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Special Series on Paraprofessionals

PARAPROFESSIONALS IN VILLAGE-LEVEL DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA: THE SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT

Cynthia Moore

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**PARAPROFESSIONALS IN VILLAGE-LEVEL
DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA:
THE SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT**

Cynthia Moore

**Rural Development Committee
Center for International Studies
Cornell University**

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PREFACE

In cooperation with the Office of Rural Development and Development Administration in the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Rural Development Committee of the Center for International Studies at Cornell University has undertaken a number of case studies on the role and use of paraprofessionals in rural development. Throughout the world there is increasing interest in using paraprofessionals in various capacities as frontline development workers to provide services which are accessible and acceptable to the rural poor who often have not been reached by previous development programs. However, there is little systematic knowledge to draw on for planning and carrying out paraprofessional programs.

To meet this need, our project has analyzed a number of existing paraprofessional programs to determine what factors affect paraprofessionals' effectiveness in furthering rural development objectives, particularly in the agricultural and the health/nutrition sectors. Field studies were conducted of illustrative programs in Guatemala, Bolivia, Senegal, Upper Volta, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. We hope program planners and administrators as well as government decision-makers will find these case studies useful in designing new approaches to using paraprofessionals in ways that are more effective and more supportive of participatory rural development. These studies as well as a thorough review of available literature on paraprofessional experience form the data base published by the Rural Development Committee.¹

For purposes of analysis, the Cornell working group defined paraprofessionals generally as local development workers (1) with no more than 12 months of pre-service or technical school training; (2) who have direct service contact with rural residents; (3) and who play a semi-autonomous role in making day-to-day judgments and decisions; (4) while operating as part of an organized private or public sector agency. The typical paraprofessional is likely to be indigenous to the service area and to have no more than a primary school education.²

An extensive literature search that preceded our field work suggested a number of general propositions: (1) development objectives in the agricultural and health sectors

¹ Milton J. Esman et al., Paraprofessionals in Rural Development (Ithaca: N.Y.: Rural Development Committee, Cornell University, December 1980).

² Roy Colle et al., Concept Paper: Paraprofessionals in Rural Development (Ithaca, N.Y.: Rural Development Committee, Cornell University, March 1979), p. 9.

in terms of communication and adoption of improved practices can be achieved efficiently (measured in unit cost and time required) through use of paraprofessionals; (2) the effectiveness of paraprofessional programs depends upon the adoption of appropriate program practices regarding selection, training, supervision, compensation, etc.; and (3) the effectiveness, efficiency and responsiveness of paraprofessionals will vary directly with their success in linking with participatory local organizations.

While the search was guided by these general propositions, our intent was to derive principles of operation, rather than test hypotheses, and to identify useful operating practices in an area of development work where there is scant knowledge. Consequently, the research effort was designed to be reasonably open-ended and comprehensive, to insure incorporation of many kinds of useful knowledge. Since the paraprofessional cannot be viewed in isolation, it was necessary to focus attention broadly on the relationships among paraprofessionals, the communities they serve, and the delivery system with which they work.

Accordingly, it was deemed more appropriate to study in-depth the dynamics of a paraprofessional program in a particular area rather than attempt to formulate a summary overview of a program for an entire country. Thus, the research efforts devoted several months to field work in a limited number of villages within each of the six countries. While including a larger number of villages in the study would have provided a better basis for generalizing about the operation of that program, the examination of paraprofessionals' on-the-job performance and of their interaction with the community would have been more superficial, the quality of the data less certain, and the realities of implementing a paraprofessional program less clearly outlined. Since we were seeking to understand better how paraprofessionals could function, rather than to assess the development programs per se, we think this methodology was more appropriate.

To ensure comparability of the results, each of the six field studies was guided by a checklist of topics and questions. However, in an effort to obtain frank responses and empirical detail, the studies employed primarily open-ended interviews and participant-observation methods. The fieldwork was supplemented by documents and reports that dealt with experience with the paraprofessionals, and by interviews with officials directly or indirectly involved in the respective projects.

The Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka was selected for a case study because of its non-governmental voluntary status and its strong religious-ideological basis. As such it contrasted with the more conventional governmental programs most often reported in

the literature. Moreover, the country itself provided an interesting example of what might be accomplished in terms of meeting human needs with a limited resource base. The network of social welfare and development services provided by the government since World War II has resulted in a remarkably high rating according to the ODC's Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI), despite its relatively low per capita income level of under \$200.³ Sri Lanka has had universal suffrage since the 1930s, with an active multi-party system competing for voter support. Thus it represents a case where basic needs have been met to a relatively high degree, especially compared to other LDCs with similar income levels, and within a framework of democratic government and individual human rights. For these reasons, we wanted to include this case study in our project.

We were extremely fortunate to have the cooperation of the Sarvodaya Research Institute, Colombo, and of its director, Dr. Nandasena Ratnapala, and we wish to thank him and his colleagues, who were also interested in assessing the role of paraprofessionals in their programs. This is not an effort to evaluate the Sarvodaya Movement's strategy or impact, a complex but in many ways encouraging effort which others have made.⁴ Nevertheless, in order to understand the role and performance of village-level workers, which are our focus of interest, some consideration must be given to the philosophy and strategy of the Sarvodaya Movement as they influence the performance of the village-level worker. Chapter III reviews this subject.

The research team, comprised of a Cornell researcher and five research assistants from the Sarvodaya Research Institute, spent about 10 days in each of five villages, gathering information through the use of formal questionnaires, informal discussions and participant-observation techniques. A total of 108 villagers and Sarvodaya Workers were interviewed; countless others contributed to the pool of information.

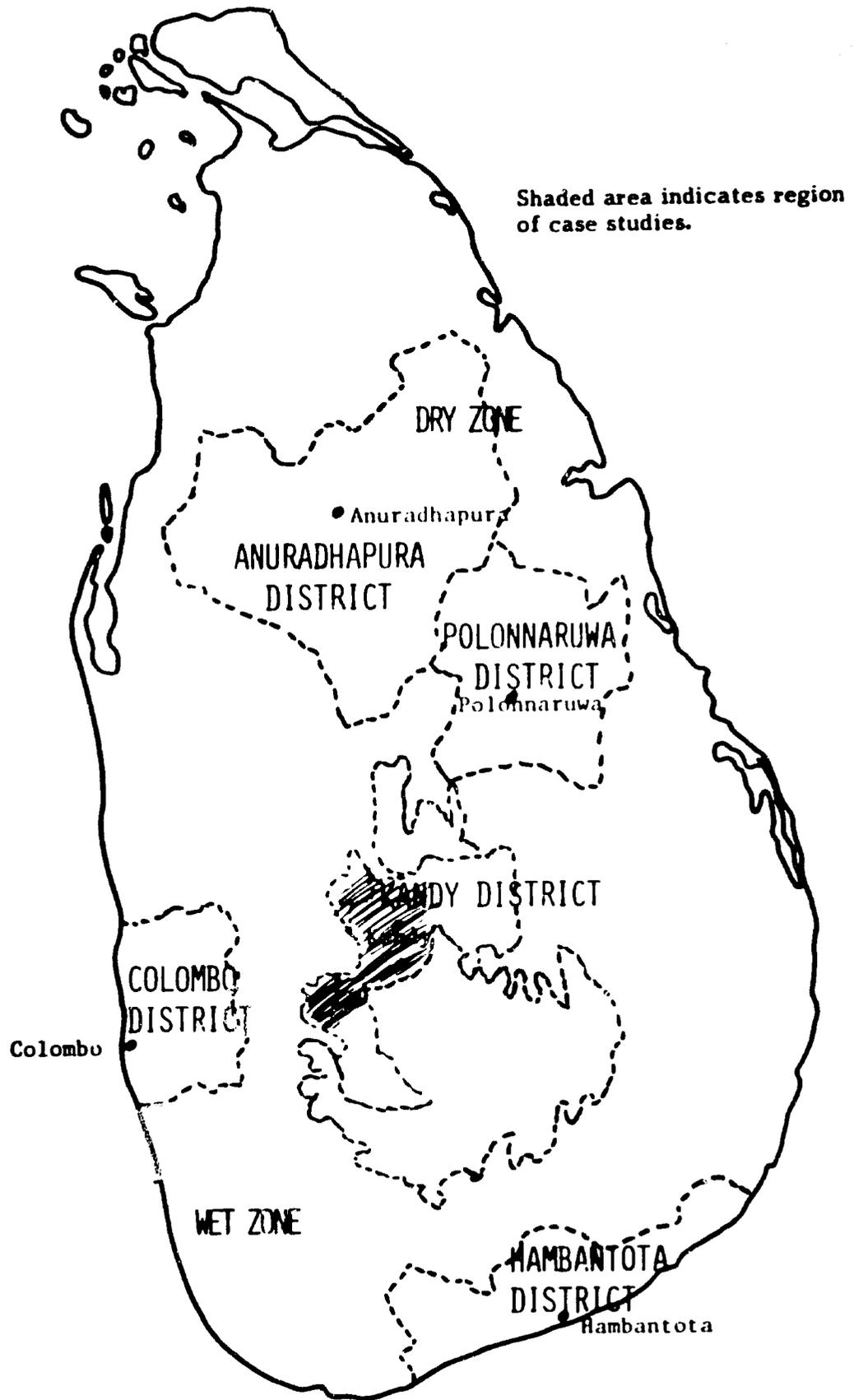
³ Morris David Morris, Measuring the Condition of the World's Poor: The Physical Quality of Life Index (New York: Pergamon Press, for the Overseas Development Council, 1979), p. 138.

⁴ See Ratnapala, Nandasena, The Sarvodaya Movement: Self-Help Rural Development in Sri Lanka (Essex, Conn.: International Council for Educational Development, 1977), and Nat J. Colletta, "Popular Participation: The Sarvodaya Experience," International Development Review XXI: 3 (1979); also the studies by Dr. Ratnapala published by the Sarvodaya Research Institute: Community Participation in Rural Development: Study of Seven Selected Villages in Sri Lanka (1978); Village Farms: Community Participation and the Role of Rural Credit (1979), and Study Service in Sarvodaya (1977).

The five villages, all associated with the Sarvodaya Movement, were selected because of their similarity in economic, social, cultural and geographic terms, but they represented varying levels of activity in community development. As no formal measures of activity level were available, the choice of villages was determined by consultation with the Sarvodaya Headquarters and field workers. There was remarkable consensus on the communities' status in terms of activity level achieved which was further confirmed by the village studies. Two of the villages selected were considered as "active," two as "typical" and one as "inactive." Active was taken to mean that the Sarvodaya Movement frequently mobilized community development activities there. A typical village was one which had the formal structure of the Movement (groups and workers) but initiated projects less frequently. The inactive village was for all practical purposes devoid of the Sarvodaya program, although it had once been an active village.

This range of activity levels gave us an opportunity to observe paraprofessionals in different settings and to assess various reasons for the variation in performance. This assessment, we hope, will be of some relevance to the Sarvodaya Movement and to any persons seeking to introduce more voluntaristic community-level self-help programs drawing on local personnel in order to bridge the communication and organization gap between centre and locality.

SRI LANKA



CHAPTER I: COUNTRY BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Sri Lanka is an island nation in the Indian Ocean, approximately 25,000 square miles with a population of about 14 million. Some 70% of the population are ethnically Sinhalese, descendants of settlers who migrated from northern India about the 6th century BC. Most of the remaining 30% are Tamil people from South India. The predominant religion, Buddhism, has shaped many of the island's cultural and social norms, especially those of the Sinhalese population. Other major religions--Hinduism, Islam and Christianity--also have significant followings.

Climatically, the island is divided into two main zones: a Dry Zone, covering the north of the country and the eastern and south-eastern coastal areas; and a Wet Zone, covering the central highlands and the south-western quadrant of the country. Population densities are quite different between the two zones. The Wet Zone, particularly the Kandyan Hill Country, is densely settled, and plagued by considerable landlessness, so that as much as one-third of the island's total population is without land despite land reform measures instituted previously by the government.¹ In contrast, population densities in the Dry Zone are relatively low, due to large expanses of land which are arable only with installation of extensive irrigation facilities. Our studies concentrated in the Wet Zone, which contains two-thirds of the country's people in only one-quarter of its area.

Sri Lanka has been described variously as a development success and a failure. Government policies since World War II have directed substantial resources into the provision of extensive social and welfare services--education, health care, and a free rice ration. These have achieved impressive improvements in satisfying the basic needs of the population: literacy is 85%; life expectancy at birth is 69 years; infant mortality is 46 per thousand and maternal mortality only one per thousand. The population growth rate has fallen from 3.2% to 1.6%, and the percent of population living in urban

¹Marga Institute, "Participatory Development and Dependence: The Case of Sri Lanka," Marga Quarterly Journal (Colombo), 5:3, 1978, pp. 67-72. While the percentage of agricultural operators owning some land increased following land reform measures, the quality of the land distributed through reform was often only marginal. Moreover, the impact of the reform was minimal in the Kandyan districts, where communities were surrounded by large estates, and the rapid increase in population exacerbated pressure on scarce land resources.

areas has risen little in 25 years.² These indicators are particularly impressive when compared with those of other developing Asian countries. Life expectancy in Sri Lanka is about one and a half times, literacy three times, infant mortality one-quarter, and a birth rate one-half that to be expected in a country of Sri Lanka's low per capita income level of under \$200.³ Of special significance, the differential between rural and urban sectors is negligible, characterized by only a few years difference in life expectancy and about five percentage points in terms of literacy (excluding the estate sector population).⁴

However, these apparent achievements in satisfying basic needs have not been accompanied by economic growth in terms of GNP or industrial growth. While economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s was recorded at 4.5-5.0%, not an insignificant growth rate, this growth was compromised by unfavorable terms of international trade, upon which Sri Lanka is highly dependent, as well as by high unemployment rates stemming from rapid earlier population growth and subsequent rise in the labor force which outpaced the absorptive capacity of the economy. In the 1970s, the rate of GNP growth fell to not much more than the population's growth rate.

