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Workshop of:

Human settlements in New Lands:

Their Design and Development

Means of Implementing the Design:
Organization Administration

By

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WORKSHOP ON

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS IN NEW LANDS: THEIR DESIGN AND

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Discussion on

Means of Implementing the Design: Organization
Administration

Introduced by

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INTRODUCTION

In introducing the workshop topic concerning the means of implementing
the design of new settlements, their organization and administration, I
would like to address myself to two main questions, which are, namely:

(1) the problem of selecting the appropriate organizational

model for human resettlement; and

(2) the problem of administering the selected organizational

model in order to achieve the goals of resettlement.

My basic assumption in dealing with the organization and administration
of human resettlement is that the appropriate organizational model of any
resettlement project is highly dependent on the objectives or preferences
which the design or plan tries to achieve. Therefore, the appropriate
organizational model for any resettlement project is the model which
enables the planner to maximize the achievements of his objectives at a
given cost.

As for the second problem, given the appropriate organizational model
for a human resettlement project, what is the administrative structure
most appropriate for operating the selected organizational model in a way
that maximizes the achievement of the project's goals?

In my opinion, the first problem of selecting the appropriate organi-
zational model for a given human resettlement project is, in fact, a
choice between (1) an organizational structure which provides for the full
participation of settlers in running their project (i.e., allows for

participative management) and (2) an organizational model which provides no means for settler participation in the running of their own project (i.e., structured for non-participative management).

Naturally, these two models represent the two extremes of a continuum on which organizational models could exist. Some people may immediately place the first model on the "right" side of the continuum and the second model on the "left" extreme, or visa versa, but let us avoid such misleading value judgements and confess from the beginning that it is doubtful whether either model can be said to ever have existed and that almost all known organizational models fall somewhere in between the two extremes.

Thus one could safely say that the choice between organizational models is a choice between various degrees of freedom of participation for the settlers in the decision-making process concerning their project.

As for the second problem confronting planners when considering the administration of human resettlement projects, the choice seems to be between: (1) an independent administration which does not form an integral part of the regular government machinery; (2) administration by the regular government machinery; and (3) joint administration between the project machinery and the regular government machinery. Again, the choice is not that simple for there are a multiplicity and complexity of factors which affect final selection.

In trying to discuss these questions, I shall refrain from dealing with specific country examples at any length since these will come out in

the course of the discussion. Further, no one approach will be advocated
at the expense of any other, but rather, it is the aim of this paper to
clarify the issues so that when examples and case studies are brought to
our attention in the discussion we can more objectively determine which
approach is more appropriate to a specific project in the light of its
particular goals and objectives.

TYPES OF RESETTLEMENT

Before proceeding any further, it is first necessary to distinguish between the different ways in which human resettlement can occur in order to define the types of human resettlement with which this paper is concerned.

Human beings can be said to be resettled as a result of natural or man-made disasters, or as a result of developmental efforts to improve the level of welfare of nations. Natural or man-made disasters most often result in a refugee unplanned type of resettlement which mainly requires a relief approach to maintain the mass of displaced persons until they are able to go back to their original land.

On the other hand, developmental efforts may introduce socioeconomic changes which may induce people to move and resettle around new socio-economic projects in order to benefit from them. Both types of resettlement are unplanned in nature, but while the first type could be described as forced resettlement, the second can be characterized as willful resettlement. An example of the second type, which I witnessed recently on a trip to New Guinea, is the case of the Highland Road between the city of Lae on the coast and Mount Hagen in the center of the Highlands. The building of this road created a spontaneous resettlement of people who moved away from the bush and closer to the road in order to benefit from the cargo movement made possible by its construction. Nevertheless, in addition to the advantages obtained by moving closer to the road, many disadvantages were created. One example is that of prostitution which became a very profitable business to the native girls whose tribes had

resettled around the road; as a consequence, the white man's syphilis has entered New Guinea within the last two years, for the first time in the history of this country. Another example of these induced resettlements are squatter colonies which have cropped up around such large cities as Manila, New Delhi, and Port Moresby.

