



THE ARKLETON TRUST

***EDUCATION, TRAINING
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT***

Summary Report

***on a Collaborative Programme between Rural
Areas in Italy, Ireland and Scotland, 1982-83***

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Areas in Italy, Ireland and Scotland, 1982-83*

by

*J. Bryden, P. Commings and E. Saraceno,
Programme Directors*

THE ARKLETON TRUST

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PREFACE

This Report is the outcome of a series of events within a programme on the relationships between developmental, training and extension institutions and activities in certain less favoured areas of the EEC. The initial programme was a collaborative one involving the following twelve participating institutions in Scotland, Ireland and Italy:

From Scotland

The Arkleton Trust (John Bryden)
The Western Isles Islands Council (John Murray)
H.M. Inspectors of Schools in Scotland (Duncan Kirkpatrick)
Community Work North, Aberdeen College of Education (Bob Hamilton)

From Ireland

An Foras Taluntais (Patrick Commins)
Udaras na Gaeltachta (Sean de Cleir)
University College of Galway (Seamus O'Grady)
ACOT (Patrick Brennan)

From Italy

CRES (Elena Saraceno)
University of Bologna (Giuliano Cesarini)
Ente Sviluppo Antiganato (Enrico de Natale)
Istituto Regionale Formazione Professionale (Ennio Abate)

The various events in the programme included preparatory meetings involving representatives of all three countries in North-East Italy, during December 1982, and in the West of Ireland, during March 1983, the preparation of various background papers which related to the subject matter of the programme, and dealing with the three countries under study, and a final seminar held in the Western Isles of Scotland in May-June 1983. Accounts of the preparatory meetings and the background papers which were prepared for the seminar are available separately through the Arkleton Trust, and some, but not all, of these are available in both Italian and English. During

the preparatory meetings and the final seminar, opportunity was taken to visit as many institutions and activities as possible and to hold discussions with people involved with post-school education and training and with rural development projects and programmes in the areas concerned.

In the course of the programme, various organisational changes occurred. Giuliano Cesarini was appointed to FAO in Rome and was unable to play an active part in the programme. However, we were fortunate to obtain the participation of the Van Leer Foundation through their Community Education Projects at Abatemarco (Italy) and Leiter Moir (Ireland), represented at the Stornoway seminar by Mario Dossoni and Father Sean O Concubhair. Enrico de Natale was unable, through illness, to play a part in the Stornoway meeting, and was represented by the Director of ESA, Vincenzo Selan, who had also participated in the preparatory meetings in Italy and Ireland. Lamberto Terzuoli, Programme Director of IRFOP, also participated in both preparatory meetings and in the Stornoway seminar. Sean de Cleir was also unable to take part in the Stornoway seminar, and his place was taken by Sean O Drisceoil, then of the Training Division of Udaras na Gaeltachta but, fortuitously, also director-designate of Sabhal Mor Ostaig, the new Gaelic college on the island of Skye, Scotland, a post which he has recently taken up. Finally, again due to illness, John Murray was unable to take part in the first preparatory meeting and nominated Coinneach MacLean, training officer with the Community Cooperative Programme of the Highlands and Islands Development Board in the Western Isles, to take his place. Coinneach also attended part of the Stornoway seminar. Other than the changes thus noted, most of the original participants took part in one or other of the two preparatory meetings, and all took part in the Stornoway seminar.

In addition, the following were invited to, and took part in, the Stornoway seminar:

Laura Bergnac, Research Officer, Slavic Research Centre,
Gorizia, Italy.

Kieran O'Donohue, Community Development Officer,
Connemara West Ltd, Ireland.

Ailbe O Ceallaigh, Senior Inspector, Department of
Education, Ireland.

Anthony Barratt, Regional Director ANCO (Industrial Training Authority), Ireland.

Clare Wenger, Research Officer, University College of North Wales, Wales.

Agnes Rennie, Manager, Acair Ltd., Western Isles, Scotland.

Christine MacDonald, Manpower Services Commission, Inverness, Scotland.

John MacKay, Development Officer, Highlands and Islands Development Board, Scotland.

Finally, as the Stornoway meeting took place in the Council Chambers of the Western Isles Islands Council, an open invitation to attend the seminar was extended to the officers of the Council concerned with the issues under discussion.

Interpretation facilities were provided for the Stornoway meeting, the interpreters being Maria Ferguson (Italian-English), Caterina Andreacchio (English-Italian), Gerald Campbell (Italian-English) and Annie MacSween (Gaelic).

The principal sponsor of the programme was the EEC Commission, to whom all of the collaborating organisations are indebted for their support. The Arkleton Trust coordinated the programme, which coincided with its main interest, namely 'the study of new approaches to rural development with emphasis on education and training'. The Trust is grateful to the EEC for the financial support which made the programme possible, and to all those involved who gave their time and support freely and willingly.

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NOTE

This summary report has been prepared by the three programme directors:

John Bryden (Scotland), Patrick Commins (Ireland), Elena Saraceno (Italy)

Although a draft of the report was circulated to all those who collaborated in the programme, as well as those who attended the Stornoway seminar, and although we have tried to encompass as many as possible of the comments received, responsibility for the views expressed, and for errors and omissions, rests with the authors.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Programme on which this report is based arose out of a concern about the disjunction between education and local, area-based, development programmes and processes, between institutions providing educational and developmental services, and between these institutions and rural people. It sought to identify, in the areas concerned, successful examples of linkages between such institutions, which have involved local people, and which have been integral to the process of rural change and development. In so doing, it inevitably highlighted the difficulties which remain in making such linkages, and led us into an intense discussion of the changing context of rural development generally within the Industrialised countries of Western Europe. Since our view of educational and development processes, and the need for strong linkages between them, does relate closely both to this changing context and to changing perceptions about the nature of such processes, the report lays some emphasis on our understanding of these issues.

