Chapter 2

DEVELOPMENT

(i) Introduction

Following the discussions on pluralism, consideration was given by the Seminar to issues involved in development.

Lead papers were presented on certain aspects of development by Mr. George McRobie, Director (Communications) of the Intermediate Technology Development Group, and the Hon. K. Jagatsingh, Minister of Economic Planning and Development in Mauritius. In the presentation of his paper Mr. McRobie highlighted the urgent need for eradication of poverty in the rural areas. He emphasised the role of appropriate technologies in modernising the rural sector and in generating employment opportunities. The Hon. K. Jagatsingh, while examining the implications of pluralism in furthering development, emphasized in the context of the Mauritian experience how pluralism, rather than being an obstacle, could prove an asset to development.

The two lead papers presented by the lead speakers are reproduced in section (ii) below.

After general discussions in the plenary sessions immediately following each presentation, participants met in two separate groups for a detailed examination of the issues. Subsequent to the group discussions a joint session was held to facilitate exchange of views and experience. A summary of discussions is recorded in section (iii) of this chapter.

(ii) Lead papers

SOME ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

by
the Hon. Kher Jagatsingh
Minister of Economic Planning and Development
Government of Mauritius

First of all I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and through you the Commonwealth Secretariat for inviting me to address this seminar of young people who have come from a large number of islands. I am particularly pleased and feel honoured to have been asked to speak on the challenging theme of Pluralism and Development in Island Communities, which is so relevant to my country.

Before dealing with the main subject of this seminar, I would like to

make a few observations. First, I am in doubt whether the basic assumption is that pluralism in our kind of society is an advantage or a hindrance. Secondly, in the absence of well-defined parameters, I have taken the liberty of deciding on my personal approach to the problem. I am going to draw heavily, therefore, from our own experience in Mauritius. It is also necessary for me to state that here I am speaking more in my personal capacity than as a Member of the Government.

At the risk of repeating things which you may know already, I feel I must give you a brief background of how our plural society in Mauritius came to be constituted.

In Mauritius there has never been any indigenous population. To whatever section of the community we may belong, we are all people who have been brought into Mauritius at different points of time. Those who came first were the colonisers. The Spanish and the Portuguese hardly took any interest in Mauritius. The French, who already had a foothold in the Far East, realised that Mauritius was important to them if they were to consolidate their position in Asia. The Suez Canal was not yet opened and consequently Mauritius assumed great strategic importance. As you are also aware, the British and the French were competing with each other in their colonising thrust on the Indian sub-continent and in South-east Asia. The British also found out that it was important for them to take possession of Mauritius, which they did in 1810.

The French who came here started developing the sugar plantations, and slaves constituted the bulk of the labour force. After the abolition of slavery, the slaves refused to work on the sugar plantations and therefore the then sugar magnates of Mauritius turned to India from where they brought large numbers of identured labourers. A sprinkling of Chinese also came to Mauritius so that today the composition of our plural society from an ethnic point of view is as follows:-

People of Indian origin:	68%
General Population :	29%
People of Chinese origin:	3%

The term "General Population" refers to people of Christian faith, who include the descendants of slaves brought from Africa and Madagascar and those of the early French and English settlers.

It is a fact of life in Mauritius that the social and economic development of the country took place on almost ethnic lines. People of Indian origin took to agriculture and the Chinese more or less confined themselves to trading. The descendants of the slaves who had become Christians had the benefit of getting education much earlier than the rest of the population, excluding, of course, the small elite minority of Franco-Mauritians. The fact that the members of the Creole community became Christians means that they automatically adopted Western civilization and culture as their own.

In a later phase of social and economic development the Indians and the Chinese got their share; they came to acquire education rather late. All these factors put together constitute the background of the present population of Mauritius, which explains the various tendencies and attitudes which govern the relationship between the various sections of our people. Today when we look at the situation in Mauritius we find that a small section of the Mauritian population has a tremendously disproportionate economic hold

in our society. This is an unhealthy state of affairs. And to correct this situation without disturbing the coherence of our society remains the basic challenge of our development efforts today.

