themselves: thus, as the earlier trained leaders are moving through the practicing phase of steps 5 through 8, they are also being encouraged to train new groups to go through steps 1 through 4. Only at a later phase will some leaders begin to emerge who have internalized or are in the process of internalizing the skills in steps 1 through 12 with the hope of eventually developing a village-wide project which can have a major impact. In this final stage of internalization at the village level, the REF gradually begins to withdraw from the village as the people themselves become capable of running their own projects. This eventually allows the REF to move into a new village where he/she can then start the whole process over again at the group level.

It is anticipated that this early attempt to conceptualize the process of training and leadership development will be largely restricted to identifying the general phases of training, the general steps associated with village

leadership development, some of the skills required at each step, and some of the behaviors and feelings which may be characteristic of success and/or failure within each step. However, it should be noted that extensive thought, research, and validation will still be needed before specific skill-building strategies can be outlined in any detail or with any confidence for each of the steps outlined earlier.

At this point it may be helpful to re-emphasize the ways in which the twelve steps are distinguished. For the purpose of analysis it has been found useful to discriminate analytically between the processes of training (awareness, practicing, feedback, and internalization) and the processes of group/leadership development (climate building, data flow, goal formation, and control).

	Phase I Awareness (Group)	Phase II Practicing/Feedback (Sector)	Phase III Internalization (Village)
A. Climate Building	1. Desiring ⟶	5. Hoping ⟶	9. Envisioning
B. Data Flow	2. Searching ⟶	6. Planning ⟶	10. Organizing
C. Goal Formation	3. Trying ⟶	7. Implementing ⟶	11. Integrating
D. Control/Evaluation	4. Accomplishing ⟶	8. Testing ⟶	12. Evaluating

Building upon the work of Gibb,[1] let us review the four dimensions of group/leadership development. For example, steps 1, 5, and 9 are all manifestations of the first dimension (A--Climate Building); 2, 6, and 10 are associated with the second (B--Data Flow); 3, 7, and 11 are part of the third (C--Goal Formation); and steps 4, 8, and 12 are characteristic of the fourth dimension

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[1]Jack R. Gibb, Trust: A New View of Personal and Organizational Development (L.A., California: The Guild of Tutors Press, 1978).

(D--Control/Evaluation). Gibb has suggested that these four dimensions can best be remembered as a reflection of his TORI theory (T=Trust, O=Openness, R=Realization, and I=Interdependency). In my own work in the villages of North Africa, I have found it useful to test my own observations and evaluation of the relationship between the REF and the people of the village with the constructs implied in the TORI model. The utility of this TORI model is in its ability to sensitize an REF to the issues that must be considered if leadership and group development are to take place in a rural setting.

A. From the adjectives listed below, the reader may clearly see why emotional climate is the dominating factor. All other processes of problem solving, goal setting, action research, and program implementation are colored by the climate of trust or distrust. It should not be difficult to identify the differences and the characteristics of those situations in which an REF is functioning in a village with a low-trust or a high-trust environment.

T=Trust--Climate Building

Low Trust ⟶			High Trust
Fear	Hostility	Confidence	Acceptance
Coldness	Envy	Respect	Trust
Distrust	Suspicion	Esteem	Love
Cynicism	Criticism	Sympathy	Warmth
Defensiveness	Alienation	Affection	Less Defensiveness
Distorted Perceptions	Conflicting Values	Appreciation of Diversity	Noncriticism
Anxiety	Protective Behavior	Receptiveness	Caring
Paranoia	Need for Status	Acceptance of Motives	

In step 1 the goal of training and leadership development must be to heighten some awareness for the need for greater trust. Out of a milieu of greater trust will emerge a desire for some action, a desire for more cooperation, a desire for greater interaction. Often during this first phase, with its emphasis on "Developing Awareness," the process of trust building is based upon an intellectual or cognitive commitment to the notion that trust is better than distrust. However, such early awareness will often be characterized as superficial, skin deep, and less than sincere. Nevertheless, it is this early desire--even if the skills and behaviors to build trust are not yet developed--that is the first step in developing effective leadership and group building.