Although it was agreed at an early stage in the programme that this short summary report of the main issues emerging should be prepared for the principal sponsor, the EEC Commission, and made available in Gaelic, English and Italian, we believe that the principal benefits of the programme arise from the interaction and exchange of experience among the participants and the other educational and developmental institutions and activities in the three less favoured rural areas involved. This was a programme which crossed not only cultural barriers, but also disciplinary barriers, barriers between researchers, administrators and practitioners, barriers between local and central levels of action. By selecting rural areas in which minority European languages were significant, we were also able to encompass this dimension within our discussions and analysis.

The programme had as its theme 'education and training measures which contribute to the regeneration of disadvantaged rural areas'. Throughout the various activities emphasis was to be placed on vocational and skill training, including 'extension' and 'outreach' work, and on informal community education. However, our interpretation of 'education' was broad, fundamentally accepting the implications of the 'life-long' concept of education. We also took a broad interpretation of the meaning

of 'development', or 'rural development', tending towards the position that, whatever else it may strive to do, rural development must seek to utilise indigenous resources — human, physical, cultural, economic — to the full, and encourage self-reliance rather than dependance.

II THE CONTEXT: RURAL CHANGE IN LESS FAVOURED AREAS

A redefinition of rural development should be the basic framework for a new understanding of the relationships between developmental training and extension institutions in less favoured rural areas. This redefinition is not just a theoretical change of perspective but is the result of a process of regionalisation of development which has been taking place since the beginning of the seventies in a variety of different rural areas of the EEC, of which the three areas chosen in this programme are a good example.

Traditionally, rural development and policies for disadvantaged areas have been seen from two angles: the first was the attainment of agricultural efficiency as an 'economic solution'; the second was a strong role of government in a variety of 'social' functions: promoting (not openly) migration as a safety valve, distributing aid in the form of subsidies, creating programmes for the unemployed and opportunities for industrial development. Very often the object of these policies was not a 'real' economic development at the regional level but the slowing down and softening of the impact of severe processes of depopulation and economic impoverishment.

During the seventies, in all of the three areas studied, major structural change occurred in this situation:

- outmigration practically stopped and in some cases a reverse trend of return migration took place
- there was an increase in the previous (low) levels of industrial employment due to the growth of small and medium sized enterprises
- former subsistence farms became important as residence for those employed in these new opportunities
- the social and political climate underwent an important transformation with the attempt to regain some local power, reappropriate traditional values and culture, reject a notion of development in terms of economic change coming from outside, but on the contrary, tied to an evolution of the local way of life. Language and ethnic values played in all three areas an extremely important function in the attempt at regaining control over local matters.

The degrees and forms that these changes assumed in each of

the three study areas differed greatly. The differences seemed to be influenced by:

- the length of time and the degree of impoverishment reached in the process of depopulation of these areas
- the origin of industrial initiatives (indigenous enterprises, outside investments, size and location of plants)
- the possibility of integrating within the family subsistence farming and non-agricultural employment
- the structure of landed property: degree of fragmentation, forms of land tenure, types of agricultural activities possible
- the existence of previous crafts and artisan traditions
- the responsiveness of training policies to local needs and conditions
- the degree of decentralisation and control over policy decisions at the regional level.

There seems to be at the local level a great difficulty — probably inherited from the previous national sectorial approach — in integrating what is happening in the primary sector with issues of industrial and service development. An effort in this direction seemed important in all three study areas, even if it appeared extremely problematic that such a change could occur given the bureaucratic and administrative complexities involved. The same could be said about the general lack of integration between education and development agencies.

The regionalisation process seems to be bringing out more clearly the inconsistencies of a rigidly separate sectorial approach without however giving the means to local administrators to try to resolve them. The issue at hand is not only one of the competences and relationships between regional and national policies but also of the classical view that industrial development had to be spatially located in areas preferably urban, where large concentrations of labour were possible, thus freeing rural areas of surplus population and making agriculture more efficient and productive. Policies that favoured outmigration from rural areas and gave emphasis to non-agricultural training were coherent with the assumption that eventually a clear differentiation between rural and industrial areas would take place.

In most of the less favoured rural areas of Europe such a 'rationalisation' did not take place because the ties developed by migrants with immigration areas did not always prove to be as strong and stable as those retained with the places of origin,

because of the temporary nature of the migration process, job instability, cost of housing and living in urban/industrial areas, the lack of support of traditional solidarity groups. The weight given to these factors has proved to be, contrary to expectations, increasing rather than decreasing, thus reducing drastically the propensity towards mobility of rural populations.

The new social fact in this situation is the *permanence of people in rural areas*, in all three study areas, in a dispersed pattern, maintaining directly or indirectly a tie with land of some sort (small property in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Ireland, crofts in the Western Isles) insufficient for making a living from the land alone, but still determining life styles and social relations. The belonging to a rural tradition should not be underestimated in its value just because a substantial proportion of family income comes from non-agricultural activities; the basic identity of the people living in these areas still derives from a gradual evolution of a rural way of life and a strong perception of difference with workers of urban areas who might be doing the same job.

In such a social context the separation of 'pure' farmers and workers in other sectors normally assumed both by training institutions and development agencies seems to refer to an increasingly disappearing category of social subjects.

On the contrary a policy that would realistically start from the fact that the great majority of the population in these less developed rural areas have a rural residence and identity but might be only part-time farmers, and that the relationship with agricultural activity probably changes at different periods of the life-cycle in accordance with local labour demand and family situation, would certainly be a more adequate policy.

The implications for development and training agencies of this rather original social structure are still to be thought out in all three areas of study. We mention some of the points that were brought out during the preparatory meetings and the seminar:

- In all three areas, training for farmers was extremely specific, separated from all other types of training, was highly selective in favour of full-time farmers and was associated with other forms of technical assistance to the primary sector (ACOT in Ireland, ERSAs in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, the Colleges of Agriculture in Scotland). That is, training in agricultural professions is qualitatively different from other forms of training, integrated with other forms of assistance to

agriculture but completely separated from extra-agricultural institutions.