This workshop has not been organized to deal with these two types of human resettlement, but is rather chiefly interested in planned resettlement arising from developmental efforts which nations undertake to achieve specific socioeconomic objectives. This type of resettlement project implies the existence of conscious efforts on the part of the government to improve the level of national welfare by implementing development projects which will provide the nation with (1) new areas of uninhabited cultivable land and/or (2) new projects requiring the utilization of already inhabited land. In both cases, human resettlement becomes a must in the first type, to exploit the new productive potentials of the reclaimed land, and in the second type, to provide a new habitat for the displaced population. Again, in both cases of this type of resettlement and in contradiction with the previous two types (i.e., forced migration due to natural or man-made disasters and the induced due to developmental efforts not originally intended for resettlement), planning becomes possible, feasible and a must. It is this type of planned resettlement to which we will apply our analysis of organization and administration.

A fundamental assumption in this analysis is that the objectives of such resettlement projects should form an integral part of an overall development policy and thus the organization and administration of such projects should utimately be geared to integrate the project in existing

regional and/or national governmental machinery. Thus it is very clea?
that what concerns this paper is to analyze the organization and adminis-
tration of two types of planned human resettlements where the general
objectives of the first type are to exploit productive potentials of
cultivable land through the resettlement of unemployed or underemployed
manpower, while the general objectives of the second type are to provide
a group of people with a new living environment. The difference between
the two types seems to lie in the fact that in the first type recruitment
criteria could be established to select the group of settlers who would
be able to maximize the objectives of the project, while no such selection
process could usually occur in the second type since, as happens in almost
all cases, whole communities will be physically moved to the new
resettlement site.

In other words, one can generally say that in the first type of project
the group of settlers is expected to exhibit much more hetereogeneous
characteristics than the group of settlers in the second type. This
difference in the degree of heterogenity of the settlers in these two types
of human resettlements is of fundamental importance in organizing and
administering the resettlement projects.

It is very important at this stage of the discussion, before turning
to analyze in depth the organization and administration of human resettle-
ment projects, to say that it is assumed that the objectives of such
projects, whether of the first or second type, usually include varying
degrees of intended socioeconomic changes to which the settlers will be
subjected. In other words, the idea of using such projects to extend

or duplicate the original socioeconomic patterns of the settlers is
totally dismissed. Thus, in both types of resettlement proje s,
varying degrees of social engineering is expected to occur.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION AS INTEGRAL COMPONENTS OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

In discussing the organization and administration of human resettlements, one should treat both topics as an integral component of the planning process as concerns plan formulation, implementation, evaluation and reformulation.

In plan formulation, a number of preferences are reflected in a specific pattern of priorities which is in turn reflected in the magnitude of resource allocations necessary to achieve specific objectives in a specific period of time. In spite of the fact that the allocation of resources is usually done in monetary terms which represent the actual factors of production - land, labour, capital and enterpreneurship -, the prerequisite for the achievement of any objective is the presence of an accessible technology which could be administered to achieve such objectives through the utilization of the allocated resources. Not only that, but the nature of the accessible technology determines the nature of resources allocated, the most important of which are the skills, human knowledge, aptitudes, and attitudes which form the functional variables of organization and administration. Thus one can view a plan as a combination of various accessible technologies which could be administered by organizing resources in a way that maximizes the plan objectives at a given cost.

If we accept such a definition, it should not be difficult to visualize the importance of considering the organizational and

administrative aspects of human resettlement projects very early in the planning process since they will be greatly influenced by the choice of technologies of achieving plan objectives in the plan formulation stage.

Since organization and administration are the basic tools of plan implementation, one can easily conceive their impact on the implementation phase. In plan evaluation and reformulation, the efficiency and effectiveness of organizing resources to administer the selected technologies in order to achieve the plan objectives forms a crucial part of the planning process.

PARTICIPATIVE VERSUS NON-PARTICIPATIVE
ORGANIZATIONAL MODELS

If one believes that ideally, every man should have an input into all decisions which are liable to affect him, the ideal organizational model for the resettlement project should be one which maximizes the chances of the settler to participate in all decisions which are liable to affect him in his new environment. Yet, one should always ask oneself, is it always possible to practice what one believes in? And why, in some cases, have non-participative models enabled people to achieve their objectives much faster than through participative ones?