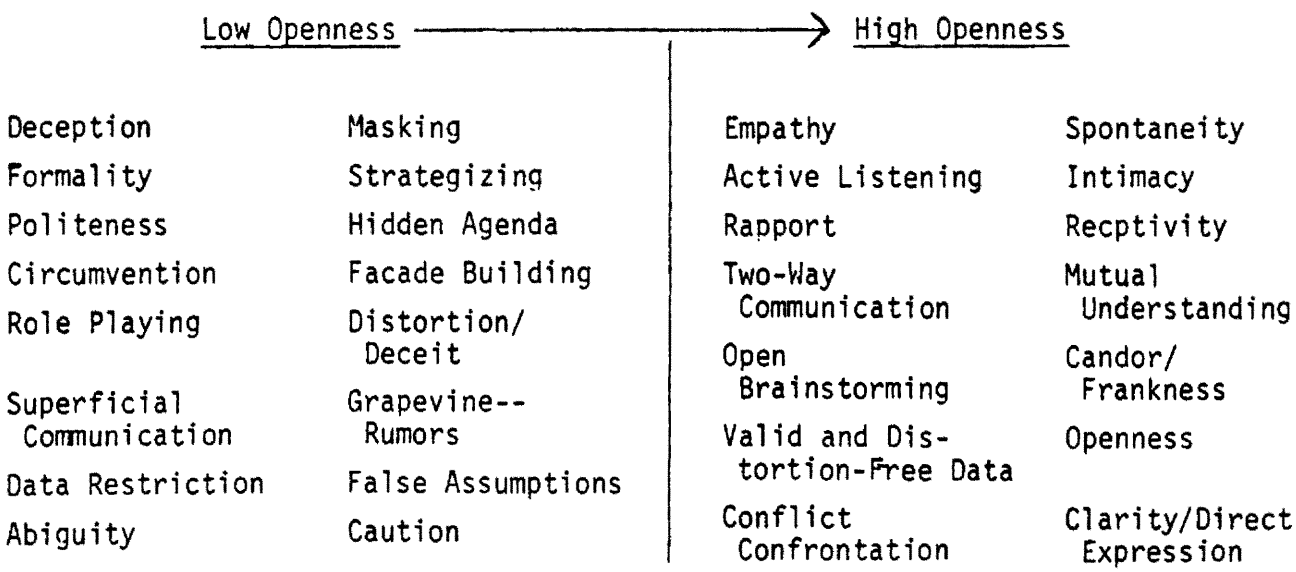
In step 5, at the sectoral level, there is some opportunity to practice the skills and the behaviors needed to develop an environment of trust building. A crucial variable in this first dimension, as has been said, is climate: Is the emotional climate conducive to trust building? How would you characterize the climate of the sector in terms of trust and acceptance? It is usually in this phase of practicing that leaders and members move from a desiring mode to a hoping mode. Based upon their experience in steps 1 through 4, a certain degree of optimism emerges, and as the skills needed to reinforce greater trust levels are practiced and developed, a larger number of the village people begin to accept the genuineness and the sincerity of the individuals making up the sector with which the REF is interacting. It is this higher level of trust which allows the village people to begin to visualize greater opportunities, to identify greater alternatives to seek and greater goals to pursue. Hoping implies a certain confidence and trust not only in the REFs and the groups to which they belong, but also in the environment. It is this improved

climate of trust that can motivate various groups in the village to move to the practicing level of training and leadership development. A climate of desire requires help from the REF because of the uncertainties and lack of trust which permeate such an environment. It is a dependency relationship at this stage, and the villagers' desire to try something is a reflection of their awareness that trust is necessary if they are to solve some of their problems in a cooperative manner. A climate of hope implies less dependency on the REF since steps 1 through 4 have given them some sense of accomplishment and an awareness that specific skills are still needed if they are to move from the group level to the sector level. Hope generates greater motivation to practice the skills needed to succeed at the sectoral level.

In step 9, at the total village level, the process of internalizing the skills and behaviors associated with high trust generates a new vision of what is possible. This ninth step of envisioning suggests a degree of competency, awareness, and high trust which allows the village leadership to see beyond the present to the future, to replace gradually the REF as the source of desire and hope. A new form of interdependency emerges as a sincere appreciation of diversity, a low defensiveness in interpersonal relationships, and a sympathy and respect for different opinions comes to characterize the village leadership structure. Only as the leadership begins to internalize the skills and behaviors associated with higher levels of trust will the climate be conducive to a self-sustaining and self-reinforcing process of growth and development in the rural community.