Many of Sri Lanka's development problems can be traced to the inherited colonial economic policies and administrative structures. Foremost among these was the promotion of export crops--namely tea, rubber and coconut--at the expense of food crop production, and the extreme dependency of the nation's economy on their value in the international trade system. Unfortunately, the value of these crops has declined in recent years. Only in recent years have governments shifted their efforts from the agricultural export sector to the diversification of agriculture and the provision of infrastructure and services to smallholders engaged in paddy (rice) or other crop cultivation.

The inheritance of a democratic political system from the colonial period and the existence of numerous local organizations dating back to the 19th century has fostered in Sri Lanka the creation of a network of relationships between decision-making bodies and the more than 20,000 rural communities. Even if the responsiveness of the former

² See Normal Uphoff and R. D. Wanigaratne, "Rural Development and Local Organization in Sri Lanka," in N. Uphoff (ed.), Rural Development and Local Organization in Asia Vol. 1, Chapt. 9, (New Delhi: Macmillan, 1981).

³ Marga, "Participatory Development and Dependence," pp. 41-42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Interpretation of Tables, pp. 109-140.

to the latter is not perfect or complete, the rural sector has a political weight which offsets much of the "urban bias" which characterizes government policy in most LDCs.⁵

Largely as a result of the mobilization of mass support through the channels of several major parties, most notably the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), a mechanism has been created through which popular pressure can be exerted on local power holders.⁶ However, on the local level this relationship is marked by a combination of patron-client relationships and sporadic and sharp competition between parties, particularly during a pre-election period. (Sri Lanka is almost alone in having had regular parliamentary elections, and an almost as regular rotation of ruling parties.) It is well known that supporters of the winning party are most likely to benefit from election results. In addition, politicians eager to gain votes have tended to opt for short-run palliatives and direct welfare benefits designed to satisfy the public in the short-run rather than make investments having longer-run payoffs.

The present Government under the United National Party has invested much of its hopes for resolving the country's development problems in the highly ambitious and controversial Mahaweli Development Scheme, aiming to open 600,000 acres of land in a sparsely populated area through a massive irrigation project. This involves construction of several major dams, miles of open and underground water canals, and resettlement of some 150,000 families. Projections for future employment suggest as many as 60-70,000 additional jobs may be generated in farm-related and agrobusiness activity. If successful, the Government believes the country will be able to lessen substantially its annual import expenses through domestic production as well as to alleviate unemployment problems.⁷

Outside the Mahaweli area, the Government continues a number of programs initiated previously, to give incentives to individual farmers to cultivate crops such as coconut, rubber, spices and pineapple, and to families and communities for building of latrines, schools, etc. The Government has provided small grants to local voluntary organizations (Rural Development Societies) to encourage community development

⁵ Michael Lipton, Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977); see also Uphoff and Wanigaratne, "Rural Development and Local Organization."

⁶ See Marga, "Participatory Development and Dependence," p. 81.

⁷ AID, Country Development Strategy Statement: Sri Lanka (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, USAID, 1979), p. 44.

activities. A variety of extension services offer the more traditional services such as credit and technical information, and have been successful in supporting significant increases in paddy rice yields per acre. These were in some measure assisted by the operation (1958-77) of local-level Cultivation Committees made up of farmers elected or appointed to oversee irrigation management, crop planting and harvesting schedules, crop protection, etc. Government policies have also been adopted to subsidize the cost of needed inputs such as fertilizer and to support the market price paid for domestic crops.

Such measures have managed to keep the economic situation from becoming starkly adverse, as would have occurred with less agricultural and economic progress relative to the growing population and limited land resources. Still Sri Lanka remains a poor country, and one which cannot afford to develop the rural sector by government expenditure alone. Some degree of self-help is essential if the conditions of life and the capacity for production are to be improved, particularly for the 80% of the population continuing to live in rural areas. The Sarvodaya approach to village-level development is therefore very relevant to the country's development needs.

CHAPTER II: COMMUNITY CIRCUMSTANCES

While describing a "typical" village will illustrate in more human terms than can straight statistics the factors affecting development, it should be remembered that villages vary greatly in Sri Lanka, due to the wide climatic, geographic and cultural diversity of the island. The description provided here is based on observations in the Hill Country, which is characterized by steep and extensive mountains, heavy rainfall and a very high population density.

In the Hill Country, it is rare to find a village more than two miles from a paved road not serviced by public bus transportation several times daily. The distance from the road to the village, however, must often be covered by foot over foot paths or dirt roads. Villages in this area are often spread out over several hundred acres along the side of a mountain. Families live in individual homes, located in small clearings in the woods and reached by narrow footpaths leading off a main path. The "center" of the village is comprised of a cluster of houses and whatever businesses or services are found in that village, and is located near the access to the paved road. One would typically find there a sub-post office, a few shops selling basic commodities (tea, sugar, rice, bread, soap, batteries...), the cooperative store (if one is located there) and the homes of the leading, usually more prosperous families.

If a school is not located in the village, children will walk or take the bus to the nearest school which usually is not more than two miles away. Older school-age youth will frequently travel a half hour by bus to the nearest middle or upper-level school. The Health Officers, the Public Health inspector, nurse and midwife are likewise easily accessible, occasionally making visits to the village. Health services and education are provided free of charge, with minor fees or payments introduced in recent years.

A typical farmer in the Hill Country owns less than 2 acres of land, with perhaps half of that in paddy--if he is among those lucky enough to have such land. Tea, rubber, coconut and spices are the major sources of income, unless farmers have enough land to grow surplus rice. Farmers will produce what they can from their own land, and many will supplement their meager incomes through casual labor either on the large estates or on construction programs. Women are joining the labor force in growing numbers in response to the pressures of rising costs of living.

A typical family of six lives in a small two-room house made of wattle and clay, with a minimal amount of furniture and belongings. A bicycle and a radio would be

among the most prized personal possessions. Caste is a socially divisive factor, but to a lesser extent than in other caste-bound cultures, and the relative homogeneity of castes in most villages obscures marked social and economic disparities. Few families are very poor, few are very rich. Those relatively wealthy frequently will live in newer cement-brick homes and have a few more belongings. The few rural families with significantly greater wealth usually will not be found in the smaller villages. As one farmer aptly observed: "We are all poor--only some are more or less so than others."

Inhabitants of older villages are loosely bound by traditional family ties, many of them being descendants of the original group of settler families. These bonds encourage the formation of mutual aid groups and participation in community activities. In each village, one also finds several "leading families," the more prosperous and politically active descendants of the original settlers or of families favored by Kandyan kings. Members of these families tend to hold the more important positions in local organizations and are traditionally active in community affairs.

Each village has at least one local organization, and most have several. The most frequently found are the Death Donation Societies (Maranadara Samithi), followed by the Kural Development Societies (voluntary organizations sponsored by the Government), the village Temple Societies (Dayake Sabha) and various political party branches. An outsider is impressed by the similarity of these various organizations and by overlap of membership and leadership among them. Basically mutual-aid groups, any one of them could broaden its scope of activity without much internal disruption to encompass the activities of all the others.

Buddhism is a way of life for the large majority of the Hill population. Its philosophy has been internalized by adherents and often permeates every aspect of their lives. Accordingly, the village temple and monk have been a focal point of village life. The monk, by virtue of his position, can be a leader and is publicly deferred to on all occasions. The temple, where religious rites are performed regularly by the majority of villagers, is also a central gathering place. While not every village is wealthy enough to support a monk, most aspire to have a resident monk in their village.¹

A major constraint facing rural inhabitants is their basic dependence on the agricultural sector for their livelihood, and the acute scarcity of off-farm employment. Small-scale and cottage industries are underdeveloped and employ less than 3% of the

¹ A village which does not already have a temple must build a temple and provide meals and subsistence needs to support a resident monk. This usually means giving the temple an endowment of land, whose revenue supports the temple and its priests.

population. While the nationalization of tea and rubber estates after 1975 opened new employment opportunities, these have not kept pace with the rise in the rural labor force.

Efforts to increase agricultural production in the Hill Country are especially difficult because of the steep and hilly terrain, and the pressures on the limited arable land resulting from the high population density. Farmers center their hopes on replacing the traditionally cultivated crops with the more profitable spices and export crops, or on moving to less populated lands (recently opened up) in the Dry Zone. The first option requires capital and the learning of new techniques, the second entails the leaving of familiar places and friends. Both involve substantial risk.

The effects of these constraints in rural villages are most noticeable by the high level of unemployment, especially among the educated youth. In a typical family, the father will work part time on his land and part time as a casual laborer. In addition to working on the family land and at other tasks, the mother may also work part time in casual labor, if this is available. Younger children attend school while older youth may "idle," often spending time and money on gambling and illegal liquor.

Thus the rural sector in the Hill Country is characterized by small-holder agriculture based on the use of traditional techniques and the cultivation of cash crops, having limited non-agricultural rural employment opportunities. One finds a remarkably high level of social service provision and local organization in the villages as compared to other LDCs with similar per capita income. Despite this, and the fact that a significant proportion of government manpower resources have been directed at rural development, conventional development efforts have not proven capable of promoting the local capacity to formulate and sustain development programs.

One hypothesis advanced by the Marga Institute to explain the limited impact of Government initiatives in rural development is that the pervasive presence of Government stifles spontaneous efforts at organization or self-development by villagers and that conceivably Government programs have been formulated too much as "top-down" measures undertaken in response to apparent rather than "real" needs. As a result, an attitude of dependence on Government has been created among rural people who may perceive development as being the domain of the Government.² This may overstate the case, but the problem of getting and sustaining self-reliant development efforts at the village level has been a central concern of the Sarvodaya Movement.

²Marga, "Participatory Development and Dependence," pp. 14-17.

CHAPTER III: THE SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT

The Sarvodaya Movement was started with the specific objective of involving the rural population in a voluntary grassroots movement for rural development based on the use of local organizers and service-providers and the formation of community groups. For the purposes of this study, the organizers and service-providers at the village level, the village Sarvodaya Workers, will be considered paraprofessionals. Three categories of village-level workers will be reviewed: the Pre-school Instructress, the Community Worker, and the Health Worker. These Workers are typically chosen by the community they are to serve and are given a brief training by the Sarvodaya Movement to prepare them for their future responsibilities. Because of the high level of literacy in Sri Lanka, the majority of the Workers have completed at least six years of formal schooling and thus are able to use written materials to help them in their work. The District-level Workers (field workers) often are former Village Workers, now serving a larger number of villages and assigned a wider range of responsibilities. In this study, they are considered as supervisors, though the Sarvodaya Movement has no "supervisors" in the strict sense of the word.

Philosophy

To understand how paraprofessionals function in the community and national setting just described, it is necessary to examine the philosophical roots of the Sarvodaya Movement. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is a private community development organization in Sri Lanka dedicated to non-violent change by helping people help themselves. Its philosophy is strongly influenced by the Indian Sarvodaya and Gandhian Movements, while also reflecting many of the tenets of Buddhist thought. The Movement originated as a spontaneous community development activity in 1958 and has gained nationwide status and international recognition for its holistic approach to development.

A fundamental tenet of the Sarvodaya Movement is that development must start from below, from the rural community at the grassroots level reaching upwards to the supporting institutions. To accomplish this, Sarvodaya has identified several essential conditions, among which are the identification and development of grassroots leadership capability and the establishment of village groups (social infrastructure) to formulate and sustain development programs which the rural folk themselves have initiated.

According to the Movement's philosophy, "Society is made of human beings. They must change first."¹ They can accomplish this by following the eight guiding principles of individual and social conduct embodied by Buddhist thought and espoused by Sarvodaya: respect for life, compassionate living, constructive action, joy of helping others, equanimity, sharing, pleasant language, constructive activity, and equality.² To foster these qualities, man must have a pleasant and secure environment where his basic needs are met. Sarvodaya has identified a list of the "10 Basic Human Needs" comprised of the following:

1. A clean and beautiful environment
2. An adequate supply of safe water
3. Minimum requirement of clothing
4. A balanced diet
5. Simple housing
6. Basic health care
7. Communication facilities
8. Energy requirements
9. Total education related to life and living
10. Cultural and spiritual needs.

Many of the Sarvodaya projects are directed at satisfying one or more of these needs.³ The movement's founder, Dr. Ariyaratne, states in Sarvodaya and Development that income and employment were "deliberately left out" of the list as "people considered these to be only a means to, and not the ends of a satisfying life." He elaborates, adding that, "when an integrated and continuous community development programme is implemented in a village or urban community, employment is created and incomes are generated."⁴ Many of the more recent projects initiated by communities in Sarvodaya villages have been oriented toward the development of income or employment-generating activities, but in terms of their anticipated ability to stimulate

¹A. T. Ariyaratne, A Struggle to Awaken (Colombo: Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement Publications, 1978), p. 10. While these words were actually spoken by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, they accurately reflect the Sarvodaya philosophy.

²Ibid., p. 7.

³Typical activities include: 1) small scale infrastructure development--building and maintenance of roads, footpaths, schools, wells, temples and irrigation canals; 2) skill training--masonry, carpentry, and crafts; and to a lesser extent 3) agriculture.

⁴A. T. Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya and Development (Colombo: Sarvodaya Shramadana Publications, 1979), p. 14.

the village economy. These include training youth in remunerative skills and organizing agricultural projects and cottage industries.

