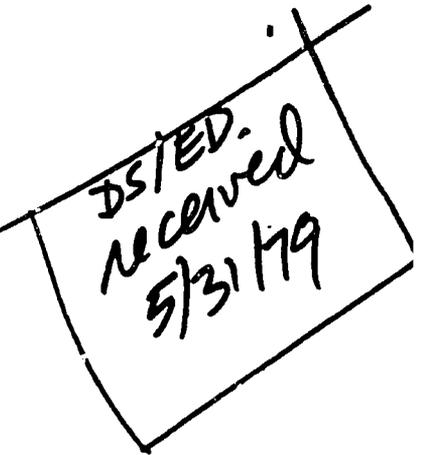


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PARTICIPATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAMMING



A Technical Report
on
An Exploratory, Pre-Program Study
of the
Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement,
Sri Lanka

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PREFACE

What started as a study to be conducted in three countries (one each in Asia, Africa, and Latin America) quickly narrowed to one, Sri Lanka. What was to have been conducted initially in 1976-77 finally took place August, 1977, to May, 1979. The problems encountered in launching this type of research endeavor are not uncommon but combined with a change of institutions for the principal investigator during the last phase (i.e. data analysis and report writing), they have served to delay the final report. Hopefully, the results of this research effort will prove to be beneficial, nevertheless, to those involved in the whole enterprise of studying, understanding, articulating, and supporting locally controlled development education.

The study of indigenous self-help education and development programs can provide useful lessons, lessons that should be learned by the proponents and activators of nonformal education. The potential value of the present study lies in the incorporation of principles and concepts enunciated here into programs elsewhere. The same value may be further enhanced through comparative or experimental testing of the tentative principles, concepts, and hypotheses identified.

The term "tentative" is important. Obviously, this study can not stand alone as a final note on anything. The study has some rather clear limitations, mostly resulting from the constraints under which it was conducted. The data is perceptual or "soft" data solely, not checked by participant observation reports or factual material (census, income data, etc.). The data was collected by Sri Lankan colleagues, at one and the same time, a strength and a constraint. Basically, I asked them to do the field work,

and they did a most creditable job. But we were not in close contact as problems arose, and hence some went unresolved.

The study represents a one-shot survey. This fact, combined with the decision to treat the data qualitatively rather than in a quantitative (comparative analysis) fashion, means that it can only serve as a pre-program study, one that calls for a follow-on effort to subject the stated principles, concepts, and hypotheses to empirical test through an applied field study.

This report should be seen as a document put together to satisfy the contractual requirements set out by the funding agency, USAID. However, in order to become a significant contribution to social science research-based literature, it must first yield to a treatment and final analysis by my Sri Lankan colleagues who are, after all, much better equipped than I to lend it the refinement it so seriously needs. The interpretation of the results obtained and the design of any subsequent, follow-on research must be done in the manner of a full partnership with them.

My sincere thanks to Bernie Wilder and Jim Hoxeng of USAID for encouraging me to undertake this study. Their patience and support during the extra time required to complete the analysis and writing was very much needed. I also benefited from discussions with Nat Colletta, Sarah Jane Littlefield, Tom Arndt, Clayton Seeley, and Scott Hammond as well as US Ambassador to Sri Lanka, Howard Wiggins.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to A. T. Ariyaratne, President of the Sarvodaya Movement, whose example of selfless, untiring dedication to a cause kept crossing my mind and spurred me on with the tasks. And other Sarvodaya

compatriots (Dr. Nandasena Ratnapala, Lalith Godamunne, Damayanthi Herath, E. H. S. Fernando, Delrin Perera, Christy, Jayakody, Jayasena Bambarenda, H.M. Dharmadas J. M. S. Bandara, Daya Perera, A. R. M. Rambanda, Sunil Jayawardana, M. G. M. Maroof, M.M. Karunarathna, Indira Wickramaratne, Jayathissa, and others of the Sarvodaya Research Office staff) made this research project a pleasant experience through their talented and serious efforts to perform in a most professional manner. The friendships established will hopefully find a way to become lasting ones.