It is equally true that within the development process in Mauritius we have often found some communal undertones but even so I must say that in our case I do not find pluralism an obstacle to development. I think this is due mostly to the fact that we have managed in the last thirty years or so to provide education to all our people so that today the literacy rate in Mauritius is almost 100%. We have also provided equal opportunity to all sections of the people, but education remains the most important social catalyst which has given Mauritius a remarkably coherent and united society. I must also make it a point to state that this has been possible as a result of deliberate political action by the Mauritius Labour Party which has provided political leadership to this country for the last thirty-nine years.

Having said this, I come to my basic remark which is that pluralism is an asset and must not be regarded as an obstacle. The kinds of stresses and strains that do exist in our type of society also exist in societies with homogenous populations where they may appear in completely different forms. In Mauritius where more than 60% of our population is under 25 and more than 50% are under 21 we have a tremendous challenge to face and I can say with a certain amount of satisfaction that we have been able to chart for ourselves the proper path for development.

When we became independent in 1968, we had on our hands two major problems: one was a large number of educated young people who were in good health and who were out of jobs; secondly, our economy, which is heavily dependent upon sugar, was in jeopardy because the international sugar price had fallen to its lowest point ever. It was in a situation like this that we started scientific economic planning. We said to ourselves that development which was geared only to increasing the GNP and which would leave the unemployment situation almost intact would have no meaning for us, and therefore in our Development Strategy we dethroned the GNP and put in its place employment creation as our basic objective.

I would like at this stage to observe that unemployment is one of the most dehumanising factors in any society and we believe that development devoid of humanism is sheer illusion because it will not create a society of human beings but will perpetuate a society where man will find pleasure in exploiting man. We have managed to generate a large number of employment opportunities in Mauritius and today, fortunate as we are, sugar prices are doing well and we are in a position to create a society where our people will be happy. As you must have seen yourselves, in Mauritius we have eliminated absolute poverty; you will not see in Mauritius the kind of poverty which has become a normal feature in many developing nations, although I must admit that there are still in Mauritius a few pockets of relative poverty, which I have no doubt will be eliminated very soon. Successful economic development can provide the basic foundation of a united and coherent society in a country where there are people of various ethnic origins. It is a fact that in a plural society people will tend to accentuate their differences instead of what they have in common if the economic set-up is unable to provide the basic necessities for all the members of that society.

We are meeting at a time when not only the islands but the whole world is facing a tremendous crisis. In our island communities, where elites educated in the West are the rulers, there has been a tendency to impose upon our communities political institutions which have often no relevance to our respective situations. In my view this is one of the reasons why very often in our societies there are stresses and strains.

The world is not only facing a crisis in the economic field but it is facing a greater crisis in the field of ideology. We have to find out whether the kind of ideologies we import are relevant and can lead to the solution of our problems. I believe this is a point which this seminar should really look into. Our meeting is taking place at a time when the whole concept of the Western civilisation is being questioned. The simple decision of the oil-producing nations to claim higher prices for their product has generated a crisis in our civilisation the like of which we have never seen before. There is going to be in the future a tremendous search for raw materials and we in the third world are the peoples who hold a large percentage of these raw materials.

There is today a definite shortage of raw materials and it appears that the resources of the land mass are likely to be exhausted in twenty-five years or so. Whether this is true or not, the fact remains that as from now there is going to be a world-wide search for basic raw materials on the ocean beds and it is in this context that we island communities are going to find ourselves in the midst of the international power game. We have therefore to be careful. It is not difficult to foresee that in this international power game a lot of pressures will be exerted on us and one of the subtlest means would be the attempt of the major powers to create instability in our respective countries. In the name of development and progress our institutions would be wrecked and our people would be turned into the instrument responsible for our perpetual underdevelopment. Development means change and in the nameof change our opponents will not hesitate to ensure the slow but certain disintegration of our respective societies. Another means of creating instability is cultural confrontation which can be easily set in train in societies like ours.