Sarvodaya has revitalized many of the waning traditions and customs of Sinhalese Buddhist local society, recasting them to suit modern day exigencies. Perhaps the most important are the practice of shared voluntary labor, commonly referred to as shramadana (the gift of labor, which earns spiritual merit), and the ideal of community self-help. Among other venerable traditions are the donation of one's time and wealth to social services for the benefit of the community (teaching of special skills, donation of money, land, materials, labor), and community gatherings at the temple.

The concepts of self-help and self-reliance as employed by Sarvodaya are not meant to denote a total reliance on local manpower and resources and the eschewing of all outside assistance. The concepts avowed by Sarvodaya imply that the impetus and mobilization of resources should evolve from the community itself, with as much use made of local resources as possible. Indeed, experience has shown that attempts at expanding access to employment and income wholly within the village context have not generally proven to provide sufficient scope for improvement.

History

The impetus behind the Sarvodaya Movement was a "work camp" for students and other teachers organized by a teacher at a Buddhist educational institute. The teacher, Mr. Ariyaratne, was familiar with the Indian Sarvodaya Movement and planned this activity with the hope of inspiring the more privileged urban students to use their spare time in social service, particularly in services aimed to help the poorest segment of society. The initial camp was held in 1958 in the economically and socially depressed village of Kanatoluwa.⁵ It generated such enthusiasm that further work camps were organized in other depressed villages, and eventually evolved into a full-fledged Movement led by its founder, Mr. Ariyaratne.

Over the past 22 years, the Movement has expanded greatly, has articulated a philosophy and a systematic development strategy, and has established an extensive administrative and educational structure. Sarvodaya is said to be involved with some 2,500 villages, although the exact figure varies depending on the level of involvement under consideration. The Movement offers a wide range of training courses and

⁵For a more detailed description of the genesis of Sarvodaya, see Nandasena Ratnapala, Sarvodaya and the Rodiyas: The Birth of Sarvodaya (Dehiwala: Sarvodaya Research Publications, undated).

programs, and almost every village associated with the Movement has sent at least one member to a training course. But there has been no formal follow-up to determine how many trainees have returned to their villages to further the Sarvodaya program and are still so involved.

During the mid 1970s, the Movement expanded rapidly—too rapidly, some of its leaders believe. As numbers of participating villages increased, there was less emphasis on developing the necessary village-level organizational infrastructure and less concern with the general direction of the Movement. In the rush of expansion, there was also a tendency for the Headquarters to determine programs for the field workers, departing from the basic philosophy of "development from below." To the credit of its leaders, these shortcomings were recognized and measures adopted to rectify them. Expansion has been slowed, village initiatives are being more encouraged and the entire Movement has undertaken a profound reanalysis. Culminating this reform has been formulation of a new organizational strategy (May 1979) through which Sarvodaya hopes to restore greater decentralization in programming, budgeting and implementation.

Relations with the Government

Past governments have not always been as favorably inclined towards Sarvodaya as the present UNP government has declared itself to be. That Sarvodaya was able to survive the tumultuous years of the early 1970s might be interpreted as evidence of its staying power in the face of adverse conditions. During that period, despite a concerted effort to remain non-partisan, Sarvodaya was widely suspected of being affiliated with the leftist groups which staged an abortive insurgency against the government.⁶ This eventually led to a Ministerial directive forbidding all Government organizations from having any contact with the Movement. The directive was later rescinded by the Prime Minister of the then government, Mrs. Bandaranaike, but attitudes change slowly. To this day some civil servants are still uncertain whether they can associate with the Movement.⁷

⁶During and following the Insurrection of 1971 by leftist students and educated rural youth, Sarvodaya was believed by many to be affiliated with leftists for several reasons: 1) it was a relatively unknown organization advocating change in non-conventional ways and thus suspicious; 2) many of the youth previously connected with leftists groups joined Sarvodaya as an alternative route to change.

⁷From personal interviews, 1979.

The present UNP government has officially stated its appreciation of the services rendered by the Movement to the nation. Civil servants are now encouraged to learn about Sarvodaya and to participate in its different programs. Heartened by the Government's apparent willingness to accept their ideals without undue influence, Sarvodaya has opted to work independently, but in cooperation with the Government, in a mutual development effort.⁸ This official recognition has been a boon to the Sarvodaya Movement, providing it with unprecedented press coverage and increasing nationwide recognition.

⁸ Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya and Development, pp. 20-21; see also Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, E:hos and Work Plans (Utrecht: Van Boekhoven-Bosch B.V., 1977), pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER IV: PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Village Level

Groups. The basic unit of the Sarvodaya Movement is the village and the individuals who make up the village communities. Sarvodaya advocates organizing the community residents by age and occupation into functional groups, whose purpose is then to initiate, support and sustain development initiatives. The more commonly found groups are those of Pre-schoolers, Mothers, Children and Youth. Less common are groups of Farmers and Elders. A Coordination Council (Gramodaya Mandalaya), intended to promote unity and coordination among the groups and other local organizations as well as to be a leader for development activities, has not yet become common. Its occurrence demands a significantly higher level of group organization than presently exists in most villages. While it is rare to find all groups existing simultaneously in a single village, it is possible for an individual in a completely organized village to remain a member of some Sarvodaya group from infancy to old age.

Membership in these groups is open; no membership fees or conditions have been set. However, it is expected that members support Sarvodaya activities in whatever way they can, usually by donating time, labor, materials and money. This includes time spent attending meetings, helping organize and prepare shramadana or other activities. In the case of the Mothers' Group, whose primary purpose is to support the Pre-school program (described below), participation also involves sending one's child to the Day Care Center, contributing small amounts of food for the daily meal, maintaining the premises along with attending the Mothers' Groups meetings where Pre-school needs are discussed.

The Pre-school Program is the only formal activity operating at the village level and is by far the most prevalent of all the Sarvodaya programs. Initiated in 1972 to meet the nutritional, educational and health needs of young children (under 7 years), the Movement now has about 430 Pre-school Centers.¹ These include Community Kitchens, which provide at least one nutritionally-adequate meal to the children at the Center each day. In addition to catering to health and nutritional needs, the Pre-school strives to instill in the children habits that will lead them to be exemplary citizens. They are taught respect for their religion and parents, good health and personal hygiene practices

¹ Figures ranging from 330 to 1,021 have been variously cited. This figure seemed relatively sure, however, as of 1980.

and how to play and behave in a socially acceptable manner. Free play, singing, dancing, and group activities are considered important elements of child development which foster creativity, social grace and ease in public performance.

The Instructress is also responsible for guiding a Children's Group, if there is one, consisting of young graduates of the Pre-school program and other children too young to join the Youth Group. A primary objective of this latter Group is to instill in the children good study habits, as well as to provide them with sound moral and social leadership during their adolescent years.

The Mothers' Group was created largely to support the Pre-school Program. The mothers meet with the Instructress at regular intervals to arrange together how to best accomplish the needs of the program. The Group was also intended to cater to the particular health and nutritional needs of pregnant mothers and to serve as a base for income-generating activities.

Of the remaining groups comprising the ideal social infrastructure of the village, a Farmers' Group would include all persons engaged in agriculture as a life occupation and would stimulate local farmers to work together in efforts to promote agricultural development. An Elders' Group would include people not involved in any of the above groups but who belong to various trades and professions.

Through the Youth Group, Sarvodaya has succeeded in mobilizing many unemployed and educated village youths, channeling their energy and ideas into socially constructive and acceptable outlets.² This age group has the combined energy, time and idealism to devote to community development initiatives that their parents are often unable to give. That Sarvodaya has been able to attract many of the youth into its ranks has been a great relief to the parents, who have professed concern over the increasingly wayward ways of the younger generation, and accordingly has won Sarvodaya the support of many of the village adults.

Sarvodaya Workers. The Community Worker, Health Worker and Pre-school Instructress are supposed to be selected by members of the organized groups, though the final decision depends on consensus of other Sarvodaya Workers active in the village or employed by the District Center and of various village influentials active in the

²Involvement in community development activities--shramadana camps to build roads, buildings, bridges, do agricultural work, engage in cultural activities, putting on plays, fairs, etc.

Movement.³ Although no formal criteria for selection have been determined by Sarvodaya, villagers abide by a tacit code which emphasizes moral character, past social service experience and dedication to the Sarvodaya philosophy. An interesting criterion is "freedom from home responsibilities," which illustrates recognition of the fact that a married person cannot afford the added responsibility of a time-consuming position in community development work. Workers tend to be selected from the ranks of active Youth Group members. The Instructress and Health Worker are invariably female (at least in the villages surveyed) and the Community Worker generally male.

Workers are considered volunteers, but in fact receive a small monthly allowance from the Movement, commensurate with the Worker's status,⁴ the Worker's personal needs and experience, and his or her dedication to the Movement. Allowances range from Rs. 75 (\$5) to Rs. 250 (\$16.50) per month, but are subject to the availability of funds. No additional compensation is expected from the village.

The Instructress and the Health Worker have fairly well defined roles. The first runs the Pre-school Day Care sessions five mornings a week and attends meetings of the Mothers' Group. The Health Worker concentrates on organizing health activities and encouraging adoption of sanitary health practices by villagers. The Community Worker's role, on the other hand, is extremely broad. He is the "organizer, motivator, activator and promoter" for all village development activities.⁵ He is expected to spread Sarvodaya philosophy throughout the village, sustain village group structure, initiate and plan development activities, and act as intermediary between the village community and the external publics, including the supporting Sarvodaya institutions.

Institutional Support

District (Gramodaya) Centers. To assist the village units in their development, Sarvodaya has established 60 divisional "Gramodaya Centers" (Village Awakening Centers).⁶ Ideally, each Center is intended to serve 10-15 villages located within a 10

³In many villages, there is more than one Sarvodaya Worker, and often new Workers are selected to assist or replace an incumbent Worker.

⁴Whether a "Pre-employment Voluntary Worker" or a "Permanent Worker."

⁵A. T. Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya and Development, p. 12.

⁶Figures vary: Ethos and Work Plan (1977) mentions 50 Centers; Struggle to Awaken (1978) claims 61 (p. 58); and personal information indicated as many as 120 Centers (1979).

mile radius, but in light of the shortage of resources and manpower, exacerbated by the rapid expansion of the 1970s, it is common to find a center covering closer to 30 villages, the farthest being perhaps 20 miles away.

While many of their responsibilities are similar to those ascribed to conventional supervisory bodies, Gramodaya Centers are not assigned the tasks of "monitoring" or "evaluating." Rather, they serve to provide leadership, coordinate development plans and activities in their zone and to offer training programs, though less often now since the Decentralization Scheme.⁷ They also provide the materials needed for shramadana camps and conduct meetings for groups and village workers.

A Center is typically staffed by at least four workers, of whom one is designated Coordinator. Normally none have received special training for their position, although most tend to have several years of past experience as a community worker. Appointment to a Gramodaya Center is made by the Headquarters, following the recommendations offered by field workers, and is based on past performance, or simply because a village center is promoted to district level status.

Regional. There are presently eight regional centers, or "Development Education Centers." As indicated by the title, their primary function is to cater to the training needs of the region. Development Education differs from conventional education in that its purpose is to "supply the participants with skills and attitudes which facilitate a self-sustaining community development process with active participation of all groups in the community, particularly youth, and to achieve measureable benefits for low-income families."⁸

Regional centers also serve as mini-Headquarters responsible for the administration of all activities in their area. This includes regional program planning, budgeting, evaluation and record keeping. Although varying in organization, each center has a Coordinator assisted by a staff of about twenty who are assigned to the different sections: administration, projects, childrens' services, and loans.

⁷ Under "Decentralization," training programs are being concentrated in Regional Centers and removed from Headquarters and District Centers. The idea is to spread activities which were concentrated at the Headquarters and to center these in the Regional Education Institutes which have greater resources and manpower capability than do the smaller District Centers. The latter will continue to conduct more localized training programs.

⁸ Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement: Anuradhapura District, A Project Proposal for the Period of 1st January, 1980 til 31st December 1982 (Moratuwa: Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, 1980), p. 5.

National. The apex of the Sarvodaya network is the Meth Medura Headquarters located just outside Colombo. This complex serves at once as the spiritual and administrative center of the Movement. Major decisions are made here regarding the philosophy and direction of Sarvodaya, and the launching of new large-scale programs. While training sessions are offered, the center functions more as a finishing school, where trainees and staff receive their final instruction in the Sarvodaya way of life.

The main offices for technical support, transportation, library, communication and visual services are all located here, as are the central offices for program support. In addition, there is the Center for International Coordination for the World Link-up Program (similar to the Twin City Program), and the International Student and Youth Exchange Program. The Sarvodaya Research Institute, started with the assistance of the International Council for Educational Development (ICED) and benefiting from the continued assistance of the Dutch assistance program NOVIB, operates at a separate location but maintains close contact with Headquarters.

The supreme policy-making body of Sarvodaya is an Executive Committee of elected members, which meets on a monthly basis to determine the overall policy and direction of the Movement.⁹

Material Support

Stressing self-reliance and the use of locally available resources, Sarvodaya has attempted to keep outside material support to villages to a minimum. Much of the support initially offered was in the form of training programs. However, this emphasis has changed since the early years of the Movement as with experience and time. Sarvodaya recognized that most villages could not develop through total self-reliance. A Revolving Fund was established in 1972 to provide low-interest, long-term loans for small-scale village agriculture, industrial, or commercial projects.¹⁰ It is intended to serve either as initial start-up capital or as a means of freeing debt-ridden villagers from the control of exploitative money lenders. Unfortunately, as will be discussed

⁹The Sarvodaya Executive Committee is elected at the Annual General Meeting of the members--honorary, ordinary, youth and international--of the incorporated Movement. See Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, Ethos and Work Plan, p. 9.