- Returned migrants, who are not only poorly qualified labour but very often also white collar workers, should be considered a precious human input for the impoverished social structures partly in demographic terms, but probably most importantly as a source of new ideas. They could perform the function of go-between in the reintegration of different economic, social and cultural levels on the one side and intelligent translators of national policies into regional ones on the other. Their function appeared to be acting more at the social and cultural level in the Western Isles, and as a source of entrepreneurial capacities and labour in Friuli-Venezia Giulia.
- The type of industrial development and its impact on the rural areas seemed very different in the three study areas. In Friuli-Venezia Giulia a stronger 'survival' of artisan crafts (with a specific policy for its assistance and growth) together with small but richer agricultural activities seems to have become the basis on which the recent industrial development dispersed over a wide rural area took place, rather than in the planned industrial sites meant for outside investors. In the West of Ireland local artisan traditions were much weaker and farming activities were more important. Outside investors in the planned industrial sites, and EEC financing of agriculture seems to have played a much greater role than in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, but this has resulted in a weaker indigenous development and, as a positive response to a dependency syndrome, a greater emphasis on ethnic/cultural identity (gaelic areas). In the Western Isles still another situation was found with a traditional integration of farming (sheep), industrial activities (textiles) and fishing, organised apparently on a family basis but with very little autonomy in practice; land is not the property of farmers but is tenured in a peculiar tenant system (crofting); home textile weaving (Harris Tweed) is organised by a few large companies and only recently fishermen have broken ties with a few buyers and created a cooperative. On a comparative basis it would seem that such an economic organisation has greatly hindered regional development and local entrepreneurship, making the actual community approach, stressing historical tradition and socio-cultural values, a necessary first step towards the

regaining of self-identity. Similar situations were also seen in the West of Ireland (Connemara West Ltd), and the Van Leer Projects reported both in Ireland and in Abatemarco (Italy). Officers and speakers in the three study areas, regardless of their different industrial traditions, stressed with great emphasis their support for the development of small and medium sized enterprise and local entrepreneurship.

- A final remark on the successful linkages observed between development agencies and training institutions: many successful linkages seemed to have worked by chance or as a by product of other programmes rather than by a specific policy, thus the cooperation of ESA and IRFOP in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, or at a different level the origins of the Ness Historical Society in the Western Isles. Furthermore they seem to involve the lower echelons of training (professional courses)* rather than higher education. In general however there were very few successful linkages although there was a widespread awareness of their necessity.

In conclusion, we see that policies and institutions developed within one kind of rural reality now face a new reality, a new context both within and outside the rural areas themselves. In general, policies and institutions have yet to respond to this new context. Although we emphasise the general failure of this response, we acknowledge the many particular examples where such responses can be recognised in all three study areas, some of which are detailed in the working papers. However, these examples exist only on the fringes of policies, programmes and projects, and not infrequently totally outside the mainstream, perceived as marginal rather than as innovatory and illuminating to the overall process of adjustment to new conditions.

In the following section we turn to a more particular examination of the mobilisation of indigenous resources for change and the various initiatives which have been taken in this direction both by developmental and educational institutions and policies in the three study areas, setting this within the new context, and in relation to the new development paradigm.

* the word 'professional' being used here in the sense commonly found in Continental Europe, rather than in the UK sense of training for 'the professions'.

III MOBILISATION OF INDIGENOUS RESOURCES

As a broad generalisation we may characterise the longer-term path of the socio-economic change in the less favoured rural areas in terms of three phases as follows:

a. High Decline

Up until the 1950s or 1960s such areas experienced high rates of out-migration and depopulation and an associated debilitation of their economies. From 1851 to 1951, for example, the Highlands and Islands region of Scotland had population losses of about 28%. Rapid population decline and large-scale out-migration were evident in the western counties of Ireland during the 1950s. Generally the movement of labour out of agriculture was not offset by a growth of non-farm employment.

b. Tendencies to Stability or Incipient Recovery

In the late 1950s or early 1960s depopulation continued but at a slower rate, or in some cases slight increases were recorded. Related to these changes were State-sponsored programmes of industrialisation. These early programmes of industrial development were, however, based on a definite pattern: plants were located in the larger urban centres, establishments themselves were large and there was considerable reliance on 'imported' capital and expertise.

c. Rural Renewal and Indigenous Resource Development

During the 1970s considerable increases in population were recorded in areas like the West of Scotland and the West of Ireland where, historically depopulation rates were high. Related to this revitalisation was a more diversified pattern of economic development, with a new emphasis on the development of indigenous resources. The change in Scotland was accelerated by oil exploration and development in the 1970s but there was also a policy orientation within the Highlands and Islands Development Board in favour of playing a more active role in the development of agriculture and, to an extent, other indigenous industries.

In the West of Ireland special efforts were made during the 1970s to develop locally-based small enterprises and there has been a significant expansion in the numbers of small scale businesses set up by native entrepreneurs.

In the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region of Italy the 'traditional' pattern of industrial development initiated in the 1950s left little scope for the involvement of local entrepreneurship in the rural Friulian area. However, during the 1970s there was a substantial growth of small industrial enterprises based on a surviving artisan class which, formerly, had been considered as destined to disappear with industrialisation. In this context the long established pattern of permanent migration was replaced by a temporary migration where the migrant's chief objective was to earn sufficient capital to start a business at home.

Besides these developments in the private enterprise sector there has also been a mobilisation of indigenous resources through collective action on the part of local people through, e.g. the establishment of community cooperatives.

We were interested in analysing these processes of mobilisation and in examining their relationships with education and training.

In considering this topic it is necessary to advert to the evolution of systems of public administration and the way these affect development in the less favoured rural areas. In the UK and Ireland especially government is based on what has been called 'the tenets of a centralist faith'.^{*} This holds that central government is not only legally responsible for shaping detailed policies for the management of the country but is also best equipped to oversee their administration. A premium is placed on the attainment of standard quality services over the country as a whole and autonomous activity by local people especially in community development type action receives little attention in the design of government policies and is not well integrated with the statutory services. Related to this is the 'growth of government' itself. In Ireland for example total government expenditure as a proportion of GNP now exceeds 50% compared with less than 30% in the 1950s. The number of higher civil servants has almost quadrupled since that time. Such growth raises its own issues of coordination and management in the public service system. Moreover, centralisation of functions, collectivist provision of services and growth of bureaucracies raise questions deriving from the inherent tendency of institutions and professional interests to be self-serving and self-protective rather than to be

^{*} Roger Hadley and Stephen Hatch, *Social Welfare and the Failure of the State*, Allen and Unwin, 1981, p.5.

responsive to needs established independently of themselves, particularly by the recipients or presumed beneficiaries of their services.