I have a definite feeling that this has already started in Mauritius. The very idea of trying to impose Creole as a national language in Mauritius represents a negative approach to the cultural situation of Mauritius. The acceptance of Creole as a so-called "unifying" factor in the Mauritian context means the death of all the other cultures and languages represented in Mauritius. This is one of the greatest dangers threatening the unity of our people. To make of Creole the national language of Mauritius will mean the death of Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, Arabic and even English and French. I am glad to say that in Mauritius a large number of people reject this idea and prefer to foster unity out of diversity. Uniformity does not necessarily mean unity. I hope that this kind of cultural confrontation will not be prompted from outside your respective communities.

As islanders we are often told that we must reclaim land in order to expand our land areas. This is very good and this is very true. We are also told that we must be careful about ecological destruction and pollution. This is equally good and equally important. I do not wish to discount the threats of pollution or the need for land reclamation, but I say that the worst form of pollution is poverty and the basic challenge facing all of us is to reclaim human beings from the shackles of poverty.

Getting out of these shackles does not merely mean higher wages and the consequential material benefits. In his search for identity Man also needs something more than cars and refrigerators. I have found that in poor societies as well as in very rich societies there is a lot of violence and social disturbance. Very often this is due to the fact that the young people are being deculturised and alienated from the rest of the community in the name of revolution. All this is lop-sided development. We in Mauritius believe in the total development of Man.

You have already been in Mauritius for a few days and I wish to extend to you all, although belatedly, a warm and cordial welcome. I also hope that during the rest of your stay in Mauritius you will make many friends and exchange your views and in the process enrich each other. I feel that you will see for yourselves to what extent we have managed, in spite of all the difficulties, to create a united people out of the diversity of origins of Mauritians. I am sure you will see how we have converted pluralism into a positive asset.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: SMALL IS POSSIBLE

by
Mr. George McRobie
Director (Communications)
Intermediate Technology Development Group

That there is a close relationship between racial or cultural pluralism and economic development hardly needs to be emphasized or elaborately spelled out. Many of the tensions in pluralistic societies have deep roots in economic deprivation or inequality, at worst reflected in political and social institutions which perpetuate and aggravate these conditions. Certainly there is more likelihood that people will live in reasonable harmony if they are not desperately competing for - or excluded from - access to work and a decent livelihood. My starting point is therefore that a healthy economy is unquestionably a necessary, if not by itself a sufficient, condition for people of different cultures to live and work together without engaging in damaging conflict. In relatively small island communities, both the tensions inherent in pluralism and the condition of the economy are more clearly defined, if only because the need for collaboration between people, and for economic improvement and self-sufficiency, are heightened by geographical isolation.

Unfortunately, few, if any, developing economies provide a healthy economic environment in which at least the economic causes of conflict can be minimized. And what is strikingly evident is that in spite of the great variety of conditions among developing countries in terms of geography, climate, populations and resources, there is an extraordinary uniformity in the problems that confront them. Whether we look at small island economies, or vast subcontinents, the problem is essentially the same, namely, gross unemployment and under-employment of people and of natural resources, and rapid migration to the cities.

To get some insight into the reasons for this widespread malaise, we have to start by looking at the so-called "developed" or highly

industrialized countries, whose aid programmes, commercial activities and educational structures have determined many of the critical economic changes that have taken place in the developing countries during the past two decades. In particular we must consider the technologies, the production equipment, that has been and is being installed in the developing countries and constitutes the major part of this aid and development effort.

The industrialised countries are rich, highly urbanised, and well furnished with many kinds of highly specialized scientific, engineering and technical skills. Their technologies are correspondingly capital (and energy) intensive, geared to mass production for mass markets, expensive and complex. A great deal of the skill and money invested in them is directed towards saving labour, or, as it is often put, "the elimination of the human factor".

The developing countries, in contrast, are poor and short of capital; the bulk of their peoole are rural and small town dwellers with very low incomes and without sophisticated scientific and engineering skills.

When the production equipment of the industrialized countries is transferred to poor countries, it does not fit into their economic and social environment. If the cost of creating one new workplace in manufacturing industry is upwards of £3000 (as it is in Western Europe), a poor country cannot afford to create many new workplaces: but this is the overriding need. Mass production methods (which correspondingly require mass consumption) do not meet the needs of markets that are small, scattered, and often seasonal. Nor can poor countries afford much by way of the spares, specialized new materials and fuels required by the capital-intensive equipment. Above all, poor countries whose main task is to find productive work for their rural people do not stand much in need of labour-saving machinery. No one ever learnt new skills or earned a better livelihood by having his or her labour "saved".