¹⁰Strictly speaking, there is no fixed repayment period. Villagers repay when and as they are able. Likewise, if a villager is judged to be unable to repay a loan because of some uncontrollable factor, such as a drought or a cyclone, he is allowed to default.

later, early difficulties in using the rural credit system have tended to discourage widespread use of this potentially valuable service.

Numerous projects requiring start-up funds receive outright grants from the Movement, often in the form of material support--cement, wood, or piping. Less obvious, but equally important, is the supply of dried, prepared food products (powered milk and a cornmeal-soybean-milk concentrate) provided by outside sponsors, CARE and NOVIB, for the Pre-school program.

The Sarvodaya Movement has developed from a loosely organized association of volunteers committed to grassroots self-help development to a well-organized and broadly-based nationwide development program with a stated philosophy and set of development objectives. The administrative complex which has arisen to support the wide array of programs exists to determine policy and to help coordinate and integrate services at the grassroots level with one another and with other local and government services relevant to the solving of development problems. The Sarvodaya Administrative branch stands out as an example to other development organizations in its determination to retain its close contacts with the local branches and to respect its intended purpose: to support and coordinate the grassroots movement.

CHAPTER V: VILLAGE LEVEL ACTIVITIES

Introduction of Sarvodaya into a Village

Sarvodaya's strategy for entering into a village is worthy of discussion as it embodies the fundamental principles espoused by the Movement.¹ The initiation period, built around a community work experience, can last several weeks and can be an emotionally demanding event for the participants. During this time Sarvodaya sets the stage for the subsequent village program, though it is not clear how long the enthusiasm and energy released during this period can be sustained unless there is an adequate follow-up program, which is not always forthcoming. Community development planners now generally recognize that community development programs generate greater enthusiasm during their initial phase than can be sustained over the years, and that enthusiasm levels over the years go through cycles of relative highs and lows. In order to retain an adequate level of support, the program must be able to inject new life at these low points to invigorate waning morale.

Typically a villager, a monk or a village association will hear of Sarvodaya's activities and inform the nearest Gramodaya Center of their interest. The Center responds by sending a field worker to the village to gather basic data and to discuss with the village as a whole the implications of involvement. If the village maintains its interest, a shramadana camp is organized to apply voluntary labor to an immediate felt need, such as building an access road or a main footpath in or to the village. Villagers are assigned the responsibility of preparing for the camp and on the scheduled day, villagers and external volunteers assemble for the event.²

An initiation camp generally lasts between 3-6 days, starting with a relatively small group of village volunteers, but picking up in number as the community overcomes its skepticism. Volunteers, men and women, coming from all castes, age

¹(A) The villagers themselves decide to become involved in the Movement; (B) through concrete action, they recognize their own development capability; (C) traditional social barriers operating in the village are broken down (at least temporarily); (D) natural leaders emerge, who can sustain future activity; and (E) the community as a body becomes aware of the nature and the causes of its problems and resolves to act against them.

²External volunteers, Sarvodaya enthusiasts from neighboring villages, are brought in to offer incentive and encouragement in overcoming the difficulties in organizing a first camp.

groups and creeds, work and live together for the entire period. In Sarvodaya's words, they discover the joy of working together and their own vast development potential. "Family gatherings" play an important role during the camp. For several hours each day, the volunteers gather together to worship, discuss community problems and solutions and enjoy each others' company.

Shramadana camps normally generate such enthusiasm that, at a final family gathering, the village group agrees upon a follow-up program to be implemented with the assistance of the Gramodaya field worker. Under his guidance, village groups are formed, Sarvodaya workers selected, and programs embarked upon.

A significant feature of the camp is the identification of what Sarvodaya calls "natural leaders." These are usually youth, who, when given the opportunity, emerge from relative obscurity to positions of responsibility. It is from this group that the first Sarvodaya Workers are selected.³

The first few years following the initiation process generally are the period of greatest enthusiasm and activity. The newly formed groups capitalize on this energy, conducting numerous shramadanas and initiating self-help projects. Roads and footpaths are cut and maintained, bridges, schools and temples built, wells dug and projects designed to stimulate the village economy carried out. While the mutual help activities characteristic of shramadanas remain relatively popular over the years, communities' expectations rise and needs expand as their basic needs are met. This often leads to a decline in enthusiasm as they realize better the requirements of further expanding and carrying on more complex development activities, recognizing that the Sarvodaya Movement cannot attain their development for them. In such cases, it would be inconsistent with the Sarvodaya philosophy of self-help and self-reliance to bring in outside resources at an increasing rate to help them meet their expanding needs. In other cases, their needs require resources beyond that which Sarvodaya is able to provide.

The following chapters illustrate in general terms some of the activities performed by Sarvodaya Workers in villages where the Movement has been operational for at least seven years. The observations are based on a study of five villages in the Hill Country, and do not necessarily reflect the performance of Sarvodaya Workers throughout the country. However, it is believed that several of the more general

³"Natural leaders" are not limited to youth, but have in most cases come from this group. These community workers are, as stated earlier, considered the paraprofessionals in this study.

observations are characteristic of other regions of Sri Lanka and will be pertinent to development efforts elsewhere as well. Furthermore, while this study is in no way an evaluation of the Movement, it is impossible to study the paraprofessionals' performance without some assessment of their work environment and of the influences of the Movement's policies and actions.

Pre-school/Day Care Program

The Pre-school is the most carefully structured of all the Sarvodaya activities. It is rare to find a center whose Instructress has not attended at least the introductory training course where she learns how to run a program according to a standard model.

Ideally the program operates from a building reserved primarily for the purposes of this program. It is to be a place where the children are free to play, sing and dance without restriction, where samples of their work and crafts can be openly displayed--in brief, a center reserved for children. Although Sarvodaya is disposed to provide building materials for villages without such a center, not all have been able to mobilize the necessary manpower for construction, or obtain a building site. In these villages the program often operates from the temple, though Instructresses complain that this often limits the extent and nature of children's activity.

The Day Care sessions operate five mornings a week throughout the year. The day starts with the offering of flowers and religious devotions and is followed by playing, singing, learning of traditional dances, story-telling, and a shramadana-type clean-up period.⁴ The morning's final activity is the serving of a nutritious gruel made from the dried prepared foods or from local vegetables and rice contributed by the parents.

The Instructresses believe one of the major benefits derived from the program is the freeing of mothers from daily child care responsibilities, allowing them to pursue other activities at home or at a job. It is also seen as assuring the children a nutritious meal each day and providing them with a sound moral and social education. Parents state they are pleased with the attention accorded to the observance of religious rituals and the emphasis placed on teaching the young the Buddhist (or other religious) way of life.

⁴In Sinhala villages, the devotions would be to the Lord Buddha. In non-Sinhala or non-Buddhist villages, devotions would be made to the appropriate deity. For instance, in Tamil villages, respect would be paid to the Hindu deities. Where Christian and Moslim villages are involved, worship would be according to their beliefs.

Yet despite this avowed approval, usually only a minority of mothers send their children to the Pre-school. In one active village, only 20 of the 75 Pre-school aged children attended on a regular basis. At the same time, no villager interviewed would admit to being opposed to the program. The objectives were seen as good and consistent with the prevailing values. Interviews revealed several reasons for non-attendance: distance from the center and unwillingness to send young children alone on the poorly maintained footpaths; disillusionment because reading and writing were not a part of the program; and lack of proper clothing for the children.

Likewise, participation in the Mothers' Groups is rather low. Members attend meetings sporadically, regardless of what time of day they are scheduled for. On the other hand, women participate enthusiastically in shramadanas; indeed they are considered by many to be the best participants. Low attendance of meetings and programs despite verbal support suggests that neither activity is perceived as satisfying the most pressing needs of villagers. Many of them are unwilling to give up their time to attend a meeting or to accompany their children to the Day Care sessions, though they are willing to participate in a shramadana which is an enjoyable activity and one which in some way tangibly improves their environment. That women do not regularly attend monthly meetings to discuss the support of the Day Care Program is quite understandable—one can well imagine that the problems facing it would not vary much over time, nor would the solutions proposed. Furthermore, as the program has a fixed course content which cannot be much altered without the approval of the Headquarters, mothers' input is restricted largely to issues of daily administration.⁵

It is possible that the Instructress could act to improve the content of the meetings, for example, by giving lectures on health, nutrition and sanitation, or by encouraging the mothers to start an income-generating activity. While there is considerable leeway in the direction she can provide the Mothers' Group, she has relatively little say in the content of the Pre-school program. She could, however, inform the supporting institutions of the perceived shortcomings and urge that appropriate changes be made, or at least request that she be allowed to make them for her community. But few Instructresses actively seek to modify the nature of either program. Most are very young (18-26 years old)—a definite disadvantage in a culture

⁵For example, many mothers reportedly are interested in having their children learn to read in Day Care centers. However, this is against Sarvodaya policy: Day Care Centers are to instill in children the appropriate moral, social and educational habits but are not to substitute for conventional schools. However well this policy may have been explained in villages, some mothers still expressed dissatisfaction.

which respects age--and inexperienced, often unaware that the programs could be run otherwise.⁶

Health Program

Sarvodaya's original national health program was abandoned in the mid-1970s because of a shortage of funds. The health program now in the Hill Country is a recent and regional operation, initiated in April 1979, and functioning in a limited number of villages in that region.⁷ Only one of the villages included in our study had a Health Worker; another--the site of a Gramouaya Center--was the base from which the Health Supervisor operated. The following discussion, therefore, does not purport to be a composite description of the village health programs, but rather an example of what one Worker is doing.

The health Worker's first activity on returning from her month-long training program was to conduct a health survey (see Appendix I) designed to familiarize her with the health and sanitation problems facing the village. Instructed during training to direct her initial efforts at an immediate and realistically attainable need, the Health Worker focused her attention on the lack of latrines found in the village. Her plan was to encourage villagers to take advantage of the Government program which promises to reimburse individuals for latrine construction. However, when discussing the idea with the Public Health Inspector at his nearby office, she learned that a current shortage of cement in the country made this project impossible for the moment.

Her second effort was to organize a health clinic. This required more discussions with the Public Health Officers, arranging with them a mutually convenient date to

⁶ A less commonly reported reason for not sending children to the Pre-school was the belief that the Instructress was not the model of behavior parents wished their children exposed to. Rural Sinhalese society is very traditional in many of its social observances. Sarvodaya, in striving to develop a feeling of "family" and openness in a community, has broken with the traditional barriers and encouraged unchaperoned meetings among youth. Sarvodaya youth of both sexes frequently meet together informally in groups, and while to Westerners their contact may seem highly innocent, to the more conservative villager it is improper and not to be encouraged in their children. How widespread this feeling is among adults is not at all clear as large numbers of youth--male and female--attend the training program yearly with the consent of their parents. However, it was an issue that was brought up in informal conversations on several different occasions, as an explanation of why some parents did not wish to have their children attend the Pre-school or did not consent to sending their daughter to a training program, even though separate sleeping quarters for men and women are definitely provided.

⁷ The Kandy region, under the Panwila Development Education Institute.

conduct an all-day clinic. The task entailed several visits to the Health Office before all was in order, but at the agreed upon time, the medics appeared with their equipment and medicines.⁸ The clinic was a success--many villagers were treated for minor ailments or referred to the nearest Health Office for treatment, pregnant mothers were examined and given advice, and villagers were counselled in preventive health measures. Plans were undertaken to organize another clinic at a later date.

The Health Worker is not attached to any one group in the village, but is expected to be active with all of the groups, giving health lectures and advice, and initiating health shramadanas to clean up the village environment, dig refuse or latrine pits, etc. Her closest ties are to the Youth Group, of which she is still a member. The Community Worker provides constant support, such as accompanying her to the Health Office in town.

Follow-up and supervision of the Health Program is greater than for the other programs and has been designed to provide important in-service training: complete the initial basic training session. The District Supervisor of this particular Health Worker had been a Pre-school Instructress and a Community Health Worker (before the nationwide health program was abandoned) prior to being selected as supervisor for the nascent health program. She subsequently attended a special training session at the Regional Development Education Institute designed to prepare her for her new responsibilities in helping set up the new program. She now spends at least half of each month visiting workers in their villages. Furthermore, general meetings are scheduled each month, coinciding with the meetings arranged for the Instructresses.⁹ In several villages where the health program has not yet been introduced, the Instructress has temporarily assumed the position. To minimize her travel obligations, it was decided to conduct both group meetings simultaneously.

Unfortunately, in combining the meetings of the Pre-school and the Health programs, the extent of in-service training has been compromised. Discussion tends to concentrate on the Pre-school program, with inadequate time allotted to follow-up of the health activities. While the introductory training course provided the Health Worker with sufficient ideas to interest the villagers in health activities, the subsequent

⁸The Health Worker informed the researchers that she was lucky to have a supportive Public Health Officer in her area. Many other Sarvodaya Workers were less fortunate.

⁹Not all regions or districts have organized monthly meetings—it depends on the area Coordinators.

course of action had to await elaboration during the follow-up sessions, where Health workers would review their experiences and together, under the guidance of the Supervisors, develop the health program.

It is still too early to determine the effect of the curtailed in-service training on the success of the program. It is possible that the monthly visits made by the Supervisor will become sufficient, or that an effort will be made to reorient the focus of the monthly meetings. Likewise, the program is too recent to have made much of an impact on the villages. Although several villagers interviewed referred favorably to the health clinic, it was conceived of as part of the overall Sarvodaya program, and not as a specific set of activities within the larger program.

Community Leadership Program

Responsibilities. The Community Worker has the least specific role, with duties to "motivate, organize, activate and promote the Sarvodaya program at the village level." Being the least defined, it is also the most variable and difficult to portray in a composite description.