Bibliographical research, data editing and coding, and the typing of the final report were tasks made much easier by the assistance of Peter Burke at North Carolina State University and Carol Compton, Varghese Panangatt, Patti Farrell, and Sid Doan at Cornell University. I owe special thanks to my wife, Carol, for accompanying me on the second field trip and serving as a professional partner in the field investigation. She has also volunteered many hours on the data analysis.

As is the case with most research undertakings of this nature, many hands and minds must contribute to assure success. Many have. The responsibility for any shortcomings are entirely my own.

J. Lin Compton
4/18/79

Participative Education Programming

Introduction

Knowledge of principles and procedures for increasing and improving learner participation in the design and implementation of non-formal, development-oriented education is grossly inadequate in light of new emphases being placed on expansion of educational programming to encompass larger numbers of people and resources. This fact, combined with a growing recognition of the positive effects of learner-determined and learner-directed education on personal, social, and economic development, underscore the need for research designed to delineate the relevant principles and conceptual base of 'participative education programming' (PEP).

This research investigated a case example of PEP in the Asian region in order to develop a tentative framework of basic assumptions, principles, hypotheses, and methodological procedures to stimulate and guide subsequent and more extensive research efforts. As such, this research was precursory in nature but, nevertheless, aims at an essential phase of the overall 'research and development' process. The principles derived from this case study and the "tentative" guidelines formulated are suggested for subjection to further testing and reformulation.

A Rationale

There is a general belief currently coming to the forefront of development circles that popular participation, and the stimulating

and educational nurturing of such, is not merely desirable but is a necessary element in successful development efforts around the world. Talk of popular participatory efforts and their importance for the development process ranges from Tanzania's Ujamaa villages to China's rural communes. And yet, there are no explicit statements of principle techniques, and conditions extracted from the reality and rich description of these experiences that might serve as an operational guide to others.

There are many reasons why popular participation is now being viewed as a serious ingredient of development beyond the ideological mandates of "Pluralistic and Democratic States." First and foremost, is the growing awareness among many developing nations that the resources needed to develop diverse and populous areas are so massive that a major proportion of them must be mobilized from within these areas. Governments are coming to realize that their greatest resource in the development process is the people themselves. The tapping of this resource through its mobilization, organization, education and training, and concentrated application on local problems and needs is a great challenge that might only be met through predetermined schemes to foster mass participation on a grand rather than on a gradual scale.

Second, is the growing realization by various government delivery systems (agents of development), i.e., agricultural extension, that the ready consumption of delivered services is dependent upon demand. In short, the rate of consumption of a delivered product or service is directly related to the receiver's perceptions of its fit with his needs. This, then, would suggest a strong relationship

between the popular use of government services and popular participation in the prior determination of what those services should consist. Where delivery and reception are co-equal forces continually acting upon one another in a reinforcing clarification and redefinition of a perceived functional relationship, one might expect to observe the phenomenon referred to as "program relevance."

Thirdly, and related to the above, centralized patterns of development decision-making have generally been unable to accommodate local variations or to obtain needed local resources. Highly centralized strategies result in minor mobilization of economic resources, little improvement in planning and management skills of local people, and little incorporation of indigenous experience and knowledge into development efforts. Popular participation can be conceived of as a means of coping with problems of scale, resource scarcity, and the adaptation of development efforts to local conditions.

Fourthly, popular participation appears to be an important socio-psychological ingredient in individual and community development. The relationship between participation and ensuing positive self-concept, a sense of control, a sense of commitment and responsibility to others readily serves as a motivational basis for personal and community change. The importance of popular participation in catalyzing the foundations of development, i.e., a sense of identity and belonging, must not be under-estimated.

Finally, there has frequently been an over-emphasis by change agents on the importance of program objectives with a consequent detrimental effect on integral process objectives in development efforts.

Only now are we beginning to see the binding relationship between community education and community development, and beginning to envision popular education programming as a base for development.

With these considerations of new emphases and realizations of the role of popular participation in development as general background and context, a more specific discussion of the type of "learning contexts" facing local people in the developing countries follows.