Historically, then, the general picture of public administration has been one where vertically organised and sectorally-based government departments formulate and execute 'top-down' programmes. It might be added here that EEC administration accentuates sectoral policy-making. To date at least there is little tangible linkage between measures based on agricultural, regional and social funding.* Moreover, EEC supports to peripheral regions are somewhat dependent on the extent to which national-level structures are based on a recognition of regional differences.

However, in more recent years there have been attempts to bring about a greater degree of regionalisation of public administration. The Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) in Scotland, the Development Board for Rural Wales (DBRW), and Udaras na Gaeltachta in Ireland are examples.

Udaras is in fact somewhat unique within its historical context in that seven of its Board of 13 are in fact elected. This arrangement was the result, in great part, of a sustained campaign by local people for a development body on which they would have representation and which would have comprehensive development powers. In Italy also there has been a process of regionalisation of former national prerogatives. In a manner somewhat similar to the Irish treatment of the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) areas, there are special statute regions, of which Friuli-Venezia Giulia is one, that have quite wide powers (mainly industrial policy) on the grounds that they have special problems like the presence of minorities within their territory. IRFOP, the Regional Professional Training Institute, has to be understood within this Italian context. Until 1972 both formal *education* and professional training came within the jurisdiction of the State. Thereafter regional decentralisation occurred and responsibility for professional *training* was allocated to the Region.

It should be noted here that, generally, less favoured rural areas are not the concern of *rural development policies* or of *rural development institutions* as such. Rather we see an attempt to

*See, for example, Michael Tracy 'People and Policies in Rural Development: Institutional Problems in the Formulation and Implementation of Rural Development Policies in the European Community'. The Arkleton Trust, 1982.

regionalise aspects of public administration to serve geographical areas having special socio-economic problems.

In the shadow of historically centralised public administration and the latter day counter-tendencies towards regionalism there has been another development: the mobilisation of indigenous resources. It is convenient to examine this trend under three headings, viz:

- a. origins and characteristics of private enterprise activity
- b. origins and characteristics of community based initiatives
- c. the philosophy of development.

In regard to private entrepreneurship the Friulian area (provinces of Udine and Pordenone) of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region witnessed the emergence of a new class of rural entrepreneurs based mainly on the traditional (woodwork and metal work enterprises) rather than on the advanced sectors of the economy, but reaching export as well as local and national markets.* The system of production has reached new and quite original forms of organisation with, for example, production being split up among several small enterprises each specialising in a component process and the total production system achieving significant economies of scale. While sites for large scale industrial enterprises, well planned along conventional lines, were left comparatively unused development took place in a rather disorganised pattern in areas where existing artisan crafts were located.

In the West of Ireland locally-based smaller enterprises are more a 'sponsored' than a 'spontaneous' development. The expansion in the numbers of small scale businesses set up by native entrepreneurs occurred under the stimulus of a specific set of policies pursued by the three parastatal agencies: Udaras na Gaeltachta, Shannon Development Company (SFADCO) and the Industrial Development Authority (IDA). By the late 1970s approximately 600 small firms (now interpreted as employing less than 50 workers) had been grant-aided in the 11 western counties, though not all of these would have progressed as planned. In terms of product these were spread across the industrial spectrum with some degree of concentration in engineering activity. This is due in large part to the increasing possibilities for the smaller unit to supply larger manufacturing

* It is important to note that tourism has played but a minor role in this process.

requirements. Shannon Development, for example, has a special service seeking to match small industry products or services with the needs of larger industries. The technological developments in agriculture (mechanisation, agri-business needs etc.) and the substitution of imports are other home-based market opportunities.

However, the home market is limited and while small industries have gained export markets this seems true only for the minority. Moreover, despite the efforts to promote native enterprise, grant-aided indigenous firms dropped their share of national manufacturing employment over the 1970s. Compared to foreign enterprises home-based firms had a slower rate of growth in employment. Thus, in relative terms Ireland has in fact become increasingly dependent on enterprise from abroad.

The functions of the Highlands and Islands Development Board are more extensive than those of any statutory development agency in Britain. In its promotion activities it is conscious of the possibilities for indigenous resource development. In the early 1970s it attempted to change the technology of the local weaving industry by introducing small-scale communal power looms in place of the traditional individual craft-based pedal loom but local interests voted against the proposal.

In contrast to the 'top-down' development approaches characteristic of statutory agencies there have been several good examples of resource mobilisation inspired and undertaken by local citizen-based groups, especially in Ireland and Scotland. These groups included community councils, local development associations and community cooperatives. To some extent the growth of such organisations could be described as a 'counter-development' movement, i.e., a reaction or challenge to the policy assumptions and patterns of change inherent in the mainstream trend of economic and social development. This is because such local groups seek to establish a voice for hitherto unrepresented sections of the population (e.g. small farmers), to assert the validity of local needs and perceptions of problems, and to set about solving these problems by self-reliant initiatives. Multi-purpose community cooperatives in Ireland have undertaken marketing of local products (e.g. fish, sheep, wool), infrastructural developments (e.g. water supplies), small industries, together with touristic activities. As an alternative structure one locality in West Galway has a community-based and

controlled development company. This employs a staff of three and its projects include provision of craft workshops, a craft training programme, tourist cottage scheme, credit union and the provision of a local resource centre offering such services as typing, photocopying, telex and a community information office.

In recent years statutory agencies have taken a more direct responsibility for supporting the work of such community development organisations. In the Western Isles of Scotland the Highlands and Islands Development Board has adopted a scheme especially to develop community cooperatives along the lines of those established in the West of Ireland. This includes the appointment of field development and training officers to work at mobilisation and training at local level.