These are some of the chief reasons why capital-intensive technologies have failed to meet the needs of poor countries. Reliance upon these technologies in effect means equating industrialisation with the capacity to import equipment and its supporting imports; it means becoming increasingly dependent upon the industrialized countries, instead of increasingly self-reliant, excluding the majority of the population from active participation in new forms of production, and perpetuating the poverty of rural areas.

The last point is of particular relevance to island economies. To a large extent the "development problem" as between rich and poor countries lies in the fact that the industrialized countries, deluded by notions of limitless economic growth, have built up very sophisticated processes - some would call them "robber economies" - for securing supplies of raw materials, minerals and fuels, transforming them into manufactured goods and selling them back to the rest of the world, and to each other. Increasingly, and rightly, suppliers of raw materials are demanding that some or all of the processing - the "value added" to raw materials by work - should be done in their own countries. What is often overlooked is that the same argument applies within developing countries, as between the rural areas (the equivalent of the developing world) and the cities (the equivalent of industrialized countries). One of the greatest needs is to maximize the "value added" as near as possible to the point of production, that is in the rural areas themselves, where raw materials are produced. This could effectively bring industry into the rural areas.

But large-scale technology does not fit into the rural areas - or small islands. If such small communities - which between them account for some 80 per cent of all people in the poor countries - are to raise their living standards, they need technologies appropriate to their economic and social circumstances. That is, they need technologies that are relatively cheap, small, simple to make and maintain, and capable of using indigenous raw materials in their manufacture and operation.

There is now a growing awareness of the critical role of technology in development. It is no exaggeration to say that the choice of technology is perhaps the most critical choice confronting developing countries. For it determines who works and who does not, where work is done, and therefore the distribution of the population, and its associated infra-structure; it is a major influence upon patterns of consumption, upon the kind of education required, and upon economic relations with other countries. (It is not only the "technology" of tourism that is culturally loaded!) The choice of productive equipment is therefore a decisive factor among those which unify or divide a community or a society.

Appropriate technologies

We can sum up this approach to the diagnosis and understanding of technology and development in the following propositions:

> that the source and centre of world poverty lies primarily in the rural areas of poor countries, which are largely by-passed by aid and development as currently practised;
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> that the rural areas will continue to be by-passed and unemployment will continue to grow, unless self-help technologies are made available to the poor countries with assistance in their use;
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> that the donor countries and agencies do not at present possess the necessary organised knowledge of adapted, appropriate technologies and communications to be able to assist effectively in rural development on the scale required; and
>
> that unless the disease of poverty is tackled at its source, in the rural areas, outside the big cities, it will continue to manifest itself in three ways - mass migration into cities, mass unemployment, and the persistent threat (or actuality) of mass starvation.

This was the starting point of the Intermediate Technology Group, which was started some ten years ago with the object of discovering, devising and making known practical information on low-cost, simple technologies for rural development.

The gap in knowledge of such technologies is a wide one, because in practice, within conventional aid and development programmes, there is no major political or commercial impetus towards offering poor countries any real choice of technologies, especially along the size-scale towards equipment that can be wholly made locally, uses indigenous materials and serves local needs. One could envisage, say, three 'levels' of technology that are required to fill the information gap: the technology that suits the family, the village or community, and the market town or small regional centre, in ascending levels of cost and sophistication and volume of output.

Within these categories it is possible to enumerate a very large number of possible technologies. But there are certain basic and fairly universal needs to guide us in setting priorities. These are the manufacturing and processing activities related to food, clothing, shelter, health, culture, about which detailed, practical information would go a long way towards filling the existing "information gap" and giving choices to people who now have none. The list below is not exhaustive, but serves to illustrate the range of new activities that could be developed in rural areas within the modest ambit of basic human needs.