The development of indigenous capacity stands forth as a prerequisite for purposes of developing systems of rural credit, fostering land development or reclamation, constructing such infrastructure as roads and irrigation systems, organizing rural health services, and developing cottage industries. The accomplishment of expansive and self-sustaining development in any of the type of areas mentioned requires that more and better directed efforts to train local people be made by government services.

Although infrastructure and government-related services are much more extensive and pervasive today than during earlier periods, the need still exists to improve the effectiveness of government and local interaction in order to maximize resource and information utilization and foster human resource development. Two very clear objectives here would be to (a) develop local capabilities to recognize problems and take a problem-solving approach and (b) use local resources to deal with problems when possible, calling in government services only if necessary. Certainly, government inputs into local development efforts would be more effective if all parties recognize their proper need and application.

It is now a widely accepted belief that, through popular participation, the tremendous human resources of the developing countries can be put to creative use in promoting their own development. Although the laborious and often frustrating task of trying to stimulate attitudinal changes in people to better enable them to act effectively in their own interests portends no easy or final solutions, substantial knowledge drawn from both democratic and socialistic models regarding the pro-active effects on human behavior of extensive exposure and/or involvement in participatory development or education efforts does exist. And, conversely, it is now widely known that democratic development not only requires shifts in the distribution of wealth and power but depends on the active participation in this process by those who will be its beneficiaries. In short, whether for the purposes of developing individual capacities, a societal democratic ethic, or a maximum use of resources, participation is essential.

Participative Education Programming: A Concept

Participation, viewed in an educational context, also yields a postulate that people learn best (learning being seen in terms of knowledge and skill acquisition or attitudinal and behavioral change) when extending themselves in pursuit of objectives chosen by them. Participative education programming is yet, however, a little understood phenomenon.

Educational psychologists have only recently begun to seriously study the self-actualizing behavior of people in non-formal educational

contexts. After the pioneering work of Maslow (1970), little attention was given to this area of concern again until Tough's (1971) study of the individual adult's learning projects. More recently, Mallette (1974) has conducted related research in Ghana. Freire (1971) also has obviously contributed to this new humanistic pedagogy. Wilder's (1971) studies of literacy in Laos have shown that local people on an individual basis often find ways and means to satisfy a felt learning need, sometimes in unexpected fashions and places. And, Hoxeng's (1975) efforts in Ecuador have provided additional evidence of the capability of local people to actually manage much of their own learning. These studies plus others conducted in a variety of cultural settings provide useful insights into "participative education programming" (PEP). But these large questions remain: how can and does popular participation in education programming come about and how does it sustain itself? This research answers, at least in part, these questions. More importantly, this exploratory study lays some of the foundation upon which a research program can be developed.

The State of the Art:
An Essay Review of the Literature

**The State of the Art:
An Essay Review of the Literature**

The following review will cover: 1.) some views of development and education in recent history, 2.) development-education-participation theory and philosophy, 3.) programs and approaches, 4.) participant characteristics, 5.) influences and conditioning factors, 6.) process structure, 7.) program structure, 8.) results and benefits, 9.) policy issues, and 10.) methods for studying, measuring and evaluating PEP.

A review of the literature on participation can never be exhaustive. The concept is still so broadly defined and used as to make a literature search endless. Narrowing the concept to "participative education programming" has not lessened the task a great deal, especially because the investigator has tried to account for factors which impinge upon the PEP process. This has led to forays into a number of discipline-related studies, a variety of types of development projects, and a full range of heirarchical levels of programming, from village to national planning.

The results of this search are not meant to be seen as exhaustive but rather as an attempt to cover issues important to understanding the present state of the art. Hopefully there will be later opportunity for deeper and more qualitative investigations into each of the areas identified plus others that may be made obvious by further research.