Nationwide, the overwhelming majority of Community Workers are male, 15-30 years old, unemployed, educated (usually "dropouts" with at least six years of schooling), unmarried and Buddhist. However, considerable variation does occur. In this study of five villages, one Community Worker was female, another was elderly (in his 50's) and a third was also a government school teacher working in a different village, returning on weekends to attend to the Sarvodaya program.

The general nature of their activities is much the same in the different villages. Their work follows no set schedule, and they are free to devote as much time to it as they deem necessary. As most Workers are unemployed, it tends to occupy a fair amount of their day in a leisurely fashion. The better Workers are always on the job, conscious that everything they do in some way reflects on Sarvodaya.

The Community Worker's responsibilities are extensive. Working with the groups, he is expected to take the lead in identifying community development projects, in mobilizing the participation of groups and villagers, and in facilitating contact with Government services. While anyone is free to introduce an issue at a group meeting, he must see to it that all follow-up work is attended to. If the group endorses a proposal, the Community Worker takes the lead in obtaining the concurrence of the village authorities (monk, notables, elders,...) and in informing the Gramodaya Center of their intentions. The creation of village groups was intended to enhance the active

participation of the community in determining their development. It is possible that the emphasis placed on developing leadership capabilities in a small number of selected villagers has served to limit the leadership role that groups were expected to assume.

Projects. The most popular projects revolve around the shramadana activities designed to satisfy one or more of the "10 Basic Human Needs" identified by Sarvodaya (see page 9). Shramadanas aimed at fulfilling a major community need, for instance cutting an access road, can last several days and involve several hundred people. Smaller shramadanas are organized by particular groups in response to a less ambitious goal, such as helping an individual plant his fields or dig a well.

Non-shramadana-type activities cover a wide range and often respond more directly to the economic needs of a community or of the individuals involved in the activity. Examples of these are the establishment of a cooperative farm, a cooperative shop, home garden projects stressing the cultivation of profitable plants, and small-scale and cottage industries (weaving, basket making, batik dying,...). Organizing special skill training workshops or sending village youth to workshops provided by one of the supporting institutions have also been popular activities.¹⁰ Many of the activities require capital funding, which Sarvodaya has typically provided, perhaps too willingly, as seen below. In addition to initiating projects which are either largely community-financed or funded through Sarvodaya, the Community Worker can also serve as a facilitator for Government programs, helping villagers take advantage of the numerous services about which the average villager is uninformed or confused.

Activities are not limited to income/employment generation and small-scale infrastructure development. They may also serve cultural or religious functions, such as putting on plays, organizing fairs and bazaars, arranging special religious activities or educational courses. These can invigorate the community and give a sense of animation and activity to the normally uneventful village life.

While this array of community activities is valuable and impressive, it is difficult for the Sarvodaya Workers to sustain a broad range of activities in a single village. It appears that the range of projects has declined in recent years, now concentrating more on traditional short-term shramadanas or community development activities.

¹⁰ Workshops generally center on skills believed to be useful within the village, to revitalize the village economy rather than drain it of its resources. Typical skills learned are carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing and metal working. These courses are popular and have enabled some youth to become self-employed in the villages, but the saturation point for such skills is low in rural communities. Many of those trained have had to leave for larger centers in search of openings.

Community Workers in the villages surveyed appeared to feel inhibited from acting as advocates or facilitators for Government programs, even though this would seem to be a very useful role for them to play. Acting as advocates, they could take advantage of their unique relation with the community members to help villagers exploit the numerous Government programs which offer services beyond those which Sarvodaya as a private voluntary organization, is able to provide.

It would be convenient to attribute the variable success of past projects and the narrowing scope of present activities to the Community Worker. Indeed, his responsibilities should make him the leader for development initiatives in the village. The extent of community support and participation depends largely on his ability to instigate appropriate and realizable development schemes. As one villager suggested: "If Sarvodaya is good to us, we support it."

Yet however willing and motivated the Worker may be, his youth, inexperience and limited training often do not equip him adequately for the task of sustaining a development program responsive to the expanding needs of a community. It is a task more demanding and complex than originally believed to be.¹¹ Sarvodaya Workers have enthusiasm, motivation and rapport with their communities, all of which are essential requisites for realizing development initiatives, and they frequently convey these qualities to the other community members of Sarvodaya. But projects aimed at inducing economic benefits require pre-implementation feasibility studies and planning, proper organization and a simple but basic knowledge of management and administrative skills, most of which are insufficiently developed in Sarvodaya programs. The Gramodaya and Regional centers do have staff members designated to offer guidance in these fields, but too frequently their knowledge is also limited.

As a result of these difficulties, and perhaps because they understood the complexity of certain kinds of projects, Community Workers at the time of our study

¹¹ An example would be a Sarvodaya Worker helping farmers purchase coconuts for replanting from the Coconut Production Board, through a program which offers reimbursement after cultivation. He must first collect money from the interested farmers. One can reasonably expect that not all farmers will have money ready on the agreed date; if unable to come up with it, they may petition Sarvodaya for a loan. Assuming that he is eventually successful in gathering all the money, he must arrange for the transportation of the seedlings to the village, an especially frustrating task for the more isolated villages. Subsequent steps would entail helping farmers plant according to the Board's specifications and, probably most frustrating and time consuming of all the tasks, he must see to it that all entitled to reimbursement actually receive their money.

seemed to be avoiding "projects", concentrating instead on the organizing of shramadanas. The process of organizing a shramadana has been simplified to a series of steps easily accomplished by the more inexperienced worker and is promotive of the broad delegation of responsibilities. However, while villagers enjoy participating in shramadanas and recognize the improvements they bring to the village, the dearth of projects responsive to their economic needs appears to have resulted in some loss in enthusiasm for the Movement in some communities. In principle, the Community Worker is not supposed to shoulder the major burden of community development. The recommended group infrastructure for villages was designed to assume much of that responsibility, with the Worker providing motivation and guidance. Once again, youth and inexperience work against him. Few Workers are able to promote the necessary group organization or lead them to accept much responsibility. A large number of group members prefer to rely on the Community Worker for ideas and leadership, reserving for themselves only secondary roles of responsibility¹²

The more popular and innovative Community Workers were found in the "active" villages, and tended to be more successful at initiating and completing projects which responded to the community's interest. One village was very poor, deriving its income primarily from casual labor. The Worker had recently connected several farmers with a Government coconut production program, and was contemplating further activities of the same nature. The second village was relatively wealthy, profiting from the cultivation of lucrative spices marketed at a nearby commercial center. Economics were a less pressing issue for the "average" villager, and activities centered more on shramadana community projects.

In the "typical" and "inactive" villages, little activity in either shramadanas or projects was recorded. The Community Workers generated little enthusiasm, seemed to lack imagination or an understanding of why community participation was low, and in one case, the Worker was actively disliked by the village.¹³

¹² For example, taking responsibility for organizing a shramadana, but not assuming the overall responsibility for success or failure of the facility thus provided.

¹³ He was finally removed from his position, although a year went by before this happened.

CHAPTER VI: FACTORS AND VARIABLES INFLUENCING ROLE PERFORMANCE

Program variables are those elements of a program over which the planners have some control. One of the intentions of the paraprofessional study was to determine how variables such as the selection, training, supervision, compensation and backup support influence the performance of the paraprofessional through a comparative examination of the six different cases. Factors, on the other hand, are the fixed characteristics of the paraprofessional's environment which cannot be altered in the short-run. Chapter I touched upon several of these factors: the physical environment, the economy and the Government's economic policies, and social organizations. Discussion in this chapter will focus on the variables and factors observed in the five communities studied which were perceived to influence the paraprofessional's performance. In particular, the variables listed above and the existence of participatory local organizations and the presence of a resident monk will be examined.

Variables

Selection. Who selects and who is selected can undeniably influence the extent to which a paraprofessional is accepted by his community and the quality of the services he performs. Sarvodaya policy stipulates that the Workers are to be selected by group consensus.¹ Nonetheless, there is a noticeable tendency for village elites (monks, elders and village authorities) and incumbent Sarvodaya Workers in the village or at the nearest Gramodaya Center to nominate the candidates and request the concurrence of the group members.² The concurrence appears, in many cases, to be a foregone conclusion so that the selection is largely determined by local authorities and/or Sarvodaya Workers.³ In the instances where authority figures and Sarvodaya Workers have the respect of the community and are sincere in acting in its best wishes, a "consultative" selection process of this nature can add to the recognition extended to a

¹ In particular the Instructress is to be chosen by the Mothers' Group.

² When asked how and by whom they were selected, Workers often responded that X group selected them, but that an individual (monk, Sarvodaya Worker, elder) was instrumental in this decision.

³ Among villagers pleased with the Worker selected, there was a feeling that they had effectively participated in the selection process. Those displeased with the choice complained of having no say in the matter.

Worker. Being singled out by a respected leader of the village to assume a position of responsibility is a significant and noteworthy distinction and is readily perceived as such by the community. On the other hand, the consultative selection process is wide open to abuse, especially in cultures such as the Sinhala Buddhist, where client-patron relations are strong and where people are often not prepared to counter decisions made by authority figures.⁴ Having limited say in who is selected leads to lower expectations, and a weaker perception of the Sarvodaya Worker as a representative of the community.⁵ Likewise, this can lead to a decline in the concept of accountability, the Sarvodaya Worker feeling greater responsibility vis-a-vis the village authority figures or the larger Sarvodaya Movement. One manifestation of this is the inability of the extensive group infrastructure to monitor the activities of the Workers or to dismiss an unacceptable Worker. Individual authority figures were more prone to reprimand or correct a Worker than was a Group as a body.

Fortunately, the selection of incompetent or corrupt Workers is not too frequent an occurrence. However, an inadvertent selection bias, that of selecting "natural leaders", has had an even wider impact on the Movement, affecting its capability to serve the rural poor. The inclination of most villages to select "natural" leaders--youth already in the forefront of Sarvodaya activities--as Sarvodaya Workers in the village is an understandable impulse but one which tends to exclude the very poor from responsible positions in the Movement. "Natural" leaders normally come from the better-off and/or leading families whose relative wealth allow them to support idle youth, and whose tradition has always been to be active in social welfare programs.⁶ Poorer youth, on the other hand, often do not have the time or freedom which would allow them to be more active in general community development projects and which in turn could allow them to gain recognition as having leadership potential.

⁴This point is debatable. In some villages, people may expect little from Sarvodaya and may not believe it worthwhile to debate the issue. Villagers can be vocal in standing up for their rights when they are aware of them and perceive them to be vital to their interests. Sarvodaya Workers are not considered "local authority figures."

⁵Although referring particularly to health programs, the following quote exemplifies the prevailing conception of a village worker: "By saying a village health worker was a person chosen by the community and responsible to the community this worker became a representative of the people rather than the medical, governmental or local elites." Susan Rifkin, Community Health in Asia: A Report on Two Workshops Christian Conference of Asian Health Concerns, June 1977, p. 131.

⁶Some of the implications of this exclusion will be discussed in Chapter VII.

Training. Training of the Pre-school Instructress consists of an introductory two-week session, where trainees are exposed to the Sarvodaya philosophy, the concepts behind the Pre-school program and how they relate to the Sarvodaya philosophy, and are briefly taught how to run a Day Care session. Normally, this course is to be followed, after spending six months in a rural Pre-school, by a three-month session where the issues presented in the initial course are treated in depth. (See Appendix II for details of the training.)

The Community Worker, until recently, followed a similar schedule: an introductory two-week session with a three-month course following six months of field experience. The three-month session was unpopular with trainees and generally considered a waste of time, and has since (mid-1979) been dropped from the program. The two-week course attempts to give the trainee a fairly broad overview of how to develop a village according to the Sarvodaya philosophy. This is approached by discussing development problems in general, instructing trainees how to conduct a simple village survey, familiarizing them with the various Sarvodaya programs and services as well as with Government services, and teaching them how to organize a shramadana.

Likewise, the health program introduces the Workers to health problems facing the village--problems of nutrition, child care, disease and the spread of disease, environmental and personal sanitation--and offers a few simple ideas of what to do to rectify these. Unlike the other training programs mentioned here, the health course lasts only one month and is intended to be followed by an intensive in-service training.

In the villages observed in this study, it appeared that the training of the three categories of Workers prepared them adequately to perform their primary services. It did not appear to develop the organizational and leadership skills which might enable them to be effective beyond these roles, however. For instance, the Instructresses were most successful in running the daily Day Care sessions, and in their interactions with the Childrens' Groups. They often experienced difficulty, however, when dealing with the Mothers' Group, unable to offer something more substantial which would sustain their interest. Community Workers in these villages had become accomplished shramadana organizers, but often lacked imagination or knowledge to use the activities for more relevant or long-range purposes. They also experienced some difficulty in undertaking more complicated projects which might have brought about economic benefits to the community and perhaps generated greater community interest in the Sarvodaya Movement.

The trainers attempt to encourage creative thinking and develop problem-solving skills, dividing the courses into theoretical and practical sessions, and using some of the more common participatory learning techniques such as open discussion and role playing. These efforts are to some extent compromised by the pervasive distinction maintained between "student" and "teacher" which stifles creative thinking, and promotes in the students the habit of "telling others what to do" rather than of "leading" through discussion. Sarvodaya openly discourages the "student/teacher" distinction, but appears unable to dispell sufficiently this culturally accepted noem.

Institutional Support and Supervision. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the supporting institutions are not assigned the role of supervision per se. While their activities on the whole are similar to those performed by supervisory bodies, they do not include "monitoring" or "performance evaluation", tasks which imply a certain amount of control and authority over a subordinate.