B. The key component of the second dimension is Data Flow, the tendency for communication to be valid and distortion-free or restricted and characterized by hidden agendas and games people play to deceive and/or to manipulate.

O=Openness--Data Flow



In step 2 the goal of training and leadership development must be to stimulate some awareness that communication patterns need to be open and distortion-free. Effective development of good ideas and appropriate alternative goals to pursue require a process of searching which stimulates the generation of valid information. At the group level individuals must be exposed to the necessity to give non-evaluative feedback, a greater awareness of what "shared meaning" communication implies, what the negative consequences of role playing, distortion of intention, and deception can do to the whole process of data flow.

In step 6 comes the opportunity to practice the communication skills needed to increase the quality of planning at the sectoral level. It is in this phase that feedback skills are practiced, planning skills are developed, skills in active listening and brainstorming are stimulated and reinforced.

Effective planning implies open access to a variety of information sources both internal and external to the village. Developing linkage skills with the village district and provincial government official should be emphasized and practiced with the support of the REF. Practicing the skills needed to reduce defensiveness and game playing in the whole decision-making and planning process should be encouraged during this step.

In step 10 effective interpersonal and intergroup communication skills must be internalized if the organizing structures of the village's formal institutions are to be strengthened. Organization implies a set of procedures and decision-making approaches which aim at maximizing the data flow process within the rural community. The internalization of certain behaviors associated with empathy, active listening, two-way communication, and valid and distortion-free data is a slow process yet absolutely essential if the quality of decision-making and planning is to be up to the long-term needs of rural villages.

C. The third dimension of the group/leadership development process is primarily concerned with the action steps required to complete some task, to achieve some goal, or to institute some change strategy. The goal-formation aspect of this whole process emphasizes the obstacles of passivity, apathy, indifference, and resistance.

R=Realization--Goal Formation

Low Realization →		High Realization →	
Coercion	Passivity	Achievement	Commitment
Guidance	Apathy/ Withdrawal	Fulfillment	Assumption of Responsibility
Manipulation	Resentment	Eagerness	Self-Determination
Resistance	Disinterest	Enthusiasm	Goal Integration
Persuasion	Indifference	Goal Setting	High Productivity
Irresponsibility	Fatalism	Excitement	Well being
Competitiveness	Extrinsic Motivation	Fervency	Shared Problem Solving
Rivalry	Diffused Goals	Involvement	Creativity
		Intrinsic Motivation	Cooperative Behavior
		Clarity of Goals	Work Satisfaction

At the group level the crucial awareness needed for step 3 is the importance of trying, doing, starting, and continuing. Some awareness of the relationship that appears to exist between coercion and passivity, manipulation and resentment, persuasion and indifference, and between forcing and apathy should be developed in step 3. Although the REF plays a crucial role in stimulating, encouraging, and supporting local leadership, the group seeking to complete the task or achieve some limited goal will gain an awareness of the satisfaction which comes from setting a goal, the excitement of watching a project develop, and the sense of expectancy in seeing a plan unfold.