Development and Education in Recent History:

The decades of the 50's and 60's witnessed many large-scale efforts by developing countries to bring about an upliftment of the lives of their rural masses. Taiwan's Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction based upon earlier developments in China during the period 1921-1949 (Yen, 1939), evolved a pattern in the 50's which influenced similar developments elsewhere. India and The Philippines were two of the first countries to implement national programs of community development (Valsan, 1970, Abueva, 1959, Mayer, 1959), recruiting, training, and placing in the field thousands of change agents assigned the responsibility of activating mass participation in local community development and education. The work of The Philippines Presidential Arm for Community Development (PACD) and India's multi-purpose Village Level Workers (VLW) and Panchayat-i-Raj presents an uneven picture of success and failure, however. A basic conclusion reached by many is that the objectives were valid but the methods used were incorrect or improperly applied by insufficiently skilled change agents inadequately supported by poorly managed organizations which were not properly coordinated with other government services. Too much was undertaken too quickly. Another conclusion is that the nature, causes, and potential solutions of rural poverty were too narrowly defined and treated by the community development ethic.

The problems of the rural poor from the 20's to the 60's have persisted into the 70's. They have not lessened. The Asian Development Bank's second ten-year survey (1965-1975) of economic, social, and institutional aspects of agricultural and rural development, however,

pinpoints a new comprehension of the complexities of such poverty. This survey (ADB, 1976) represents an approach to understanding the interplay between technology and institutions and its implications for "participatory growth." A major recommendation stemming from this study is that development approaches be used which emphasize participation of the rural work force in the development process.

Efforts to involve the rural population in the development process (CADEC, 1973 and Melo, 1978, for example) are no easier today than they were decades ago. The same difficulties in awareness-raising and skill-building, the same slow process of achieving educational enlightenment of apathetic elites and illiterate rural masses, and the same complexities in organizing and managing the development process are still present. To place greater responsibility for development on the shoulders of the people themselves will necessitate two simultaneous processes: the design and implementation of education and development strategies based upon participatory principles and the preparation of government services to act in a responsive and facilitative fashion to local popular initiative, to encourage and support it rather than feel that they have to control and direct it.

The transformation of existing educational systems from a traditionally formal mode only to modes that can encompass the real needs of rural people is being attempted in a few countries (Lee, 1972 and Bennet, 1975). Such efforts have been sufficiently studied (Niehoff and Wilder, 1974 and Coombs and Ahmed, 1974) to provide the beginnings of a knowledge base to guide the design of education programs to meet the needs of the rural masses and rural workers. Vocational schools,

functional literacy programs, agricultural extension, and other forms of education are beginning to take on a new meaning within a philosophy of development with a human face.

Development-Education-Participation Theory and Philosophy

Development has been defined differently by different countries, by different academicians (based on their disciplinary perspective) and by occupants of different statuses within the socio-economic hierarchy (i.e., a rural farmer, an urban school teacher, a government cabinet member). In general, however, development in the past was tied directly to an expanding Gross National Product and a theory of 'trickle-down' economics. Gradually, it became clear that the gap between rich and poor nations was widening and, worse, the gap between the urban elites and the rural masses within the less developed countries was growing greater.

The search for a new meaning for the term development has resulted in more emphasis on social equality and economic justice through a more equitable distribution of the income and material products generated by an expanding GNP (Seers, 1970). Simultaneously, development strategies now more frequently emphasize the contribution that the masses themselves can make to a national economy that is predicated on something more than just GNP (Grant, 1973). A people-oriented development strategy recognizes the important contributions the masses can and must make to national development in order to maximize both individual and national growth.

But Traditional forms of education have not always been seen by some as preparation for contributing to or benefitting from economic

development (Illich, 1970). The controversies in educational circles in recent years and the influence upon them by changes in the larger development context, has led to the challenging of existing patterns of social and institutional organization as being detrimental to the attainment of qualitative development goals (Illich, 1971). Once the hallowed shell of "schooling" was cracked and education was re-cast in terms of "learning" as meaning individual growth and development, large scale research was undertaken which has fostered a revolution in thinking about the nature of man's existence and education's role in it.

Now education is more frequently being seen in life-long terms (Faure, 1972). As a result, the definition of the education of youth as being a mere process of transmitting existing knowledge is no longer acceptable. In the modern world, knowledge turns over at a rapid pace and skills and knowledge become obsolete within a few years' time. An educational process is needed which also fosters the development of an individual's ability to learn throughout his life-span if he is to be able to stay current.