Agricultural production - tools and equipment for ground preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting, along with the basic tools and techniques required for their manufacture: blacksmithing, welding, woodworking.

Water supply (horticultural) - equipment for storing, lifting, moving water.

Crop processing - shellers, winnowers, mills, oil extractors, decorticators, fertiliser and feedstuff manufacture, and by-products. (This would include processing of a wide range of products from biological resources).

Storage - storage equipment appropriate for different crops, using local materials.

Food preservation - metal and glass containers, cooking utensils, equipment for smoking, sun-drying; packaging for different foods.

Clothing - equipment for ginning, spinning, weaving, for cotton and wool; manufacture of dyes and finishing materials; tailoring equipment; leather tanning, manufacture - footwear, animal harness.

Shelter - brick and tile making, lime burning, cement substitutes, small-scale cement production; soil stabilisation; timber production and by-products; cast and forged metal fittings.

Consumer goods (not included above) - household utensils, equipment for pottery and ceramics, furniture, soap, sugar, domestic water supply including water purification and sanitation, cooking stoves, fuel, toys.

Community goods and services - school and medical clinic equipment, road-making, bridge-building, water supply, power sources and equipment, transport; and data and equipment required to operate institutions such as health clinics and co-operatives, work-based education, and training-through-production programmes.

For each identifiable manufacturing activity (there are obviously more than this list suggests) we should aim to provide at least two or three levels of technology, to cater both for people who are wholly or partly outside the market economy, as well as for those who are already within a market system.

In the IT Group, our first objective is to mobilise existing data on IT-level technologies and from this to indicate obvious gaps, or areas where new research and development work needs to be done, and to outline proposals for carrying out this work. That is, the aim is to start with a "state of the art" survey, which should briefly describe the conventional, high-cost, "modern" method, describe existing alternatives, indicating their limitations or deficiencies, and propose work programmes to improve

them - or devise new technologies to fill the gaps.

This approach lends itself to dealing with the three broad categories that arise in IT work, namely

a) where there exist a range of technologies which, on the face of it, are reasonably adequate to meet needs of small, poor communities. Thus there are many types of, say, water pumps and hand-looms already in existence; the task is to identify pros and cons of a number of types, indicate how they are made or where bought, and what they can - and cannot - do. Foundry work is a good example. The same applies to hand-made bricks; enough is known - on the basis of experience - to adapt this technology well down the size-scale.

b) where there are no obvious, reasonably efficient small-scale technologies; e.g. cement manufacture, cotton spinning. In these cases we have to "point up" the gaps, and suggest ways of filling them. In such instances as cement, we have the alternative of (i) working on redesigning a plant to make it small, on the paperpulp machine model; and (ii) providing an alternative, i.e. limebrick mortars, etc., or both; and

c) where the technology is relatively "new" and there is no body of current or recent experience to draw upon, e.g. most forms of unconventional power sources and devices, or the application of modern scientific knowledge to old arts, such as chemicals from biological sources. In such cases a "state of the art" survey needs to be followed by specific programmes for design and field testing.

It is only through a sustained, systematic effort on these lines that an adequate flow of self-help technologies can begin to reach potential users, people whose problem is not that of the rich - how to get best value for money - but quite a different problem - how to turn their labour into something useful.

Knowledge: sources and methods

Ways of acquiring the necessary knowledge of low-cost technologies will obviously depend, among other things, on the history of the technology and the pattern of development in the country where the work is started. In the IT Group we have developed a structure of Panels and Working Groups of expert voluntary advisers to guide and advise on the work. Currently, IT project officers are working under our agriculture, construction, building materials, water, and power panels, and a small team of engineers operates the Group's Industrial Liaison Unit. The panels on Chemistry and Chemical Engineering, Co-operatives, Forestry, Rural Health and Transport are without full-time project staff, but are nevertheless pursuing work programmes which have resulted in useful publications and, in the case of Chemistry, also in consultancy work overseas.

Through the panel membership, liaison with a number of university research departments has been built up, as well as collaboration with government research establishments. A special unit of the Group, the Industrial Liaison Unit, concentrates on small-scale engineering processes.