In examining the various efforts at development in the less favoured areas we were concerned to identify dominant strategies and development philosophies. Our general observations could be stated as follows:

- the conventional model of development is still strongly based on 'imported' industrialisation, although indigenous (private and community) capital, expertise and ideas have been playing an important if not key role in the process of socio-economic change.
- indigenous natural resources in agriculture, for afforestation development, in fishing, for tourism, tweed manufacture etc. are still frequently undervalued though institutional factors such as the rigidity of land tenure arrangements or vested interests cannot be easily overcome. For instance little cognisance is taken of the role of part-time farming in agricultural development programmes. Small-scale farmers are not reached by the major agricultural policy measures.
- community-based initiatives tend to be taken where needs are not met (or inadequately met) by the State, by private enterprise or by the conventional agricultural cooperatives. Consequently such community development activity faces special problems of organisation and viability.
- non-statutory community development organisations perceive that statutory agencies are over-compartmentalised into their own narrow sets of functional responsibilities. Where community-based organisations are localistic in the perceptions of problems or are innovative in their approaches they may have difficulty getting statutory agencies, including

educational agencies, to accommodate them in their planning or operations. This has implications for the way in which education and training provisions are linked to indigenous development.

Broadly speaking, educational content and processes — and in particular vocational type education — in less favoured rural areas have evolved along a pattern roughly corresponding to the major phases of socio-economic change (see Page 8) and the dominant models of development associated with these. When out-migration was high, courses reflected the conditions and needs in external labour markets. As new industrialisation came to rural areas industrial training became a significant activity. Now with the concern for indigenous resource development there are attempts to adapt education and training to its requirements although the inherent rigidity in educational systems suggests that change will not be easy.

In the period of intense migration from the Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region national agencies controlled regional level professional training and geared it to the foreign labour market. Latterly the regional administration has tried to change this tradition with the collaboration of the local industrial associations and these claim to have effected a very positive change in artisan attitudes towards local resources and opportunities. On the other hand, this recent industrial development is still extremely fragile because of its needs for a better understanding of continued technological innovation and knowledge of markets and consumer requirements.

In the West of Ireland, one of the ways in which University College, Galway is trying, with limited resources, to aid indigenous development is by providing evening courses for small local entrepreneurs with course content based on the operating problems encountered in practice. The College also has a local shellfish research programme as well as extra-mural studies courses in community development. The North West of Scotland is not so well served in that there is no university institution within the region which can focus on local development problems and opportunities.*

It seemed to us that agricultural education was relatively

* Aberdeen University is meant to serve the North West of Scotland, but we found no involvement in local development issues comparable with that of University College, Galway.

under-developed in the less favoured areas. Education and advisory approaches are based primarily on large-scale enterprises not common in the regions and much of the development schemes have a predominantly service-delivery or grant-payment orientation and little real educative content. A case in point is the Integrated Development Programme in the Western Isles but a similar observation could be made in relation to the West of Ireland where the coverage of programmes of advice and development aid does not effectively reach the majority of smaller farmers. Understandably, perhaps, development agencies channel the limited resources they have to those cases where the pay-off is likely to be greatest and achieved most rapidly. In several technical education and training settings we were surprised at how little attention was given to agricultural equipment.

On a similar note we noted a general lack of specialisation on the regional aspects of tourism (e.g. in providing training in using local ingredients) and courses reflected a 'need' to train people for export.

There is a growing concern about developing education and training syllabi for community organisation and development, though some initiatives are still at a pilot stage. The Western Isles Islands Council has adopted a 'community education' approach which is not so much based on content as on learning processes, i.e., using various local projects as mechanisms to develop the capacity of local people to organise, analyse the realities of their own existence and make collective decisions. This is seen as a basis for the more specific content material of a community development educational programme. This latter approach is exemplified by the Van Leer Foundation programmes which attempt to induce a change in local people from defensive fatalism and apathy to constructive action-oriented frame of mind by which local resources and capabilities are mobilised into problem-solving activities. In this, local disadvantage is not seen as a lack of something that exists elsewhere but as a constraint which can be negated by constructive action.

At the professional level the North of Scotland Pilot Scheme for an Apprenticeship Training Programme (based at Aberdeen College of Education) extends to the Western Isles. Partly funded by the European Social Fund, this programme is aimed at developing a model for the training and employment of

community development workers for rural areas. It is also hoped to provide courses to give local people and voluntary leaders a community development training. This programme, then, should be of wider relevance in the future.

Perhaps the biggest difficulty in linking indigenous development and education is at the lower levels (primary and second-level) of the educational system. Yet there is a consciousness of the problem and some initiatives have been taken. In the Mid-West region of Ireland a pilot project has been undertaken to have school curricula at second-level reflect to a greater extent the needs of their local communities. Local 'liaison groups' have brought together teachers, parents, industrialists, employers, and a variety of local organisations with a view to facilitating the transition of young people to adult working life. A second initiative was the piloting of a Community Based Learning (CBL) programme which, for certain categories of pupils, utilises the local community in a learning resource.

The general picture, therefore, as we see it is one where development in less favoured rural areas is still strongly influenced by external forces whether in industrialisation policy, agricultural modernisation strategies, or educational and training curricula. Nevertheless along with this dominant model of development are to be observed various efforts to focus inwards on maximising the potential of indigenous physical and human resources. Correspondingly educational and training systems have made some adjustments to be more in conformity with this newer development paradigm. However, the achievements to date can only be described as the shadow outlines of new directions that will have to be more vigorously pursued and supported. Although we have made no attempt to quantify the resources allocated to educational and training activities having an expressly regional orientation it is our considered opinion that these are still comparatively meagre in relation to, say, generalised industrialised training or to grants for operational facilities or capital developments in industry. There are reasonably well developed institutional arrangements for the promotion of small-scale private enterprise business but local community development is much neglected. Perhaps this is so because education in this area is less structured, less 'tidy'. We could find no programmes for example to support the informal training and educative processes obtainable by community groups or

community-level workers in exchange visits or study tours.

As a final observation it seems that both indigenous development and the associated educational and training provisions are best served where specifically regional or rural institutions have evolved.