This new conceptualization of education has important ramifications for the world's rural poor as well because it emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge and skills relevant to one's real life situation and potential (Curle, 1973) as compared to the previous emphasis on the acquisition of certificates and credentials which were of final value to a minority of the population. Related political questions remain and continue to hinder clear-headed policy-making but recent trends in educational programming by national ministries of education (SEAMEO, 1974) indicate that a functional relationship is being drawn

between education (defined as learning, not just schooling) and development.

The process of learning itself is undergoing re-examination (Freire, 1974) and is being cast more in terms of awareness-building, problem-solving, and human transformation. This new emphasis on education as a means of liberating the human spirit and human creative powers is well-grounded in social and behavioral science (Compton, 1979, Wagshal, 1974, and Misgeld, 1975)

Humanistic psychology encompasses Gestalt psychology and phenomenology or perceptual psychology and is sometimes referred to as Third Force Psychology, an alternative to behavioral psychology and Freudian psychology. Its major tenets are that (1) man is in the process of becoming, that he is never a finished being (Maslow, 1968a), (2) that, from an individual perspective, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, (3) that an individual's perceptions are real for him regardless of others' views (Combs and Snygg, 1959, Wann, 1964), (4) that learning should be sequential, continuous, and based upon the individual's actual life experiences (Dewey, 1938 and Gagne, 1965), (5) that every person has a "self" that is the center of his being, (Hamachek, 1965), (6) that true helpers can only be facilitators and not directors (Combs, et. al., 1972), (7) that learning is an "act of personal discovery" (Bruner, 1961), and (8) that learners must personally engage themselves in the tasks of experiential learning if that learning is to be meaningful (Rogers, 1969 and Moore, 1972). In short, if we are to define education as learning and learning as the derivation and application of meaning and skill by the individual person (as compared

to education as a mere transmission and reception of knowledge and information), then humanistic psychology provides a practical psychology for "participative education programming" (Maslow, 1968b).

Another important area of research and theory builds on humanistic psychology and attempts to account for and validate the nature and degree of adults' self-directed pursuit of learning (Houle, 1961, Tough, 1971, Peters and Gordon, 1974, and Knowles, 1975). Such concepts as self-organization, self-management, learner autonomy, and independent learning are no longer strange concepts to educators (Karuri, 1974, Vanek and Bayard, 1975, and Moore, 1972).

Life-span psychology focuses on the different growth phases of human persons and their concomitant developmental tasks, goals, and responsibilities (Havighurst, 1970 and McClusky, 1970). This psychology is as relevant to human behavior and the problems of education of poor people living in rural villages as it is for those in European metropolises. Children, youth, and adults do have different needs. Adults at different stages in life are apt to participate in different kinds of education and development activities for very different reasons. We need to appreciate the psychological importance of such phenomena as role changes, status shifts, and psychological effects on motivations to participate.

The social-psychologists have advanced "symbolic interactionism" which explains man's behavior in terms of his interacting with his surrounding environment on the basis of the meaning that various objects in that environment have for him, that it is the meaning of the object and not the object itself which is of primary importance (Mead,

1934, Blumer, 1969, and Manis and Meltzer, 1972). The concept of awareness contexts as it relates to social interaction has evolved from this school (Glaser and Strauss, 1964, and Freire, 1971).

The psychologists and social-psychologists have advanced beyond a mere treatment of the mental functioning of the individual person to an understanding of the interactive effects of individual-environment upon learning and behavior. Some educators have gone even further to suggest that popular participation in education can and should become a tool for transforming society itself. (Buttedahl and Buttedahl, 1976, Desroche, 1963, and Kidd, 1972).

Popular participation in social change is not a new concept. It has never been widely understood or accepted, however (Draper, 1971 and Nash, 1976). Efforts have been made to conceptualize a continuum of degrees and types of participation, ranging from creative to active to empathic to spectatoritic to detrimental to anti-social (Nash, 1960). Another effort essentially redefines the community development process in participation terms, as a method of social investigation as a prerequisite for and concomitant of taking action for development (ICAE, 1977). And one effort has spelled out several general guiding principles for designing participatory projects: individual needs and purposes must be served, a high purposive value must be present, benefits must be attractive, inhibitive procedures and structures must be removed, and participant associational structures must be used. (Douglass, 1970).