The systematic investigation and sifting of material already published is obviously a major source of practical data. Much of the Group's published

information also derives from practical work carried out by its own staff or associates. Thus new work has been done - ranging from complete redesign and production to relatively minor modification - on a small-scale paper-pulp manufacturing unit, brick-works, iron foundry, a wide range of agricultural and hospital equipment, ferro-cement boats, water catchment tanks and pumps. Original work has also been done on small-scale organisation, training and business procedures in the construction industry, co-operatives, and rural health. Most of the results of this work are already included in the Group's publications.

Communication

Low-cost technology lacks an effective communication/delivery system. Information on high-cost, energy-intensive technologies is promoted by government aid, by large companies, by the education system, and by media of all kinds. The task of communicating low-cost technology is also more difficult, not only because it is less familiar to design-makers, but also because we are trying to reach people in a field where there are no clearly established channels of communication, nor are the more effective methods known.

Above all, and this requires particular emphasis, we are not dealing with a situation in which the demand for low-cost technologies can arise independently of the supply of information about them. All over the world people simply do not know that there are low-cost alternatives. This applies almost universally to people in rural areas. As far as administrators and decision-makers are concerned, if they have been educated in the rich countries the chances are that not only do they not know about such alternatives, but they may well be prejudiced against them - the familiar "second-best" argument. The primary task of organisations such as ours is that of making known that effective, low-cost alternatives do exist or can be created. Until this has been done, it can hardly be expected that a demand for them will arise on a large scale.

Over the past few years our published information has been built up within three main categories:

a) detailed specifications and drawings of equipment, e.g. agricultural, hospital etc.

b) guides to sources of equipment, and step-by-step manuals, e.g. animal-drawn equipment, building and water manuals; annotated bibliographies and other source material; industrial profiles, e.g. foundry, leather.

c) detailed project reports of field operations, e.g. agricultural equipment projects in Zambia and Nigeria, water catchment and storage work in the Caribbean, Brazil and Ethiopia. Reports of consultancies, e.g. small-scale chemical development in Pakistan.

d) reports on any of the lines above published by other organisations and distributed by the IT Publications unit by arrangement.

The recently-launched Journal of Appropriate Technology is in a special category, as it is an international forum for news, exchange of information, previews of major reports, and a means of linking practitioners in the field of low-cost technology.

In the longer run by far the most important way of communicating data on low-cost technologies is through the development of indigenous organisations in the developing countries themselves. It is only through such centres that the knowledge and practice of low-cost technologies can become widespread and become an integral part of people's development. Focal points of this kind are now increasing in number. The IT Group have been associated with the growth of some - notably those of Ghana, India and Pakistan (which has recently been started with substantial government support) and the further development of such centres is high on our list of priorities. These may start as focal points for the assembly of data on low-cost technologies from outside sources, but can rapidly develop indigenous resources of research and development, of dissemination, and the promotion of field application. In other instances they can immediately begin to mobilise sources of information and research and development within their own countries, as well as drawing on outside sources. Ideally an appropriate technology unit of this kind should be brought in at the inception of every government's plans for development.

I will conclude by giving two instances of work on appropriate technologies now going on in developing countries, and which are pointing to the future. One is at the Technology Consultancy Centre at the University of Kumasi in Ghana. This unit, started only two years ago, is already handling a large number of enquiries relating to local manufacture, has set up proto-type production units on the campus for the manufacture of steel bolts, soap, weaving, ceramics, and materials for housing; similar units for pharmacy and schools science equipment are now being planned.

The other example could hardly be more topical. It is on the campus where this conference is being held. The School of Industrial Technology has in progress a series of projects which include technologies directly relevant to the needs of Mauritius and other island economies; for instance, on the use of bamboo as a reinforcing material, the use of soil cement in building, bagasse reinforced concrete, a low-cost shear box for testing soil strength, harnessing of shore houses for power production, solar power, concrete boats. The Universities of Zambia and Papua New Guinea are two others where similar units seem likely to be set up soon.