Apparently, there are no straightforward, simple answers to such questions. Theoretically, many people view participative models as slow in producing the desired effects, but once enough accumulation occurs, more lasting and less irreversible changes will be achieved, defended and maintained by the settlers who participated in their occurance for a long time.

On the other hand, they view the non-participative models as being fast in producing desired effects through the apparent compliance of the settlers under the different coercive methods used. Such compliance, however, is liable to disappear partially or _in toto_ once the coercive structure is prematurely relaxed which may cause all, or at least the most apparently achieved changes to be reversed.

In fact, it is my opinion that justifications for preferring a non-participative over a participative organizational model are usually

based either on (1) the inadequacy of the settlers educational level which makes difficult for them to participate constructively decisi making process, or (2) their unwillingness to participate in the decision making process for cultural reasons. It may also be a combination of both of these factors.

It is interesting to notice that both types of justifications reflect an unwillingness to cope with a social challenge which would, no doubt, take a great deal of time and innumerable resources to overcome before achieving the required results.

In order to objectively compare the two models, one should view each as an instrument of change, composed of a variety of resource units which could be used over time to achieve specific objectives at a certain cost. The resource units in both models are mainly of three varieties.

(1) The Human Resource Units: composed of human knowledge, skills, aptitudes and attitudes necessary to apply a variety of technologies to achieve the project's goals.

(2) The Non-Human Resource Units: composed of materials and equipment necessary for applying those technologies which will enable the project to achieve its goals.

(3) The Regulatory Resource Units: composed of the rules and regulations which fundamentally define the framework of the organizational structure within which the human and non-human resources are expected to interact.

The organizational structure not only defines the various functional levels of the organization, but more important, defines the various degrees and levels of autonomy necessary for the human resource units to efficiently and effectively apply the different selected technologies for achieving the project goals and objectives.

The Non-Participative Model. The achievement of the project's goals and objectives by utilizing either of the two models is done through a number of activities directed towards the settler and or his environment. In essence, each of these activities is carried out by a specific combination of human and non-human resource units directed by the regulatory resource units towards the management of one or more aspects of the project in order to ensure the achievement of its goals and objectives.

The regulation of any aspect of the project is, in most cases, liable to require changing the settlers' behaviour from a pattern which is not compatible with the achievement of the project's goals to a pattern which is more compatible with the achievement of these goals. It is in this area that the two organizational models basically differ. In the non-participative model since the settler is not given a chance to have any say in any of the stages of the planning process (i.e., plan formulation, implementation, evaluation, and reformulation), he is expected to comply with a set of behavioural norms developed by the planner and imposed by the administrator to achieve the project's goals and objectives. Positive or negative coercive techniques will be used

to regulate the settler's behaviour to achieve the behavioural pattern defined by the planners' set of norms. Under this model, any deviation from the planners' set of norms is viewed by the administration as pathological, and thus forceful regulation becomes justifiable to correct the behaviour, even if it comes to the total elimination of the settler from the project. The main problem with such an approach is that the planner considers the set of behavioural norms required to achieve the project goals as unquestion and almost sacred, since they were scientifically developed.

On the other hand, he knows that in imposing such norms he is going to meet various degrees of resistance which he usually justifies to himself as being due to the inability of the settlers to realize what is good for them (i.e., because of their ignorance).

In many instances where the non-participative approach is used, the correction of deviant behaviour gradually becomes an end in itself and relatively huge amounts of resources will be devoted to discover deviance masked by apparent compliance which are then corrected as soon as possible. In all, or almost all cases, this raises the need to develop an information (feed-back) system to enable the administrator to control the situation. Such a system is usually of the invisible type employing some of the settlers themselves. The success of utilizing such a model in achieving the project's objectives depends on the ability of the administrator to keep the necessary amount of pressure for enough time to achieve the required behavioural changes.