Others have warned that the education process which instills in peasants the view that "what matters in the world is education itself,"

negates the real meaning of participation. It can create experts who use the status they gain to control the peasantry under the guise of participation. This makes participation themes a more subtle form of creating dependence in which peasants are given the forms of power - rubber-stamping bureaucratic decisions - without the instruments (Conlin, 1974, and Charlick, 1972). Others have posed a "democratic-participatory" model as actually being counter to the "expertise" model noted above with the vital issue being how many can occupy the center at one time and how many must by definition remain on the periphery. This central-peripheral thesis strikes at the core of participative education programming (Rogers and Barb).

Some stress has been placed on the supportive base of a social movement as a prerequisite for sustaining popular participation of rural masses in developing countries (Casse, 1972). Others suggest that the implementation of mass participation strategies, whether they be in the form of social movements or national planning, necessitates a reliance upon existing resources and talents to release the creative potential of the people and to inhibit the development of dependency relationships (Nyerere, 1969 and deVries, 1973). The point is succinctly made that the greatest need is not developing education (i.e., expanding existing forms of schooling) but, using education as a means to help bring about real development, transforming it so that it unleashes the energy of the people for development purposes (Thompson, 1976, and Rafransoa, 1975).

Grass-roots, people-oriented strategies of development, must build upon local culture for it is here that philosophy, meaning,

function, content, sense of history, and leadership are to be found (Hewage and Radcliffe, 1977). Additionally, the development and use of technologies that are appropriate for the economy and culture of a region requires popular participation (Schumacher, 1973). Scientists need to be more conscious of the limitations of high technology for underdeveloped rural regions. Rather than emphasize technology transfer across cultures, more consideration should be given to participative structures and procedures which would foster the development of appropriate technology by the people themselves (Michael, 1971, Colin, 1972). Perhaps the conclusion of one social scientist (Kellerhals, 1967) clarifies why Americans have been slow to support appropriate technology strategies. He feels that the study of the values in participation has not been a part of American sociology. Michael (1971) stresses that participatory forms of development would be an historically logical and consistent advocacy of Americans to developing countries, but Gouldner (1970) informs us that we have become too concerned with theory of how society, groups, social relations, social positions, and culture shape and infuse men and insufficiently aware of man's potential for making society, that men are not simply the raw material of social systems, that they can be the shakers and movers of worlds that are and worlds that might be.

Programs and Approaches

A negative reaction has been gradually evolving to individualized "progressive farmer" approaches to rural/agricultural development attempted during the 50's-70's. Such approaches have most frequently

worked to the benefit of a few, those comparatively better educated and wealthier members of the local society. A major lesson to be learned from these experiences is that development strategies must not be based on "the best" but rather "the rest." This assumption suggests the need for integrated approaches to rural development (Temu). It further suggests the need for decentralizing development administration. A more recent notion is that of government support of rural growth centers where systematic micro-level planning based upon local culture and socio-economic conditions can be carried out (Sen, 1972).

A new emphasis is also being given to the utility and effectiveness of residential training centers as a medium for integrating local level educational potential and needs with national goals. A range of models for residential training exist, from the Danish Folk High School (Manniche, 1969 and Kulich, 1964), to Tennessee's Highlander (Adams, 1971 and Adams and Horton, 1975), to Botswana's Brigades (Sheffield and Demojah, 1972). Secondary level vocational agricultural education is seen as a means of stimulating development through growth in agricultural production (Castle, 1972). In short, schooling and training do not necessarily have to be wasteful. The determining factor is relevance. In our haste to promote non-formal education, we must not lose sight of the need and prospects for infusing formal education with curriculum and instructional methods which will guarantee its meaningfulness to the real life situations of men (Compton, 1974). The skills of participative education programming should be developed first among school children.

Organized education outside of schooling entails some degree of cooperative action. The formation and use of pre-cooperative production and artisan groups has been suggested as one strategy for bringing about more sophisticated cooperative associations, with key individuals trained to serve as group leaders and nurture the groups toward the cooperative mode (Aissa, 1977 and Reder, 1971). The development of cooperatives as a means of promoting participatory development is a well studied and documented phenomenon (Lotz, 1973, Raper, 1968, Larraburo, 1966, and Pfrommer, et. al., 1976).