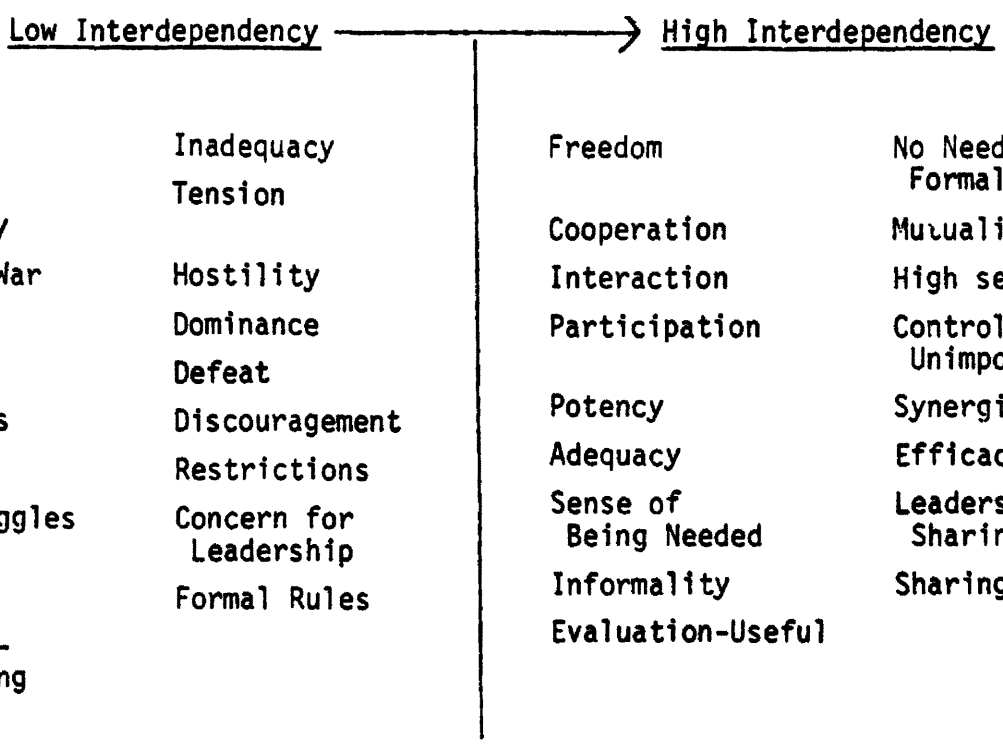
At the sectoral level, step 7 endeavors to generate an opportunity for village leaders to practice the skills needed to implement, monitor, and follow through. Specialized training in problem solving, goal setting, and action research strategies should provide such incipient leadership with the opportunity to experience the sense of achievement, eagerness, and urgency that comes from seeing a project actually implemented from beginning to end in a larger group (sector) setting.

The ultimate goal of "integrating," during step 11, is the internalization of these skills and behaviors associated with actually taking personal responsibility for a project and seeing it through to completion, that sense of deep commitment that comes to a person who totally identifies with the project being implemented. This step implies not only a sense of commitment and enthusiasm for some goal, but the actual integration of the individual's goals with his/her village's goals; also, the excitement and high productivity that comes from the feeling that one is free, not coerced; genuinely responsible without unfair persuasion; and self-determining, not forced. Integration focuses on that sense of self-fulfillment which stimulates the commitment and excitement needed for village leaders to seek a goal, implement a task, and complete a project without the support or encouragement of an REF. At this point the mode of dependency has been broken and an integration of personal and community needs and goals has been achieved. This process of internalizing such a commitment, such a sense of responsibility, and such an integration of purpose and meaning within village leaders must be acknowledged as a slow and unsteady experience--yet still, the ultimate goal of rural development.

D. The key component of the fourth dimension of the leadership/group development process is control and evaluation aimed at understanding the

process by which groups of people build the control mechanisim needed to increase effectiveness and progress. This dimension focuses on the issue of how best to structure evaluation, quality controls, and improvement over time; how to instill internal commitment to change and increased effectiveness; and how to release the potentialities of people through useful feedback, evaluation, and rethinking. It is at this step that significant growth of the individual, group, and institutional level begins to take place. The opposite of interdependency is dependency, submission and discouragement, or counterdependency, tension and hostility. Groups which have tried to implement a project and have failed feel impotent, defeated, and incompetent. Groups which have succeeded feel the exhilaration of success, accomplishment, and competency.

I=Interdependency--Control and Evaluation



In step 4 the goal of leadership training and development is to generate some awareness that the group can accomplish a task. The role of the REF is crucial at this awareness stage since the feelings of inadequacy, dependency, and uncertainty still tend to dominate. In a society characterized by authoritarian leadership styles, legalistic rules and procedures, power struggles, and counterdependency, there is little room for a spirit of interdependence to emerge among members of the group. In steps 1, 2, and 3 the REF helps increase an awareness that through a process of desiring, searching, and trying, specific project with positive results will emerge. In this early phase, when the dominant norms of distrust, suspicion, and skepticism underlie most interpersonal relationships, there is little willingness to evaluate carefully or openly to test out the success or failure of a project. If the project fails, the old patterns of apathy and discouragement will be reinforced. If the project succeeds, there may be some awareness which reaches the level of consciousness among the group members that they have, in fact, accomplished a task. Yet in this early phase, this sense of accomplishment may be weakened by the realization that it was the REF, or outsider, who is most responsible for their accomplishment. From a group development point of view, the reader should recognize how important project success is in developing these early feelings of awareness. Small projects with high probability of success constitute the formula for stimulating this positive awareness.