Since the rapid expansion of the 1970s,⁷ Sarvodaya has found it difficult to maintain an adequate level of institutional support for the village programs. The average area covered by a Gramodaya Center often comprises up to 30 villages, some located as much as 20 miles away. While public transportation makes it possible to visit these centers, the time and expense involved discourage frequent visits to the more distant centers. In addition, in order to staff the growing number of Gramodaya Centers, Sarvodaya has had to sacrifice quality for quantity. Villagers and Gramodaya Coordinators alike complain that the quality of workers has declined over the years and that the enthusiasm and energy characteristic of the early Sarvodaya Movement is less often found in present-day workers. This same problem is likely to be encountered in any rapidly growing program.

Because most of the Sarvodaya Workers are less experienced young people, their work would benefit greatly from knowledgeable supervision by district field workers. But field workers have little special preparation for such tasks, and while their advice may help resolve some of the more superficial problems, they have not been able to resolve some of the more difficult problems facing the program.

This is not meant to imply that the Gramodaya Centers provide no assistance to the village workers. On the contrary, their visits encourage Workers and make them feel an important part of the Sarvodaya Movement. District Workers bring word of new

⁷The Sarvodaya Movement is estimated to have grown from 100 to 2,500 villages in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

or revised policy decisions, are there to discuss difficulties encountered by the Workers and offer advice and consolation, and keep the village Workers up to date on what their colleagues and friends are doing in other Sarvodaya villages. They serve as vital links between the village operations and the larger Sarvodaya Movement.

While an outsider may regard the level of support as inadequate, many Sarvodaya members feel that holding institutional support to a minimum is consistent with the concepts of self-reliance and decentralization. They contend that increasing the support could lead to greater dependence on non-village personnel and lessen the community's will to achieve their own development. But it is not merely a matter of increasing the amount of support. The quality of support is also an issue, as is an apparent decline in community enthusiasm in many previously "active" villages. Field workers operating from the Gramodaya Centers included in this study appeared to find it difficult to provide village-level workers with the kind of support needed to reinvigorate a community's waning enthusiasm. District workers were limited in the scope of initiatives they could suggest to a Sarvodaya Worker and the other community Sarvodaya members who generally had even less access to new ideas than the District worker who is exposed to a variety of programs. Furthermore, District workers often found themselves unprepared for the demanding tasks of helping village-level workers and local groups undertake pre-project analyses which, if properly conducted, could help avoid some of the obstacles which had complicated past projects.

Material and Technical Support. The Pre-school Instructress is the only one of the three workers who relies on a regular inflow of material support from the Movement (in the form of dried prepared food, such as powdered milk, and a soy-corn-milk concentrate called "triposa") for her program. Whether or not maintaining her program is contingent on provision of these popular foods is a moot question. Some Centers have never received dried foods--due to an obscure administrative reason--and nonetheless manage to operate.⁸ The Instructresses who do use the dried foods as part of their program argue that the withdrawal of supplies could have rather immediate and negative repercussions on attendance. Provision of food supplies appears to be well-managed; large quantities are stored at the Gramodaya Centers, with small amounts picked up regularly by workers when attending to business at the Center.

Other supplies are channeled to the villages on a demand basis, usually through the auspices of the Community Workers and the Gramodaya Center. These include

⁸The Instructresses from these Centers, on the whole, were nevertheless anxious to receive dried foods for their programs, feeling it would boost attendance.

building materials (cement and wood), piping for water supply schemes,⁹ and grants and loans for small-scale agricultural or commercial schemes. Community Workers can also draw upon the Gramodaya Centers' supplies of construction equipment such as shovels, wheelbarrows and picks for use in village shramadana projects.

Each Regional Educational Center has several special units delegated to provide technical support to the village programs. For instance, a Regional Center may have a staff member assigned to the Rural Technical Support unit, to a projects and loans division, and to the children's service section. When initiating a new program or project in a village, the Community Worker may call upon one or more of these services, usually through the medium of the Gramodaya Center, to help the community conduct a feasibility study or to provide necessary technical information. The Rural Technical Supply unit might assist in locating the site and designing a building to be constructed by shramadana effort, or it may direct the lay-out of a village water supply project. However, as discussed earlier, the provision of this support is often uneven and has resulted in projects lacking from a technical or operational standpoint.

It is difficult to assess the adequacy of the material program support. The younger generation of Sarvodaya Workers tends to lament the lack of material support and assert that it limits their effectiveness in promoting community development. Meanwhile, the older generation of workers fears the Movement is moving too far from the original theme of self-help and reliance on local resources, and that letting villagers take the easier route to development compromises the element of human development which evolves from hard work and determined effort. It was not possible to come to a clear conclusion on the issue. The balance between sufficient support and overdependence is a delicate one which requires an intimate knowledge of the situation, greater than that obtainable in the period of field research, and probably differing for various actual field situations.

Compensation and Motivation. Compensation and motivation are considered here together because, while compensation can be an important motivating factor, it is also an area of policy where Sarvodaya has adopted some definite and different policies. Motivating factors can, of course stem from other program variables besides compensation, a fact that became even more evident through our interviews.

(a) Compensation: The allowances provided by the Movement for Workers are large enough to encourage potential staff to consider joining the Sarvodaya Movement

⁹ A large project sponsored by the Swiss organization HELVETAS

if not otherwise employed, but not sufficiently large to hold on to workers. The stipends are not competitive for someone who must support a family or who is offered a more lucrative position in a public or private enterprise. It is extremely rare to find a village Sarvodaya Worker who is also married and supporting a family. In principle, being a Worker does not necessitate devoting most of one's time to the task, but this seems to be the popular conception. Only one of the workers included in our study held the full-time job, devoting weekends for his Sarvodaya activities, and this was acknowledged to be an unusual occurrence. The stipend is seen as a desirable bonus for contributing time and energy to the Movement, but something which cannot compete with the earnings obtainable from a regular job, which most workers must seek sooner or later.

(b) Motivation: Individuals aspire to be Sarvodaya Workers for varying reasons. Among the more commonly stated reasons are gaining the respect and recognition associated with being a Worker as well as the possibilities for social and job mobility. Others include enjoyment of being actively involved in promoting the development of one's community, and of being able to implement in a meaningful way the practices espoused by Buddhist philosophy. In addition, Workers enjoy learning new skills and coming into contact with other youth having similar interests.

While workers are not apt to suggest that Sarvodaya can be a stepping stone to a "real" job or to a permanent position with the Movement, this is an evident consideration and one which should not necessarily be dismissed.¹⁰ Belief in the possibilities for personal social mobility often leads to the acceptance of greater responsibility and an increased effort to perform well, an asset for the Movement. On the other hand, a regular turnover assures the organization of a steady influx of new ideas and energy. To be sure, too rapid a turnover rate is demoralizing, costly to the organization and difficult on programs which benefit from continuity in leadership. Sarvodaya's turnover at present may be closer to the latter rate than is desirable, a cost it incurs by tending toward the "voluntary" end of the compensation scale.

Factors

Local Organizations. The number of local organizations found in a village and their relation with one another seem to be indicators of the development of leadership

¹⁰Some of the permanent staff members earn only slightly less than a low-level civil servant and enjoy free lodging and meals provided by the Movement.

already in that community and of the prevailing orientation toward group activity in the community. Villages having numerous organizations, such as a Death Donation Society (to cover funeral expenses), a Rural Development Society and a Temple Society, with considerable membership overlap, are likely to have a correspondingly large number of leaders who are able to work together in mutual cooperation. They also commonly promote community development activities mobilizing large segments of the population. Villages characterized by a few organizations tend to be lacking in leadership and to be less active in community development schemes. The absence of any local leaders, while relatively uncommon, likewise translates into a low level of development activity.

Antagonism between different organizations does occur in some villages, typically stemming from conflicting political ambitions of the leaders, and subsequently of their followers. Political factionalism in small villages can cause such disruption that it becomes almost impossible to organize development projects designed to benefit the community as a whole.

When inter-group cooperation exists, the key members of one organization often are the influential members of another, and may in turn enjoy substantial prestige in the village Sarvodaya Movement. They either formally comprise the Elders' Groups or are informally deferred to in the making of decisions. Their endorsement is of invaluable assistance to the Sarvodaya Workers. It legitimizes their position, facilitates the mobilization of the population and provides them with valuable advice and direction.

Sarvodaya programs were noticeably more active in villages which already had a history of organizational activity. The proposition examined in our comparative study, that the ability to link with existing local organizations directly influences the performance of the paraprofessional, seems clearly supported by the Sarvodaya experience in Sri Lanka. However, it should be remembered that such linkage presupposes cooperation among organizations, and the cooperation of local leaders, who in themselves are usually more important than the group they represent.

Buddhist Monks. In the early years of the Movement, Sarvodaya recognized the leadership potential that could be found in the Buddhist monks. A resident monk is in a natural position to act as a leader of a village, and the temple is a natural center for mobilizing activity. Once established as the resident priest in a village temple, a monk is subject to very little supervision by the Head Temple and is left largely to determine his own activities. Some have chosen to engage in social service activity and actively

assist the Sarvodaya programs. Others remain aloof and relatively inactive in community affairs. Regardless of the extent of their involvement in community affairs, the monk is the nominal leader of any event or program, and is deferred to on all occasions.

For a Sarvodaya Worker, it is far easier to work in a village which has a resident monk active in the Sarvodaya program. While the monk's endorsement adds to the legitimacy and importance of a Worker's efforts, as does that of any local leader, its value is enhanced by the fact that he is also the respected religious leader of the community.

In reviewing the history of several Sarvodaya villages, it appears that a monk's influence can be especially important during the initial period. A monk is often observed to be the essential intermediary between the village and the Movement. Being a respected, known and trusted figure, his espousal of this unknown, outside organization can win over many of the skeptical villagers. Later on, as the program is established and is no longer the object of distrust, the monk can move from the forefront, allowing the new leaders to take a more active role.

While this leadership role does not always necessarily occur in all communities, it was apparent that monks, on the whole, had been very active and influential in introducing Sarvodaya to villages. Many of these monks have since moved to other villages, and their replacements have not always been as involved in social service programs as they had been. In the instances where Sarvodaya was well established, the active participation of a monk no longer seemed to be essential in garnering local support. In no case that we observed did the monk not endorse the Sarvodaya efforts, no matter how low his level of personal participation.

Thus, while monks or other religious figures can and do often play an important role in establishing the Sarvodaya Movement in rural villages, it appears their impact is greatest in the early stages of development. Indeed, a large number of the village programs have been initiated by or with the strong support of monks. If, with time, capable local leadership emerges, the monks' active involvement is no longer as necessary. He can then serve as a valuable "behind-the-scenes" supporter, assisting local villagers to achieve their development goals. Monks' long-term contribution, therefore, may lay more in their ability to strengthen local leadership capability than to perform that role themselves.

CHAPTER VII: PARTICIPATION, THE COMMUNITY AND THE SARVODAYA WORKER

Many proponents of a "participatory" approach to development see the use of paraprofessionals and the greater participation of local communities as important for the successful implementation of a development program.¹ The paraprofessional is seen as an essential factor in extending the program to the rural population, beyond the scope normally achieved by the conventional delivery systems. His relations to the community and the extent to which he elicits community participation are believed to be major elements in determining the program's outcomes.

Within the Sarvodaya Movement, the Village Workers are considered to be the "energizing forces" behind the village programs. In addition, Village Workers are held responsible by the communities for much of the programs' success, to a far greater extent than was ever intended by the Movement's founders. The prevailing attitude found among Sarvodaya members is that their support of and participation in the program depends on the competency of these community organizers in identifying appropriate projects. A respected Sarvodaya Worker who generally experiences little difficulty in mobilizing support is one who has proven his ideas to be reliable and capable of benefiting the community.

Although the Sarvodaya Workers assume the predominant responsibility for village development, an extensive group structure was intended to carry out this task. By organizing the community into functional groups united by a common purpose, Sarvodaya believed the individual members would be inspired by each other, and by the awareness of the power of their consolidated efforts, to take charge of their development. However, full-fledged group structures have not often evolved as anticipated. Members view their participation mainly in terms of the donation of time, labor, money and materials. They may be active in organizing and completing projects, attending meetings or spreading the Sarvodaya word, but generally do not take an active role in determining what will be done. It is not clear whether villagers' willingness to accept a subordinate position rather than seek an active voice stems from

¹For the purpose of this study, participation is defined in terms of who participates, when and how in all aspects of program development and conduct: in decision-making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation.

their having a limited say in selecting workers,² from a lack of conviction that Sarvodaya can really do much to help them, or simply from accepted patron-client roles and an unfamiliarity with participatory decision-making processes. Certainly in some communities, rural Sri Lankans are very active in such processes through one organizational channel or another.

Who Participates and Why

Sarvodaya's objective has been to involve and assist the neediest and most deprived segments of the island's population: the rural poor, the lowest-caste groups, the landless and the landpoor.³ Despite these intentions, the very poor in the village surveyed have not benefited as much from the program. In what seemingly constitutes a self-perpetuating dilemma, the very poor benefit less because they have less time to participate. Obligated to take whatever employment they can find, they tend to be occupied in low-paying but time-consuming labor, often working from early dawn to the late evening. Their more fortunate neighbors work less strenuous hours and have more free time to devote to Sarvodaya, if they wish to do so. Therefore, decisions regarding future activities are likely to reflect the ideas of members who do not have an intrinsic understanding of the needs of the poor. Accordingly, the poor are even less inclined to participate. In addition, the very poor may not believe Sarvodaya to be capable of responding to their particular needs, perhaps believing these require other measures than those generally adopted by the Movement.

Youth from average income families comprise the largest group of participants.⁴ They have the time, energy and idealism to devote, and are eager for an outlet to channel these to. Sarvodaya has been more successful than any other national program in Sri Lanka in tapping and exploiting this reservoir of energy and ideas and has illustrated the important potential residing in this underutilized force. Women are also considered by many to be among the more active participants, and are most noticeable in preparing for and joining in shramadanas. The Movement's national leaders, recognizing the potential contribution of women, have now designed an ambitious

²This would be consistent with the conviction of "participatory" development planners that community selection promotes accountability and raises expectations and demands placed on the workers.