All of those who are engaged on such work - and we are a rapidly growing band - are informed by the knowledge that all the technologies required by people in small communities can be adapted or devised to meet their needs; and in very large measure economic development, in our lifetimes, not only in the developing world but in the industrialised countries too, will be shaped by the extent to which small communities can make themselves increasingly self-sufficient and self-reliant.

(iii) Summary of discussions

Many of the tensions within a society have deep roots in economic deprivation and inequality, which are further aggravated by political and social institutions. The Seminar recognised that balanced economic growth held the key to the development of societies and offered the best means of correcting social imbalance and inequality, and promoting greater social mobility by breaking down the traditional barriers which divide societies.

2. In examining the concept of development as generally understood, the Seminar identified the following broad patterns of growth in the more developed societies, representing the rich industrialised countries:

i. a relatively high degree of industrialisation which is capital-intensive, with emphasis on labour-saving techniques;

ii. measurement of growth in terms of addition to the gross national product and increase in the per capita income;

iii. emphasis on export of manufactured goods and the necessity for world markets; and

iv. relatively high emphasis placed on standards of mass consumption in judging the standard of living.

3. The Seminar participants examined the relevance of these broad indicators to their respective societies, and stressed the need for issues of development to be considered in the context of island communities. In identifying the principal characteristics of island communities at different stages of development, the following aspects received emphasis:

i. relative backwardness of the rural sector, which is in most cases dependent on subsistence or near subsistence agriculture;

ii. economic dependence of most of the small communities on the more developed countries, and imports varying from food to consumer goods;

iii. reliance on one-crop economies, and dependence on primary products, which account for the bulk of their exports;

iv. growing populations, which add to the labour force, but relatively low levels of labour productivity;

v. increasing unemployment and underemployment and the need in this context for an appropriate strategy for generation of employment opportunities, with a view to absorbing the labour force.

4. The trends towards modernisation, in most of these small communities, were seen in terms of a certain compulsion to industrialise. The Seminar noted some of the major obstacles to development, such as dependence on the more developed countries in respect of technology and know-how, lack of organisational and entrepreneurial skills, lack of adequate capital for investment and inadequacy of trained manpower, which was further accentuated by the emigration of the bulk of trained manpower to the more developed countries.

5. The implications of emigration on development were considered in two dimensions:

(a) emigration from rural areas to urban centres, thereby denuding the rural sector of its natural leaders; and

(b) emigration of educated and trained manpower to more developed countries, which often poses the problem of brain drain.

6. The following aspects of development were emphasised in the context of the economies of the island communities:

i. generation of employment opportunities through the adoption of capital-saving and labour-intensive technologies;

ii. diversification of agriculture, where agriculture continued to be in a relatively backward state;

iii. the need for import substitution, particularly in terms of satisfying requirements of the domestic economy and minimising the importation of foodstuffs;

iv. the relevance of appropriate technology in diversifying the economy.

7. It was also noted that development should be seen not only in terms of economic growth, but as a means of promoting the balanced development of a society and ensuring the eradication of inequalities and inter-sectoral as well as inter-regional imbalances. Development, it was emphasised, should concern itself with the improvement of the quality of life prevailing in any society and need not be limited to economic factors only.

8. After a general discussion on the economies of the island members of the Commonwealth represented at the Seminar, the following types of economies were identified:

i. economies where the main industry was tourism and the bulk of the GDP derived therefrom, e.g. the Bahamas;

ii. single-crop plantation economies (especially sugar plantations, as in Mauritius) dependent on exports;

iii. economies with a highly developed manufacturing sector, like Singapore and Hong Kong, where international trade makes a significant contribution to national development;

iv. rural economies having the potential for diversification and employment generation, particularly in the areas of agro-based industries and fisheries development.

9. The Seminar discussed in detail the implications of the patterns of economy mentioned above, in so far as they promoted development within the relevant island community.

Tourism

10. It was recognised that in some of the islands which depended almost exclusively on tourist development, the investment was in terms of foreign capital and enterprise, resulting in expatriation of profits in bulk to the source of investment. Consideration was given to developments in the

hotel industries allied to tourism, and the following action suggested, with a view to maximisation of economic benefits:

a. equity participation in hotel industries;

b. the imposition of limits on expatriation of profits;

c. the enforcement of exchange control regulations;

d. incentives for investment of local capital;

e. the training of indigenous entrepreneurs to play key roles and assume responsibilities in respect of the promotion of tourism;

f. substitution of imports - particularly consumption goods - related to the tourist trade.