It is at the sectoral level of step 8 that the group may actually begin to practice the skills needed to create an environment of interdependence. The development of higher levels of trust and interpersonal competence required to develop, plan, and implement a project by themselves with only

peripheral help from an REF can set the stage for some open testing of where the members of the group are, why they are succeeding or failing, how they may begin to improve themselves and move to a higher level of competence. This step of testing is a delicate point in a group's development, for it is at this point that a group faces a key function.

If the process of testing is characterized by power struggles, formal rules and regulations, and an environment of defensiveness and tension, then the older forms of hostility, rebellion, rejection, and counterdependency will be reinforced. If, on the other hand, the process of testing encourages a participative mode of interaction, with some freedom to confront in non-evaluative ways, to interact spontaneiously with no need for formal procedures and rules, then the newer forms of high self-esteem, confidence, and cooperation will be strengthened.

In the final analysis, it is step 12 where the whole process of group leadership training and development reaches full circle. It is at this step that a group of individuals attempts to internalize the skills, the behaviors, and competencies needed to evaluate themselves without outside interference or structure. There is much evidence in the literature[1] of rural reconstruction

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[1]See: Robert Chambers, Managing Rural Development: Ideas and Experience from East Africa (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974); Elliot Morss, et. al., Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects (Boulder: Westview Press, 1976); Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience (Ithaca: Cornell University Rural Development Committee, 1974); George Honadel and Rudi Klauss, eds., International Development Administration: Implementation Analyses for Development Projects (New York: Praeger, 1979); and David K. Leonard, Reaching the Peasant Farmer: Organization Theory and Practice in Kenya (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

which documents the utility and the appropriateness of structures and interacting patterns which emphasize leadership sharing, freedom of choice in decision-making, openness in communication and significant self-awareness. The type of evaluation described here implies an openness to a review of all aspects of the process so far discussed. Once the process of self-evaluation, group evaluation, and institution evaluation is perceived to be not only useful and appropriate, but even absolutely necessary, then the locked-in potentialities for growth and improvement can be released. As feelings of impotence, weakness and fatalism, power struggles, and game playing are replaced by feelings of efficacy, strength, and confidence, a sense of being needed and the freedom to be yourself, then and only then, will an individual's, group's, or institution's full potentiality begin to emerge. That is the exciting challenge facing the rural extension facitator during the last two decades of this twentieth centry.

Postscript: A General Summary

In summary let us briefly outline some specific observations that need to be considered as the EWUMP seeks to encourage the development and implementation of a new irrigation system in the villages of Egypt. These observations are based upon a review of the literature, various interviews with officials in Egypt, and an analysis of irrigation systems being developed in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand.

What does it take to establish an irrigation system in a rural community? What kind of general observations can be made?

If the majority of the population of a village does not actively support the implementation of the projected irrigation system, the probability that the general developmental goals of the system will be attained is greatly reduced.

Where the demand for an improved irrigation system is generally not indigenous, but externally encouraged, then the higher-income, better-educated villages will be among the first to request such an improvement. Because these villages have an initial enthusiasm for the irrigation system, it remains to translate their enthusiasm into concrete action in the form of a local contribution (labor or money) to system construction cost and to operation and maintenance; to ascertain the level of service the village can afford, will be pleased with and will support; and to design and subsidize the operation and maintenance phase of the program so that the village population does not become disenchanted through inefficiencies and inadequacies.

Villages selected as having particularly high priority, but which do not themselves perceive the advantages of a new irrigation system must

receive considerable attention in the form of modern irrigation promotion and education. The objective should be to stimulate sufficient enthusiasm for an improved irrigation system so that the village would willingly make the local contributions required and would enthusiastically sanction and support its operation and maintenance. In the case of very low-income and backward villages, it is possible that the large amount of promotion necessary to stimulate an acceptable level of enthusiasm, together with the lack of sufficient local ability to assist in and support the system's operation and maintenance, could increase the costs to the extent that better uses for the funds could be found elsewhere.

In a more general sense, there are three factors which must be considered in gaining or maintaining a community's enthusiasm about a new irrigation system: promotion, community involvement, and efficient operation and maintenance. From an implementation point of view, community involvement is most crucial and is generally advocated on the psychological grounds that a community involved in a project and contributing labor or financial resources to it will value the project more highly.