³Sarvodaya, Ethos and Work Plan, p. 14.

⁴Average income for a rural farming family is about Rs. 300/month (\$20.00).

marketing project focused on giving scope to their talents and are presently seeking external funding for it.

Perhaps because so much attention has been centered on the youth who have subsequently become the Movement's local organizers and driving force, many of the middle- and older-aged villagers seemed to view Sarvodaya often as a "youth program" and have restricted their participation to providing guidance and approval, or joining mainly in shramadanas. Like the very poor, they apparently did not expect to personally gain enough from active involvement to induce them to give up much of their time which otherwise could be devoted to income-generating activities or to rest and relaxation. Farmers apparently had little expectation of the Community Workers' ability to help them, in light of past difficulties in establishing effective agricultural programs. Nor did the casual laborers seem to expect their situation to improve much as a result of Community Workers' efforts, as relatively little headway has been made in revitalizing village economies. It is quite possible that villagers have been too impatient in their expectations, failing to recognize that development is not an instantaneous phenomenon but one which requires time and persistent effort by the community as a whole. It is equally conceivable that the villagers have expected too much from Sarvodaya and the Sarvodaya Worker, transferring the burden of development to the Movement and its agents whose resources and potential are limited by the voluntary nature of the organization.

The wealthier families and businessmen also are less apt to participate actively in Sarvodaya activities, though a few have become active patrons of Sarvodaya work in some villages. The former may give gifts of money or materials, but often seem to prefer to retain a respectable social distance. Businessmen have on several occasions openly opposed the Movement, which has manifested a propensity to disrupt private businesses considered exploitative of the community. Sarvodaya cooperative shops sometimes have been established with an eye to undercutting private shopowners, and a Revolving Fund was created in part to free villagers from the control of local money lenders. Furthermore, Sarvodaya has played a decisive role in revealing the existence of illegal gambling and liquor houses to the police and in discouraging youth from spending time and money in local teahouses. Needless to say, merchants engaged in such enterprises are not anxious to have a local Sarvodaya Movement started in their villages. It should be repeated, however, that a number of community-minded businessmen and wealthy residents have, for personal and ethical reasons, endorsed Sarvodaya's work and have sponsored it in the villages.

An important reason for participating in Sarvodaya's activities is, understandably, anticipation of personal benefit, even though this is an anathema to the Sarvodaya philosophy. While many emphasize some sort of economic gain, it would be unfair to dismiss other equally important motivating forces.

According to Buddhist philosophy, the performance of "meritorious acts" and the accumulation of "merit" enhances a person's prospects for a better subsequent life. While there is no formal listing of merit-producing acts, consensus accords community service a high ranking. Alongside the desire to attain merit can be a sincere interest in helping one's community, an orientation valued by Buddhist thought. This interest was observed to be especially prevalent in the more idealistic Workers, who claimed that Sarvodaya had made it possible for them to "put into practice" the values espoused by Buddhism.

But working with Sarvodaya need not only respond to spiritual or moral needs; it can also be fun--a source of enjoyment and an occasion to interact socially with one's community while doing "good" for that community. It provides youth of both sexes an excuse to meet casually and frequently during the week. Likewise, shramadanas are enjoyable social events, in spite of the hard manual labor performed by the participants. Sarvodaya workers and community participants seem to value the community spirit generated by such cooperative efforts.

Finally--but not least by any means--some motivating effect must be attributed to the many improvements Sarvodaya has brought to villages. Bridges, roads, schools, temples and numerous other community structures exist now because of the Movement, providing services and meeting needs which make the village a more pleasant place to live. Large numbers of youth have abandoned their socially divisive ways--to the relief of the older generation--and some have found employment through the services of Sarvodaya. Villages are more inclined than ever before to engage in self-help activities. Sarvodaya has been able to achieve these and numerous other developments that neither the Government nor private individuals were able to accomplish on their own.⁵

⁵ This study did not examine the community and local development efforts of Rural Development Societies sponsored by the government's Department of Rural Development. These have existed in villages of Sri Lanka off and on since the late 1930s, with some having continuous performance, without paraprofessionals we should add, over 20-30 years. The RDS and Sarvodaya work cooperatively in some villages, usually with the same leadership where such cooperation exists.

The village-level Sarvodaya Worker should be highly commended for his efforts to induce the local community's voluntary participation in numerous community development acts and for the improvement these initiatives have brought to the communities. Perhaps more important than the physical and material improvements resulting from these initiatives have been the revitalizing of a "community spirit" in the village and a heightened propensity on the part of the community to mobilize some of its own resources for the accomplishment of certain local development projects.

However, there seems to remain some question whether Sarvodaya will be able to fashion a strategy which meets the growing needs and expectations of its members without losing its unique grassroots, self-reliant character. Disillusionment is voiced by some villagers who believe they were led to expect great changes in their lives, often by fellow villagers who were instrumental in introducing Sarvodaya into the community. Possibly the amount of contributions to be made by villagers themselves was down-played, or the length of time needed to develop the community was glossed over, or perhaps the individuals chose to ignore these aspects. Whatever the reason, many members now show less enthusiasm in their support.⁶ Sarvodaya Workers in the villages sometimes appear uncertain about the present state of affairs and about how to reactivate the Movement. Some speak of "giving speeches and explaining what Sarvodaya is about." Others appear willing to accept the explanation that most villagers are too busy and thus continue their normal activities with those having disposable time.

⁶All village Sarvodaya Workers interviewed acknowledged a decline in support--even in the "active" villages.

CHAPTER VIII: IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

An analysis of Sarvodaya's experience in the use of paraprofessionals can be useful for other program planners interested in adopting a "participatory" approach. Although Sarvodaya considers itself to be young and still groping for the right answers, it has, in comparison with other programs, survived a relatively long number of years during which time policies and ideas have been modified to meet emerging exigencies. It thus offers a wealth of experience, particularly relevant in light of Sarvodaya's adherence to the principles of grassroots development and self-help, principals espoused by participatory development planners.

In the following chapter factors significantly contributing to the performance of the Workers are reviewed in terms of their impact on the effectiveness of paraprofessional programs in both providing services and encouraging local participation. While the issues addressed evolve specifically from the Sarvodaya case, they are believed to have implications for a wide range of participatory development programs.

Strengths

A major strength of the Sarvodaya Movement has been its successful integration into the normal pattern of daily village life. Its consistency with the prevailing cultural beliefs and values and reliance on local manpower and resources distinguishes Sarvodaya in the eyes of the local population from programs sponsored by "outside" forces, and in particular, the Government. Several tactics deliberately employed by Sarvodaya can be credited with this achievement: the highly participatory and emotionally attractive initial activities, beginning with a self-help project; the embracing of socio-cultural values and norms and the revitalizing of respected traditions; and the reliance on leadership, manpower and resources available from the local environment.

The initiation strategy employed reinforces a community's belief that it itself is chiefly responsible for bringing the Movement into the village. Representatives acting on behalf of the community contact the Gramodaya Centers, and the community itself chooses whether to continue the activities stimulated by the first shramadana camp. Likewise, Sarvodaya Workers are chosen from among members of the community, rather than from the outside.

Great emphasis is placed on integration of the program into the normal pattern of community affairs, provided this does not require undue compromises in the Movement's objectives or philosophy. Elders and local authority figures, the traditional purveyors of wisdom, are drawn into the Movement by seeking their advice and guidance. In effect, their leadership role is often undermined, moving them from the forefront to a more consultative position supportive of the newly emerging leaders. Another local figure, the monk, is also incorporated into the Movement, and encouraged to use his influence to further the development initiative. When the Sarvodaya Worker and the monk work together, the credit as well as benefit falls equally on each. Sarvodaya encourages the observance of religious practices, and often organizes special rituals or religious classes, an effort which wins community approval and at the same time, increases the number of active followers in a village.

Because of its ingenious use of respected but waning traditions, Sarvodaya has gained a reputation of being a champion of the positive values embodied in traditional culture. Voluntary shared labor, mutual help and pride in one's community, revered traditions which exist even more strongly in memory than they did in the past, are central elements of the Sarvodaya program and have succeeded in fostering pride and confidence among the village inhabitants. Each Sarvodaya village has at least a few accomplishments which residents can proudly claim to be the results of their efforts.

A final factor contributing to the Movement's success in establishing itself as a village program is the importance attributed to training villagers in skills useful within the village, spurring the local economy rather than depleting it of scarce resources. While this orientation is popular and has fostered community support, it is not always a feasible strategy. Too often villages cannot absorb more than a limited amount of skilled persons and those newly trained must leave to find opportunities elsewhere.

This innovative and appropriate use of cultural traditions and the successful integration of the program into the community's affairs have contributed significantly to enhancing community acceptance of village-level Sarvodaya Workers, the local representatives of the Movement. Cognizant that many of the Movement's objectives and approaches are consistent with their own aspirations, villagers have accordingly considered the Sarvodaya Workers' efforts more seriously and given them more support.

Weaknesses

The most visible sign of persisting difficulties for the Sarvodaya Movement has been a decline in community participation. There is, some suggest, diminished

confidence in the Movement's potential to generate significant improvements in individuals' lives. A major reason for this can be traced to the limited preparation and training of workers on all levels, but most specifically on the village and Gramodaya level, a weakness aggravated by the rapid expansion of the Movement during the past decade. Social welfare activities are appreciated by the community but are not sufficient in themselves to sustain community interest over a long period of time. Yet, given the present limitations of training, neither the village nor the Gramodaya Workers are able to meet the rising demands of their communities. They may be well motivated and committed to the Sarvodaya ideals, but often are not prepared to direct the community in devising a simple but coherent development plan or to recognize the preliminary tasks which must be completed before embarking on a major project. The result has been to attempt development through a series of often unrelated sporadic activities which frequently are inadequate to meet the growing needs of a community.

Furthermore, too great emphasis has been placed on the leadership to be provided by a Sarvodaya Worker, whether or not this was the original intention of the Movement. The scope of responsibilities assigned to a Worker, which would be taxing to a skilled and experienced community developer, are hardly manageable when entrusted to a minimally trained and not yet experienced youth.

In some cases, limited accountability on the part of the Worker vis-a-vis the community which he is supposed to represent has also limited the Movement's effectiveness. While selection truly by the community is difficult, if not impossible, to enforce in a culture accustomed to accepting the decisions of authority figures, the impact of compromising the selection process must be recognized. Community members are less likely to feel they can make demands or voice their dissatisfaction when a worker has been personally nominated by an authority figure.¹ This was especially apparent in the case of one village which tolerated for full year a highly disliked Worker widely suspected of corruption.

Ideology can also interfere with success. Sarvodaya is so strongly associated with promoting moral and social values that members may be hesitant to make demands emphasizing material benefits. However, such a view mistakenly interprets Sarvodaya as a religious movement rather than one directed at community development. While Buddhist values stressing selflessness and the subordination of materialistic desire may

¹In the case of Sri Lanka, it may also be that the authority figure is affiliated with a political party, and has the power to bestow political favors.

be perceived by non-Buddhists as antagonistic to development, the willingness manifested by most Buddhists to improve their socio-economic situation proves this to be an ill-founded view. To the contrary, income generation is seen as revitalizing the community, not as an exclusively individualistic pursuit. Furthermore, the national leaders of the Sarvodaya Movement have been promoting Buddhism as a philosophy which actively supports socio-cultural reconstruction, which can be achieved in part by the revitalization of the local economy.

Program Development

Having reviewed some of the more significant factors perceived to influence the performance of village-level Sarvodaya Workers in the localities included in this study, several general observations can be offered which may prove relevant to persons interested in the use of "participatory" approaches to development programs.

A primary concern would be to improve the training of field workers so they can better identify, design and implement development projects which would be initiated by the community and designed to benefit all or most segments of the community. These should result in a simple but realistic development plan prepared for and by that community. Along with this need for basic technical and managerial skills is the essential ability to generate enthusiasm and induce the voluntary support of the community for the proposed development initiatives. While it would probably be financially and physically impossible to extend much technical/managerial training to all village workers, it should be possible to upgrade substantially the quality of Gramodaya and Regional level workers, who would in turn provide intensive in-service training to the village workers, along lines similar to those followed by the Health Program.

In-service training would encompass such issues as the means for development of groups' organization or capacity and the identification of problems facing the rural poor (the very poor) as well as improving the skills necessary for program implementation. Village workers would also be encouraged to promote greater use of Government programs and services. Upgrading the skills of the workers should result in the initiation of better-conceived projects following a systematic development plan which, if it met with even minor but frequent successes, would increase support and credibility of the Movement.

The problem of overemphasizing leadership roles is difficult to tackle as it seems to evolve naturally from personal preferences and cultural norms. In any community,

there are leaders and followers. Problems arise, however, when followers put too much faith in leaders and become lax in voicing their concerns. This situation is aggravated if followers feel they have little say in choosing leaders. While it does not seem possible to avoid these occurrences completely, dispersing leadership roles may constitute one method of alleviating the impact. It has three distinct advantages. In the first place, creating more leadership roles would lessen the burden placed on any one leader and could also allow for greater specialization by each leader. In the second place, local influentials may feel less inclined to influence the selection of a larger number of leaders. Third, since leaders in rural communities are educated and, therefore, mobile, there will be a larger leadership base, making it less vulnerable to the loss of one or two of its members.