11. The position of ownership and control of vital financial investments and major financial institutions was considered in the above context, and the Seminar noted certain significant trends towards nationalisation in some countries. In examining the available options, viz. free enterprise, state enterprise and mixed economies, it was felt that in each case the relative merits of any particular approach should be seen in terms of its relevance to the economic objectives and ideological requirements of the country concerned.

Plantation-based economies

12. The dependence of primary products, such as sugar, tea and rubber, on export markets was noted, and the need was emphasized in this context to ensure maximum protection against market fluctuations in price.

13. The Seminar also noted the development of substitutes, which were likely to affect the demand for primary products. Mention was made of the jute market being affected by the increasing use of synthetics, and the use of tea bags adversely affecting the volume of tea exports in some countries. It was also noted that as an insurance against sudden fluctuations in the demand for primary products, efforts should be directed towards product research and processing, which were likely to guarantee better holding capacity and bargaining power for the primary producers.

14. Mention was made of primary products which were either refined or processed in foreign countries. It was emphasised that the possibilities of undertaking locally the refining and processing of primary products, being essentially labour-intensive, should be seriously considered. Such an approach, it was strongly felt, had the additional potential of generating employment opportunities in this sector.

Diversification of the agricultural and allied sector:

15. In examining the relatively backward state of agriculture, the Seminar took note of the history of aversion to working on the land in certain communities. Some of the main reasons for employment opportunities in the agricultural sector not being filled were identified as follows:

i. social unacceptability of certain kinds of jobs;

ii. failure of the educational system in orientating young people towards rural occupations;

iii. absence of improved methods of farming, which besides adding to the drudgery, made farm jobs unremunerative; and

iv. lack of a proper wage incentive structure and poor conditions of work.

16. The implications of land tenure systems on land utilisation patterns were discussed, and it was felt that in the absence of security of tenure and lack of occupancy rights, there were no incentives in certain cases for developing lands or increasing productivity. The urgent need for land reforms in guaranteeing land rights to the tiller and the imposition of a "punitive" tax in cases of non-utilisation of agricultural lands were recommended as some of the measures which might be taken in improving prospects of land utilisation.

17. The role of intermediate technology in diversifying the agricultural and rural sector was emphasized. Some of the possibilities were felt to be:

i. crop-processing, including packaging;

ii. agro-based industries;

iii. storage and refrigeration.

18. While emphasizing the need for the generation of additional employment opportunities in the agricultural sector, it was strongly felt that employment creation should be related to increasing productivity and promoting growth of the rural sector.

19. The Seminar also examined in this context the role of extensive relief work and crash programmes for employment and rural development work as some of the approaches adopted in creating employment opportunities. While recognising the political necessity for them, it was felt that most of these methods did not directly stimulate growth, and had only limited value as temporary expedients.

Resources of the sea

20. The Seminar considered the possibilities for increased utilisation of the resources of the sea by the island communities themselves. The following areas were identified:

i. fisheries development;

ii. exploration of the sea-bed;

iii. development of merchant-shipping;

iv. scientific investigations, especially in the field of marine biology.

21. It was noted that island communities, although surrounded by the sea, were at a disadvantage in fully exploiting its resources on account of:

i. lack of accessibility to improved techniques of fishing, particularly trawler fishing;

ii. unavailability of funds for investment as well as for meeting the costs of sophisticated equipment;

iii. stiff competition from the major world powers, which almost hold a monopoly of associated trades;

iv. absence of adequate international legislation guaranteeing rights to the utilisation of resources.

22. It was recommended that:

i. island communities should form a common front to present their problems at the international level and their rights should be guaranteed under the laws of the sea;

ii. the means of enforcing regulations established should be clearly defined; and

iii. the inequality of the bargaining power of island communities should be taken into consideration in enforcing the provision of law.