IV INTER AGENCY COOPERATION AND COORDINATION

We are concerned about this issue because rural perceptions of reality in relation to economic and social organisation tend to be holistic, all-embracing with respect to the different facets of existence; family members are involved in a range of different economic and social activities both in rural areas and as temporary or permanent migrants, but the family, closely associated with the land and its related domicile, is the focus of all of these activities. These perceptions, with their territorial and cultural basis, and their multi-functional and cross-sectoral embrace, sit uneasily alongside the centralised, functional, sectoral and hierarchical organisation of state agencies which rural people find difficult, as clients, to influence or control. Moreover, policies and instruments designed at central levels do not, and probably cannot, reflect the particular value-structures, needs and potentialities of specific rural communities in a plural society.

Concern on these counts does not necessarily lead to a simple *recommendation* for improvements in inter-agency and inter-departmental cooperation and coordination, for that would be to take too simple, too technocratic, and too bureaucratic a view of developmental processes. Increased technical efficiency at central or even regional levels, without appropriate counterbalance, could on the one hand strengthen dominant *functional* forces within the bureaucracy and on the other hand make it even more difficult to achieve effective cooperation and coordination at *local*, community, levels and provide frameworks necessary to encourage the essentially untidy development of ideas and action at these levels. We were told, for instance, that the Integrated Development Programme in the Western Isles was 'integrating the agencies involved', and that communication between them (Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland, Western Isles Islands Council, Highlands and Islands Development Board, EEC) was now much better than hitherto. However, this 'integration' refers almost wholly to the *economic* agencies involved, and hardly at all to those concerned with education and training, and we felt at times that both by this emphasis and the *style* of integration or coordination the means of expressing local demands and legitimate protest had been suppressed. Whilst most of us would view increased co-ordination and cooperation

positively, we also feel that too much stress on such cooperation between agencies, as opposed to constructive and open tension, may well be a bad thing if local agencies which are otherwise able to reflect and articulate local views, become increasingly incorporated within a centralised and hierarchical system with its own views and interests to promote and defend. In this way, the process of change which can release and articulate positive ideas for both the content and mechanisms of change which are consistent with the character and availability of local material, natural, cultural and human resources and, further, which are consistent with local ideas, even ideologies, regarding the nature and meaning of progress, will become suppressed and subsumed within majority, 'external', or bureaucratic ideology and constrained within the limitations of formal, centralised, knowledge and understanding of local resources and potentials.

We have also been concerned about the separation of education and training from developmental institutions and processes. No doubt this concern would be less marked than it is if we did not see much of existing education and training provision and measures in rural areas as strengthening the processes of under-development rather than of development. Thus by the rigidity of the school curriculum, academically abler pupils are pointed towards national and even international labour markets. By its lack of clear relationship with, and relevance to, the value of specifically local resources, opportunities, constraints and potentials which must form the foundation of a *local*, internally generated, development process, the system generally reinforces the process of social and economic disintegration in rural communities.* This is not a question of seeking to *subordinate* education to development — crudely establishing a mechanistic relationship between demand and supply in the local labour market. Rather, in the present context, it is about *whether* and *how* the education system itself provides genuine freedom of choice between staying and leaving, and equips people with options which are relevant to local resources, potentials and needs. Thus we may ask of the system whether it helps people to articulate

* We are naturally aware of changes being introduced in many areas of educational policy which may or may not make for closer relationships in future — for example, the 'Munn and Dunning' reforms and the restructuring of Further Education based on 40 hour modules in Scotland — but it is far too early to assess the real consequences of this in the terms of our analysis.

what the implications of their specific social and economic history, and local value structure, are in terms of the practical development issues of the day. We were struck, for example, by the evident difficulties which local people have in the Western Isles in developing alternative internally generated ideas about the practical meaning of progress in terms of the structure of crofting agriculture, the fishing industry and the Harris tweed (artisan textiles) industry, all of which are crucial in both economic, social and cultural terms for the future of the islands. Yet we see no evident ways in which the educational system as a whole is helping local people to articulate and validate their own ideas for change in these vital areas. We could have made similar comments in parts of Italy and Ireland, and it is notable that only with the Community Education projects in Salerno, the Irish Gaeltacht, and the Western Isles, largely conceived and funded outside the formal educational sector (schools, colleges, universities) could one detect the kind of framework emerging which might help this process to emerge.

A closely related issue, particularly where 'external' power plays a dominant role in change, is whether the educational system helps people to confront that dominant power in constructive ways. Again, although some of the community education initiatives could be seen in this light, the resources devoted to these are tiny and even then one has the feeling that most 'educators' regard such activities as *competing* with them for resources, rather than as activities which can illumine and inform their own programmes. In some cases we were also conscious of the danger that people were being helped more to come to terms with the inadequacies of the present power, and institutional, structure than to confront it. Finally, we were struck by the need, in disintegrated rural communities, to strengthen and encourage local identity and self respect. The adverse effects of the educational systems of the past on local identity and self respect can be seen most clearly in the minority language areas, and whilst it is the case that newly developed bilingual educational policies, for example in the Western Isles, along with community educational initiatives such as the Ness Historical Society, bear directly on this issue, we are struck by the remaining difficulties — for example in extending bilingualism to technical and higher education, and over the provision of adequate resources for such activities.

We are also concerned about the level of understanding and commitment of development institutions regarding the need for, and time scale of, concomitant and even preparatory educational processes and activities prior to and alongside the preparation and execution of development initiatives. Many 'grass roots' development agencies, such as the community cooperatives in Ireland and Scotland, actually find themselves engaged in such a process, but find it extremely difficult to handle because they are neither recompensed for it, and nor are the demands of skill and time associated with these processes recognised in financial and managerial support systems. Many of us would feel that initiatives such as the Integrated Development Programme, or indeed, the Community Cooperative programmes, should commence with an educational process which would itself be central to the evolution of both the programme and the instruments to be used in effecting it.