Such a statement will immediately raise two question: How much pressure and for how long? The answer is research! But I suggest that a minimum time would be to think in terms of three generations, based on my own personal experience. In order to minimize the cost of achieving the goals by using such a model, recruitment of organizational members should ensure not only their possession of the knowledge, skills, and aptitudes required to undertake the different organizational tasks, but their ability to work under limited degrees of autonomy. They available technology for the effectiveness of social engineering is what will determine the answer to the questions how much pressure and for how long. Recruitment should be followed by a training or indoctrination period in which the organization member goes through a process of formation which reinforces his acceptance of the planners' behavioural set of norms and provides him with specialized skills necessary to undertake his specific organizational task. In addition, the planner should develop the necessary criteria enabling him to select settlers able to perform under such conditions of limited autonomy. The settlers should also be subjected to a period of indoctrination to prepare them for their new roles in the new environment.

The Participative Model. Contrary to the philosophy under which the non-participative model works, the basic philosophy underlying the participative model is that public participation is an indispensable element for the effective achievement of the project's goals and objectives. In other words, the model does not work under an un-questionable, sacred set of behavioural norms which the planner develops,

but rather operates under a set of general guidelines within which a set of behavioural norms could be developed through mutual interaction between settlers and planners. Thus the model must develop a formal structure through which such participation could occur.

The provision of the necessary structure for the participation of the settlers in the decision-making process usually takes the form of councils, committees or boards which bring both the administrators and settlers together. It should be clear that the presence of such structures does not necessarily ensure the participation of the settlers in the decision-making process as their formulation could he used solely for the purpose of providing the administration with a feed back infor- mation system and / or as a ventilation system for settlers to voice their opinion without being able to influence decisions. If this should be the case, such a model should be described as a generous modification of a non-participative type, rather than as a participative one. From my point of view, however, such an organizational model deserves to be treated as a special category, as it seems to be the prevailing one.

This brings us to question of what is meant by settler partici- pation in the decision-making process. Special efforts should be directed towards the definition of the nature, magnitude and degree of influencing the decision-making process in various resettlement projects as there is no universal prescription available for deciding such matters. In the final analysis, the actual degree of settler

participation is dependent on the attitudes of the organizational personnel who administer the project; hence the recruitment and training of such personnel to develop the necessary behavioural attitudes which facilitate and support public participation is of great importance in enabling the project to achieve its goals.

THE APPROPRIATE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

After this bried analysis of some of the basic characteristics of both the participative and non-participative models, let us move to a discussion of the next question which is concerned with the selection of the appropriate administrative structure for human resettlement projects.

As indicated previously, the choice seems to be between: (1) a completely autonomous administrative structure with full authority and responsibility to decide and manage all aspects of the resettlement project; (2) a fully integrated structure; or (3) a coordinated administrative structure. It is assumed that the ultimate objective should be a fully integrated administrative structure and, hence, both the autonomous and coordinated options are viewed as two transient stages towards full integration. The logical sequence of development of the administrative structure of human resettlement projects seems to start with a fully autonomous organization which gradually becomes a coordinated one and then moves on to become fully integrated with the regular administrative structure of the government machinery.

In the early stages of their development human resettlement projects require a much higher flow of goods and services than is regularly observed in old inhabited communities. In addition, the nature, urgency, frequency and diversity of problems require the development of a machinary which has the special skills, sufficient mobility and dynamism to deal effectively with these problems.

It is questionable whether the regular government bureaucracy can deal with the problems of human resettlement projects in their early stages when the initiative and dynamism required is far beyond what a bureaucratic machinery can offer. Yet the freeing of the administration of human resettlement projects from the web of government bureaucracy is not always without dangers. Abuse of authority and resources are among the symptoms which could become aggravated to the point where they paralyze the new organism or misdirect its development. Yet one must not totally condemn this type of administration which seems to be ideal in the early stages of the development of human resettlement projects. I think in most cases one should attach a reasonable social cost to such hazards as compared with the expected results of entrusting the government bureaucracy to run the project in its early stages. As the project becomes more stabilized, a coordinated administrative machinery should be developed out of the previously autonomous machinery and the existing government machinery.