Community involvement and participation may be encouraged by an irrigation promoter (Rural Extension Facilitator--REF), who helps organize a community irrigation users' committee which, among other things, decides how the community will raise its portion of the cost of construction. The community contribution may be raised in a variety of ways, including asking each family for a cash donation, holding several village benefit bazaars, and/or organizing a free labor crew to perform implementing labor, to collect local supplies and material, and to provide a general-purpose supply of unskilled labor.

In addition to the psychological and obvious financial reasons for advocating community involvement, there may also be solid economic reasons for supporting such a policy. For example, community involvement, by providing local labor for construction, could lower the real cost of the project because of the general underemployment in the rural areas of Egypt, at least in certain parts of the year. If construction should take place other than at harvest or planting time, then the opportunity cost of the labor involved could be close to zero. Of course, a community contribution of labor would require additional promotional or supervisory time, a factor tending to reduce somewhat the real cost advantage of the free labor. Moreover, while ministries of regional or rural development often pay lip service to the economic advantages of self-help schemes, irrigation engineers frequently take a more pessimistic view, citing the problems of labor organization, quality control, and efficiency.

The administration of new, improved irrigation systems for rural Egypt may be viewed as composed of three interrelated stages: planning, construction, and operation and maintenance. As the EWUMP seeks to implement small farmer participation projects in rural Egypt, the following general observations need to be considered:

1. A number of factors can be considered in choosing <u>who should and who will benefit</u> from a new, improved irrigation system. This program may have many objectives: more efficient use of water, greater effective use of the irrigation system, less salinization, higher yields per feddan, improved health, economic development, real income redistribution, and greater community involvement in the patterns of water use.

2. Although a more efficient irrigation system for residents of an Egyptian village may be a necessary condition for significant economic development, it is clearly not sufficient--even as a catalyst--to achieve this objective.

3. A strategy of assigning the highest priority for an improved irrigation system to the smaller, poorer, and least educated rural villages is a high cost and extremely risky venture. These villages generally have higher per capita construction costs and have difficulty contributing financial resources to construction or levying charges adequate to cover even operation and maintenance expenses.

4. Investing in complementary programs (health, education, crop improvement, feeder roads, marketing information, etc.) will increase the probability that the irrigation system will have an economic development impact on an area.

5. In the design and construction of an improved irrigation project, technology should be kept as simple as possible, so that local villagers will be able to operate and maintain the system for long periods of time in the absence of a qualified engineer.

6. The major problem associated wtih providing an effective irrigation system in the rural areas of Egypt relates to the operation and maintenance of such systems. It will be difficult to find villages where the system will work precisely as planned (both technically and financially), and it will probably be common for even relatively new systems to be functioning at a very low level of effectiveness.

7. Assigning a high priority for a new irrigation system to villages able to pay a use fee at least sufficient to cover operation and maintenance

expenses, and enthusiastic about receiving such an improved facility, increases the probability that the irrigation system will remain operational for a significant period of time.

8. There is some evidence that villages tend to value their new irrigation system more highly, make better use of it, and operate and maintain it more efficiently when they have contributed resources (labor or money) to help cover some of the construction costs and are paying user fees which at least cover operation and maintenance expenses.

9. There is some evidence that a community irrigation system that requires a contribution (labor or money) from village population may be used as a catalyst to stimulate a community organizational infrastructure which will continue to function after the new irrigation system has been completed.

The implication of this final summary should be obvious. The planning, development, implementation, and maintenance of a new system of irrigation for the rural areas of Egypt will require a carefully designed, integrated approach involving Egyptian and American technical experts, rural development facilitators, and the rural farmers themselves. Although the technical competency of the EWUMP Staff is acknowledged to be first-rate, and the administrative commitment of top management in this project is superior to most rural development projects observed, and the irrigation system being developed can potentially help the farmer in numerous ways--the crucial issues are still in the areas of organizational communication, leadership training and development, and the difficult process of establishing a self-sustaining mechanism for involving local peasants in this project. Once again we re-emphasize that the major purpose of this project is to

develop appropriate strategies, procedures, and techniques which the farmers of Egypt will find useful and appropriate. This project, no doubt, will develop many pages of useful information, data, and documentation, but if the farmers do not recognize and accept this information and use it, this particular project will be less than successful given its commitment to farmer involvement. This is, in the final analysis, the key challenge facing the Egypt Water Use and Management Project today.