Again we would resist the notion of recommending closer coordination between education and development institutions at central levels alone, for such could lead to a largely instrumental role for education in trying to make externally devised interventions more efficient in the technocratic sense. However, the kind of local level cooperation involved in the gaelic publishing company, Acair, which includes a language society, a regional council, the Western Isles Islands Council and the Highlands and Islands Development Board as principal shareholders, is a useful example of constructive coordination, albeit apparently in a relatively non-controversial area. Similar types of local level cooperation, although taking different institutional forms, exist in both Ireland (for example at the Van Leer Community Education Project), and in Italy (at the one level through the Van Leer Community Education Project at Salerno, at the other through the kind of links between the Artisan Development Institute, ESA, and the Professional Training Institute, IRFOP, which we saw at the leather cooperative, PAN, effectively coordinated through the Comunita Montane).

This issue brings us to the question of links with rural people, after all the real clients of education and development institutions with a rural presence or remit. Critical questions of *access* (physical, social, political) and *relevance* of educational and developmental programmes were raised during our meetings. One response to these questions is the creation, within the state system or

outside it, of *intermediaries* to link with and improve the access of rural people to developmental and other state agencies and institutions. Such intermediaries — cooperatives, community development workers, consortia, voluntary organisations and bodies — have an important role which should be recognised and supported. However, we should also ask ourselves why it is that access and relevance are persistent and common problems, and how we can change the very institutions which give rise to these problems. In this latter question, different kinds of intermediaries, independent from both the purely bureaucratic concerns and interests of state agencies and from the day to day concerns facing a local community worker or a cooperative, are necessary.

A major difficulty appears to be in articulating in clear and practical terms, the precise ways in which *local* development strategies, based on indigenous value structures, would give rise to quantitatively and qualitatively different ideas, at the level of praxis, for the content and mechanisms of change. Education, in its broadest, continuing sense, is a central issue here, and surely has a major and long term role in stimulating the kind of discussions, and in generating the kind of relevant information, which could enable this difficulty to be tackled. The means by which it can be done will vary in different contexts, but will always depend on close cooperation between educationalists, developmentalists and local people, at very local levels. In the West of Ireland, for example, the extra-mural department of University College, Galway plays an active part in this process through its 'outreach' activities, for example in community development and shellfish research, something which contrasts starkly with the extra-mural activities of most Scottish Universities. Unless this issue is tackled seriously, and it might be fair to say, in general, that current efforts only begin to scratch the surface, then both the content and mechanisms of change in rural areas seem likely to remain dominated by external forces.

We have talked so far about the 'rural community' in rather broad terms. By this concept we mean a group of people territorially defined by village, watershed, island, sharing cultural values and social and economic characteristics which distinguish them from other communities, rural or urban. However, we recognise that for some purposes the concept of the rural community as the client group may be too wide, and a narrower,

more precise client group may need to be identified for particular strategies and activities.

So far we have considered the questions of inter-agency cooperation and coordination, and links with rural people, at national and local levels. Yet it is evident that the EEC is having a major influence on what is on 'offer' in many rural areas. The major support from the ESF for training schemes is notable in all three countries. The Integrated Development Programme in the Western Isles, the Agricultural Development Programme for the West of Ireland, and the new Mediterranean Programmes which will include parts of Italy, are also EEC initiatives. In addition, there are pilot schemes funded by the ESF for the utilisation of local resources. We are concerned not just about the 'top-down' nature of many of these initiatives, but also about the apparent lack of linkages between these programmes at field level and the apparent lack of coordination at EEC level where a number of different funds are concerned with action, as is the case with integrated programmes. Even where programmes do not envisage the use of different funds, it seems to us wrong that, say, an agricultural programme or a training programme, or a programme of infrastructure development, should proceed independantly of each other in rural areas; the consequences can be agricultural programmes (such as the West of Ireland ADP) which seem unlikely to bear either directly or indirectly on the largest problem areas in economic and social terms (small farms and holdings in the more difficult parts, such as the Gaeltacht) and may even have adverse effects on such farms and areas, 'integrated' programmes which largely replace pre-existing programmes, albeit with higher levels of inducement, and training programmes which do not bear directly on the problems of indigenous resources, including those of the land and the sea, or traditional industries. This, of course, is perhaps less a criticism of the EEC than of the insistence that national government departments and agencies be the principal conduit of funds, the lack of effective coordination at these levels, and the lack of effective links between these levels and rural people. In considering these problems, our view is that the problems of coordination at central levels require a single *rural* development fund within the EEC, which would incorporate the guidance section of FEOGA together with elements of both the ESF and the

ERDF, and that such a move should be accompanied by both greater central coordination of policies towards rural areas at National levels, and incentives to local institution building and action, perhaps along the lines pioneered by France with FIDAR.

This matching need for much stronger institutions at *local* levels rests not only on the argument that this is where the real job of cooperation and coordination at practical levels must be done, but also because the temptation, in a vacuum, to impose top-down, rigid, sectoral programmes must be balanced by the articulation of strong bottom-up, flexible, multi-sectoral and multi-functional programmes at local levels. This lack of strong local institutions is particularly marked in Ireland and Scotland, much less so in the NEC regions of Italy, where the Mountain Communities (CM), the lowest level of local Government, perform important functions in relation to local development and training programmes, and which are identifiable with territorial communities, geographically and socially defined.

If intra-agency, intra-fund, and intra-departmental coordination is weak at national and supra-national levels, it is also weak at the levels of regional and islands government and at the level of development agencies. Where it exists, it tends to be of an *administrative* character, rather than at the level of action on the ground. These problems relate to the functional specialisation of governments, national or regional, and their agencies, and to the inadequacies of specialist education. The continuous training, in both formal and informal, learning-by-doing ways, of personnel in agencies and departments as well as local government has an important role to play here, including exposure to different experiences in different aspects of work and in different departments. Here also, however, the major corrective will come from the creation and stimulation of active independent local institutions which can articulate the needs of local populations — clients — and act both as the prime incentive to cooperation and coordination and the means whereby it can take concrete form.