In fact, this means that certain activities will be handed over to the government bureaucracy probably those in the service sectors such as education and health. In addition, other services like transportation, irrigation, electricity, etc., are usually handed over to the government. The project's organization may help to supervise and control production, marketing, cooperatives, recreation, cultural and special types of social activities. Again, as more stabilization occurs and the project develops to a point where it no longer needs special

administrative treatment for its problems, it can be fully integrated into the regular government machinery without much worry about its future development.

The transition from one stage to the other is always expected to produce temporary disturbances in the flow of events as the project adapts itself to the new stage. The most critical stage, however, seems to be the transition from the autonomous to the coordinated administrative pattern. This is usually accompanied by a marked drop in the flow of goods and services, in addition to the power struggle which some of the administrators of the previously autonomous machinery may try to provoke. The transition from the coordinated pattern to the integrated pattern usually occurs much more smoothly. Although I have suggested and, moreover, advocate this chronological sequence of events I cannot dismiss the potential validity of any other type of sequence.
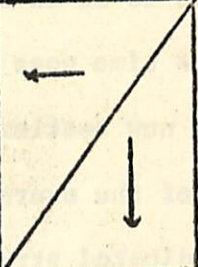
CONCLUSION

At this point, after discussing both questions, a choice should be made of the appropriate organizational model and of how this model should be administered. Our question is: Do we have a real scientific choice based on vast amounts of data cogently analyzed or must we combine the scientific with the trial and error approach? We all know that the lack of research in this area is a combination of the two. We must try first what fits the general atmosphere of the country and then adjust as we go along the way.

In making my choice of administrative structure (see Figure I for alternatives presented), I view land settlement projects as a process which aims to adjust man to a new environment to which he has been displaced or come willingly. In the early stages of settlement, with the acute symptoms of environmental dislocation, the settler requires special care which is usually represented in terms of providing a greater flow of services, with more precise timing, than the government machinery is used to providing. Thus, the nature, frequency and scope of problems to be handled by the administrative machinery requires greater mobility, innovation, risk taking and freeing from routine attitudes than the regular government machinery can deal with. In addition, since we must expect a degree of social engineering to occur, the quality and quantity of the flow of goods and services in the new settlement areas is obviously going to differ from the flow of services

ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL — ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL	AUTONOMOUS	COORDINATED	INTEGRATED
NON-PARTICIPATIVE	1 (a)	2 (a)	3 (a)
VENTILATIVE	1 (b)	2 (b)	3 (b)
PARTICIPATIVE	1 (c)	2 (c)	3 (c)

FIGURE I: CHOICE MATRIX

in the older settled areas where the government machinery is in complete change. For these two reasons, an autonomous administrative structure seems to me to be the most feasible in the early stages of settlement. As time goes along and things settle down, and since we all agree that new settlement areas should ultimately become an integral part of the overall government machinery, a gradual switch over to a coordinated structure should be set in motion. At this stage, the autonomous administrative structure should hand over some of its functions to the regular government machinery, keeping only a few strategic controls to continue the process of social engineering. The type and number of functions to be handed over to the regular government machinery will differ from case to case and will depend on the overall strategy of the country as concerns land settlement. The final stage in my opinion should represent full integration in to the regular government machinery and a complete abolition of the autonomous organization.

As regards the choice of the appropriate organizational model, I cannot really give any preferences since the choice among the participative, ventilative or nonparticipative is a choice between three alternative costs to achieve the same objective. Naturally most of us tend to choose the participative model as it commensurates with human freedom, yet I am in favour of flexibility and would choose a model which allows participation in certain decisions, non-participation in others and ventilative in still others. In fact this

is probably the situation that most approximates reality no matter what type of administrative structure is chosen. One could also suggest as I have done in Figure I a gradual movement from non-participative to participative with a ventilative model as an intermediate stage of development. The choice, will of course, not be left to one individual but is rather a matter of societal preference. Research is badly needed in these areas and seeking a universal solution should not absorb all our attention. Rather, what is needed is a methodology and criteria for undertaking research in the context of different cultures since most of the solutions as they apply to resettlement are culture bound. Without this research, we cannot adequately determine the cost and benefits associated with the choice and timely implementation, and/or change, of the administrative structure and organizational model to be applied.