The incorporation of traditional values, customs and religious observances into Sarvodaya operations and the utilization of existing roles, such as the Buddhist monk, are fundamental aspects of the Movement, which also serve to legitimate it in the eyes of the community. These have been so fully internalized by Sarvodaya philosophy that it would be difficult to claim that they had been adopted just as legitimating factors, which they, in fact, are. Their role in promoting local acceptance is indisputable, but it would not be advisable for other programs to adopt this approach indiscriminately. Rural populations often tend to be suspicious of Governments' intentions, and taking such an approach may be viewed as hypocritical or suspect. This does not mean to imply that Government programs should avoid the incorporation of socially and culturally appropriate traditions or roles, but care should be taken that their adoption is more than superficial and therefore convincing.

Concluding Remarks

The Sarvodaya experience indicates that the use of paraprofessionals, or non-professional front-line workers, can be successful in extending the scope of development initiatives beyond that normally achieved by conventional government delivery services. Compared with most Rural Development Societies, sponsored by the government and not having similar catalytic roles, Sarvodaya seems to have had more impact, at least in those areas where it operates according to the prescribed strategy. The reliance on leaders indigenous to the community and selected by its members has significantly contributed to the program's acceptance as a community initiative and has prompted the fruition of community development efforts never before dreamed possible. In addition, greater popular participation has been stimulated, though

admittedly not to the extent considered desirable by Sarvodaya or other practitioners of development who see participation as an essential means and end of development efforts.

Sarvodaya's integration into villages can be attributed largely to the success of policies and strategies derived from its philosophy. The use of the paraprofessionals is only one, albeit an important, element of the local development strategy. Others include the incorporation of traditional customs, values, habits and religious observances. Experience also indicates that while considerable progress has been made in reaching large segments of the population not affected by conventional development efforts, the "very poor" still remain largely outside the Movement, while the interest level of those who have been reached is often difficult to sustain. A development program must not only be successful in reaching the more deprived segments of the population, it must convincingly illustrate that it has the potential to make and continue making meaningful contributions to their productivity, income, security and quality of life.

While Sarvodaya workers may not have always been able to meet the expanding demands and expectations of their communities, they nonetheless have achieved commendable and impressive results in stimulating voluntary participation and the realization of many community development projects, especially the completion of small-scale community infrastructure schemes. Moreover, the very fact that the Movement--a private, non-profit and voluntary organization--has survived and expanded over twenty-two years in spite of often adverse political conditions and limited resources, is evidence of its ability to attract the interest and support of the rural population.

APPENDIX I:

VILLAGE HEALTH SURVEY FORM

Health Research*

Date:

1. **Village**
2. **Number of the house**
3. **AGA division**
4. **PHI division**
5. **GS division**
6. **DMO division**
7. **Closest hospital**
8. **Members of the family**
 - name
 - age
 - school/occupation
 - class
9. **Chief occupant's occupation**
10. **Family income**
11. **Land acres**
12. **Cultivation**
 - lowland
 - highland
13. **Condition of the house**
 - permanent/temporary
 - clean/unclean
 - roof - hay or cadjun, tile, asbestos
 - how many rooms
14. **Latrine**
 - yes/no
 - water seal/pit
 - temporary/permanent
 - used/not used

***Translated from survey form used in Anuradhapura district.**

15. **Water Supply**
 - well/private/tank/tap
 - protected/unprotected
 - well chlorinated/not chlorinated
16. **Hot Water**
 - used/not used
17. **Garden**
 - clean/not clean
18. **Refuse pit**
 - yes/no/to be built
19. **Animals**
20. **Equipment, vehicles**
21. **Family health, family planning method**
22. **Sarvodaya connections**
 - do have/do not have
 - like/dislike/against
23. **Family necessities**
24. **Other**
25. **Your opinions**

Prepared by:

Information received by:

APPENDIX II:

CONTENT OF THE TRAINING COURSES

LECTURES OF THE 2 WEEKS' TRAINING COURSE IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

1. Leadership and the nature of leadership.
2. Preparation should precede a Shramadana.
3. The philosophical core of the meaning of the word "Sarvodaya".
4. The essentials of the Sarvodaya Movement.
5. National Movements and the Sarvodaya National Movement.
6. Introducing the Headquarters and the places where the Development Centres are situated.
7. Sarvodaya
 - (i) Physical Development.
 - (ii) Spiritual Development.
8. How the human being is psycho-analyzed.
9. The system of Sarvodaya Group Organizations.
10. The physical and mental under-nourishment and the future of Sri Lanka.
11. The Ten basic Human Needs.
12. The history of Shramadana.
13. The personality qualities that a Sarvodaya Worker should possess.
14. What is the aim of education?
15. Why do we implement Sarvodaya?
16. Methods of preventing rural diseases.
17. Buddhism and society.
18. Rural relationship.
19. Human history and the modern society.
20. The benefit of a co-operative system.
21. Scientific agriculture.
22. Agricultural and technical units.
23. The benefits that could be obtained from Rural Banks.
24. Abdominal diseases.
25. Rural needs.
26. First-aid for poisonous snake bites.
27. How village research reports are prepared.
28. The spiritual make-up of a Sarvodaya Worker.
29. The experiences of village relationship activities.

LECTURES OF THE 2 WEEKS' PRE-SCHOOL TRAINING COURSE

1. Maternity care.
2. Child care.
3. Children's diseases and treatment.
4. Child development.
5. Children's mental make-up.
6. A music lesson.
7. Children's songs.
8. Vaccinations.
9. A well-balanced diet.
10. Reports essential for a Pre-school.
11. Time-table.
12. The qualities that a Pre-school Instructress should have.
13. Food items that could be found in a village.
14. An aid to assist in additions and subtractions.
15. Group organizations.
16. Sarvodaya philosophy.
17. How a child is moulded into the society.
18. Things that are necessary to open a Pre-school.
19. Appliances and aids that could be prepared from the natural resources of the village.
20. Rhythmic games.
21. Open-air games.
22. Kiddies' stories.
23. Kiddies' dances.
24. First-aid.

LECTURES OF 3 MONTHS' PRE-SCHOOL TRAINING COURSE

1. A close study of a kiddie.
2. What is a Pre-school?
3. The use of speech for a child.
4. Making an observation of a kiddie.

LECTURES OF 3 MONTHS' PRE-SCHOOL TRAINING COURSE (CONTD)

5. Humanity.
6. Children's narratives.
7. Child development.
8. Songs accompanied by gesticulations.
9. Making observations.
10. Sarvodaya philosophy.
11. What is health?
12. Children's songs.
13. Steps taken to make a poem.
14. Enriching the language.
15. What is music?
16. Regarding Tri-posha.
17. Introducing soil.
18. What is dance?
19. Preparation of Pre-school appliances and aids.
20. Experiences gained in handwork.
21. Recognizing sounds.
22. Development of language.
23. Nature of a kiddie.
24. What to observe when a child studies.
25. Construction of the Community Kitchen.
26. The Pre-school Instructress.
27. Kiddies' handwork and how a child is moulded through handwork.
28. How a kiddie is trained in sound.
29. Things that should be in the Pre-school.
30. Daily duties and the time table of the Pre-school.
31. The Instructress' pre-preparation for the following day.
32. Preservation of various food stuffs.
33. Environmental health.
34. Forming a Pre-school.
35. The basic aims of a Pre-school.
36. How puppets are made (using discarded things).
37. How a hat is made (using discarded things).

LECTURES OF 3 MONTHS' PRE-SCHOOL TRAINING COURSE (CONT'D)

38. How a flower plant is made (using discarded things).
39. How language development is made through a Pre-school.
40. The Pre-school and the kiddie.
41. How to make observations of the kiddies in a Pre-school and the Instructress.
42. How sweets and other foods are prepared from Soya Beans.
43. How a well-balanced meal is prepared in the Community Kitchen.
44. How the vessels etc., in a Community Kitchen are cleaned.
45. Examining the children for their cleanliness.

THE LECTURES DELIVERED TO THE SUPERVISORS IN A 3 DAY SEMINAR

1. Nutrition.
2. Kiddies' Education.
3. How the Pre-school, Kiddies' Group and Mothers' Group are organized and how they are maintained.
4. How flowers are made.
5. How blocks of dresses are made.
6. How to encourage and discuss the activities that have to be done monthly.
7. Preparing summaries.
8. Explaining leadership.
9. The duties of a Supervisor.
10. How a child is moulded to the world.
11. The Ten Basic Human Needs.
12. Answering a question paper related to the Sarvodaya Movement.
13. How monthly reports are prepared.
14. How the Kiddies' Group and the Mothers' Group carry on their activities - preparing such a programme of activities.

APPENDIX III:

TWO-WEEK HEALTH TRAINING COURSE

TIME SCHEDULE:

- 2 days Sarvodaya philosophy.
- 2 days Shramadana.
- 2 days village health work.
- 8 days lecturing (theoretical background).

1. SARVODAYA PHILOSOPHY

2. SHRAMADANA

- preferably in connection to health.
- e.g., building of toilet.
- hospital work.
- making compost pile.
- etc., etc.

3. VILLAGE WORK

- a. Survey - learning from the community,
 - finding out problems,
 - plan making to solve the problems,
 - questionnaire,
 - how to work out.
- b. Clinic - how to organize,
 - why a clinic (target group),
 - where and when a clinic,
 - how to run a clinic,
 - using opportunity to do more things,
 - e.g., health education.
- c. Other activities
 - health activities in Pre-schools, different groups, etc.,
 - once a month building well or toilet,
 - village health committee,
 - health education,
 - village - house hygiene,
 - co-operation Gramodaya,
 - co-operation health officials.

4. LECTURING

a. Introduction

- who is the village health worker?
- many things related to health care.

b. Tasks of trainees

- capability to recognize problems and to make plans.
- work out the plans.
- conducting survey.
- organizing clinics.
- health education.
- health work in Pre-schools.
- organizing first aid groups (health committees).
- constructing lats, wells, houses, (Gramodaya).
- organizing of seminars (coming together of all the trainees of their Gramodaya district).

c. Organization of government health services

- organization.
- whom to contact for what.
- whom to cooperate with.

d. Vaccinations

- what means vaccinations?
- why, what, where and when to be given?
- child development.

e. Maternal care

- what means maternal care.
- why and when.
- child development.

f. Child health

- babies.
- Pre-school child.
- common diseases: malaria, worms, scabies, coughs, colds, fever, fits, diarrhea, measles, chickenpox, mumps.

- g. Nutrition**
 - principles of nutrition.
 - balanced diets (low cost).
 - malnutrition.
 - nutrition in case of diseases (anti-diarrhea drink, etc.).

- h. Hygiene**
 - personal hygiene.
 - environmental hygiene (village): lats, wells, compost, animals, houses, etc.

- i. Family Planning**
 - why Family Planning.
 - methods.
 - how to obtain.

- j. Health Education**
 - sharing of knowledge.
 - survey - problem analysis - planmaking.
 - target groups.
 - ways: mass/individual, discussing, lecturing, acting, being example, demonstrations, plays, etc., etc.
 - evaluation and reporting.

- k. First aid**
 - wounds,
 - burnings,
 - home/Pre-school accidents,
 - etc., etc.

- l. Survey/Clinic/Village program**
 - theoretical background. (See above)

ANURADHAPURA DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION INSTITUTE

Health Service Training Program for 20 Trainees

Objective: The HSTP will provide the participants with enough specific information and/or experience concerning preventative and curative medicine, health, nutrition, and family health to enable them to work effectively as liaison workers with the local Public Health Officer and the people of the village.

Dates: November 5-18 (Shramadana Nov. 13-18)

December 3-16 (Shramadana Dec. 11-16)

Monday Nov. 5 Dec. 3	8:30- lunch	SSM philosophy, history, aims, activities-- Instructors, Harsha, Uggalla
	2:00- 5:00	Introduction (A.)--Instructor, Uggalla
Tuesday Nov. 6 Dec. 4	8:30- lunch	Tasks (B.)--Instructor, Uggalla
	2:00 5:00	Government Health Services-- Mr. Chandrasiri, Region's Government Health Educator, Anuradhapura Nursing School
Wednesday Nov. 7 Dec. 5	8:30- lunch	Maternal Care (E.)-- Ms. K. Gunasekera, MOH Office
	2:00- 4:30	Nutrition-- Ms. S. Jayasundara, Agriculture Extension Office
	4:30- 7:00	Personal Hygiene-- Ms. Kahandagama, Vice-Principal of Anuradhapura Nursing School
Thursday Nov. 8 Dec. 6	8:30- lunch	Environmental Hygiene-- Mr. Siriwardene, Public Health Inspector, Eppawala
	2:00- 4:30	Child Halth-- Ms. Kahadagama, Nursing School
	4:30- 7:00	How to Survey--Uggalla

Friday Nov. 9 Dec. 7	8:30- 10:15	Report Writing from the Field--Uggaila
	10:15- 12:15	Malaria--Mr. Kandarara and/or representative from the Malaria Campaign
	1:00- 3:00	V.D.--Venereologist, Anuradhapura Hospital
	3:00- 5:00	T.B.--Staff Member from the T.B. Clinic, Anuradhapura Hospital
Saturday Nov. 10 Dec. 8	8:30- lunch	Family Health--Mr. Chandrasiri, Govt. Health Educator
	2:00- 5:00	First Aid--Ms. Anuralatha, Vannitammenna, Anuradhapura
	5:00- 7:00	Snake Bites and Indigenous Methods of Treating--Mr. R. Leelaratne
Sunday Nov. 11 Dec. 9	ALL DAY	Health Education--Mr. Chandrasiri, Govt. Health Educator
	2:00- 5:00	How to do village work: vaccinations, toilet building, T.B. and Malaria tests--Mr. Kandarara, Public Health Inspector, Yakala
Tuesday-Sunday Nov. 13-18 Dec. 11-16		SHRAMADANA/VILLAGE WORK--coordinated with the assistance of Mr. Kandarara, PHI, Yakala

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