V CONCLUSIONS

The context within which questions of rural development and education, and the relationships between them, must be viewed has changed radically during the 1970s. Although the precise degrees and forms of change differ considerably between the three areas studied, they do have elements in common including the cessation of out-migration and, in some cases, a pattern of return migration, the spread of small and medium sized industrial and service activities in which indigenous capital and skills, collective and individual, is playing an important role, a redefining of the relationships of small and part-time, previously subsistence, agricultural holdings with in these processes of change, the transformation of the social and political climate to one which increasingly stresses local territorial power and action, and the resurgence of traditional values and culture — including language — as part of a process which increasingly rejects hegemonic notions of change and progress.

Against these changes, we observe that most policies and institutions relating to rural development and education still reflect an earlier reality manifest in notions of centralisation, sectorial organisation, agricultural efficiency and a clear spatial and sectoral division between rural and urban areas. Although we recognised in all three areas instances of a response to this new context, it is notable that these tended to be outside the mainstream of educational and developmental activities, policies and approaches. Yet although these instances are generally officially regarded as marginal, and frequently in a precarious financial and organisational position, we consider that their experience is central for the development of new approaches, policies and programmes in less favoured rural areas.

The new context demands that attention be directed towards the mobilisation of *indigenous* resources. Here we observed that although the dominant model of development within the responsible agencies was generally strongly based on 'imported' industrialisation, in practice indigenous private and community capital had played a major role in the recent process of socio-economic change. However, the fragility of these local development approaches and processes was increased both by the frequent undervaluation of indigenous resources and capacities and by the difficulties which they face in relating to a fragmented,

compartmentalised and sectoralised institutional framework and the lack of appropriate structural support. In the specific case of education and training, inherent rigidities are hampering the necessary overall adaptation, although we do acknowledge and record many instances where such adaptation is taking place, even if these are but shadow outlines of new directions which will have to be more vigorously pursued and supported if indigenous rural development is to become a secure reality.

One response to the need to focus the efforts of a sectorial and compartmentalised public administration is to seek improvements in inter-agency cooperation and coordination. There are many good reasons why such improvements should be welcomed, and we observed instances of positive results arising from them. However, if such coordination and cooperation is wholly or mainly confined to central or even regional levels of administration then there are dangers if local agencies which are otherwise in a position to reflect and articulate local views become increasingly incorporated within a centralised and hierarchical system. The main purpose of such coordination must be to better enable 'bottom-up' approaches, and to bend sectoral and central agencies to the local will, rather than to increase the technical efficiency with which 'top-down' approaches are implemented. There will be a balance — different over time and space — between constructive and open tension and closer cooperation and coordination — and between the desirability and function of such cooperation and coordination at local, regional and central levels.

Considering the present relationships between education, training and development, our view was generally one of imbalance — too great a separation, too little cooperation and coordination. We felt that the framework of education and training was still unable, with notable exceptions, to provide a genuine freedom of choice between staying in and leaving the rural communities, and still tended to equip people in relation to notions of national or even international labour-market requirements, rather than equipping them with options which were relevant to local resources, potentials and needs. We detected no obvious ways in which the formal educational or training system was helping local people to articulate and validate their own ideas for change, although the three Van Leer Community Education Projects, largely conceived and funded outside the formal

system, had specific aims in this regard. Yet this would seem to be a central role for the education system within the new context.

Many of the rural communities which we visited had suffered from severe disintegration, manifest in low morale, a crisis of identity and self-respect. The dominance of 'external' forces in the process of change has itself been one reason for this but, as the experience of the minority language areas demonstrates, the educational system bears a particular responsibility. There is a need to strengthen and encourage local identity and self-respect, and to confront 'external' forces of change in constructive ways. Both the community education projects and the bilingual educational policies as well as many other 'informal' initiatives bear directly on these issues, but the remaining difficulties are severe. Such activities are generally under recognised and under financed, and the general impression is that they are considered, by mainstream policy, to be marginal in the overall context.

In sum, whilst we identify and welcome the many initiatives both in the sphere of education and training and in that of development, as in the linkages between them, which in our opinion represent a positive response to the new context and the new development paradigm which is associated with it, we would stress our principal conclusion that these initiatives do not reflect the overwhelming weight of mainstream educational, training, and developmental policies and actions within the rural areas studied. Much remains to be done in such areas as local institution building, the development of intermediaries, the rebuilding of morale and self-respect, the articulation of local development strategies and potentials and their translation into concrete proposals for change, the curricula, the balance between formal and informal education and training, and in the development of 'outreach' work by universities and technical colleges. Coordination and cooperation, necessary at all levels, is a clear weakness.

With regard to the programme itself, it has helped all of us both to recognise that there *is* a changing context in less favoured rural areas, which has many common elements, and to place the activities of rural education, training, and development agencies within that changing context. This has given strength to those involved in what often appear to 'outsiders' and even colleagues as 'marginal' activities, and has given those involved in policy and research a new understanding that these small projects and

activities may well in fact be seminal in the evolution of adequate responses to the changing context. The programme also deliberately involved statutory and non-statutory agencies and personnel, and allowed the different perspectives to be expressed. This not only helped identification of the common elements, but also encouraged greater understanding of and respect for, the difficulties faced by those working at different levels.

In looking ahead, we consider that the initiatives we have identified represent a source of knowledge and experience which should be tapped in mapping out the future changes necessary. The EEC, as an important source of funds and ideas for rural education and development, should give a lead in promoting the wider application of successful innovative activities and in encouraging new directions. At least three broad areas suggest themselves as worthy of support. The first is that of community education and community development. There is need to strengthen the educational training inputs on the project activities of local groups, such as cooperatives. In this connection formal educational institutions should be helped to research and develop appropriate outreach programmes for action-oriented education in rural areas. Secondly, in both informal and formal education/training spheres there is need for a greater level of cross-national communication and exchange of information, experience and methods. Again, in relation to community-based development, community leaders and field workers could benefit from well structured exchange visits or study tours. Even within the limited time span of the programme it was evident that a learning process was under way and bilateral exchanges between many of the projects/institutions involved were planned as a follow up. Thirdly, and as multilateral follow up to the programme, we believe that the whole area of technical education, training, information and advice should be given specific attention as a matter of vital importance to the future of indigenous development in the less favoured areas.

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