Others would suggest that educational planners should move away from totally economic models of rural development and toward learner-centered programs which integrate the local resource pool of skilled and learned people into development strategies (Amaratunga, 1977). Such integration, by definition, calls for popular participation in the development decision-making process, the implementing and evaluating of development plans, and a wider sharing in the benefits of development (Mongi, 1976). But popularly-based literacy campaigns, adult-oriented vocational training, cooperatives and other forms of functional education, to be effective, require a prior process of conscientization whereby participants explore the nature of their situations as they perceive it and identify or devise solutions to their problems. If their perceived needs are seen as being redressable by known approaches, they will probably employ them.

One technique for facilitating a group process of problem identification and analysis and solution formation and testing was developed by Paulo Freire (1971). Real life situations of people are

studied and coded via photographs or illustrations and short narratives. These codifications of reality are then used in a group setting as stimulus devices for evoking individual responses for collective reflection and analysis leading then to the formulation and implementation of practical action strategies to be carried out by the participants themselves. The results of such actions are later studied by the group as further content of lessons to be learned.

Some questions have been raised as to who should provide the initiative for the codification and conscientization process, the people themselves or outside facilitators (O'Gorman, 1978). Obviously, the real issue is how well and how quickly local people can be helped to become familiar with and skilled in such matters. It does not seem likely that the rural poor, locked into the deprivation and cultural subjectivity of their situation, will on their own develop and make use of such a process, at least not initially.

Efforts have been and are being made to employ strategies for involving people in the decision-making process, featuring an initial data collection at the village level, an analysis and interpretation of that data by the people with the help of an outside facilitator, and the formation of village development plans (BEPM/Pakistan, 1976, and ICAE, 1977). Such "information, self-help" approaches to community development have obvious utility for sharpening local awareness, objectivity, analysis and planning skills.

The French tradition of "animation rurale" (especially as practiced in Africa) corresponds closely to the experiences of other countries with the community development tradition (Belloncle, 1967, Ryckmans, 1971,

Goussault, 1968, Meister, 1972, Hapgood, 1964, Lumsden, 1973, and Moulton, 1977). A key distinction is that rural animation places major emphasis on the work of village cadres, individuals who are selected by their peers, trained in some functional skill area (nutrition, agriculture, cooperatives), and then work as facilitators of the learning of others in their village. Such functionaries are elsewhere labeled as paraprofessionals, indigenous non-professionals, service auxiliaries, or barefoot technicians. Perhaps a more accurate label would be indigenous specialists. At any rate, this approach represents a potentially viable strategy for integrating scientific knowledge and government services on the one hand with indigenous knowledge and talent in an overall strategy for development education (UNICEF, 1977, and Compton, 1979). An overall strategy would encompass the codification of reality, indigenous specialists, learning-working groups, facilitator-generalists change agents, mobile specialists, and residential training centers (Compton, 1978).

Participant Characteristics

Studies of participants and non-participants in education and developmental activity have been conducted for the purpose of promoting a greater understanding of who participates (i.e., type of personality, socio-economic status, age, sex) and why (Johnstone and Rivera, 1965, Newberry, 1959, Evan, 1957, and Booth, 1961). Three major problems exist with these studies: 1) they are outdated, 2) they focus on participation in formally organized activity only, and 3) they deal with Western countries. In developing countries,

"participant" studies have tended to focus on receptivity to innovations (Madigan, 1962, Rogers, 1971). These studies have a top-down bias and allow little room for consideration of decision-making processes whereby rural people determine what and when to accept or reject, when and in what to participate or not participate. As Kline (1975) has pointed out, research is needed on rural people's decision-making.

More recent studies in North America (Tough, 1971, Peters and Gordon, 1974) and in Ghana and Sri Lanka (Amaratunga, 1976) have used research methods and perspectives which have made it possible to ascertain what adults do to acquire the knowledge and skill they feel to be important to them. This approach promises to be very fruitful for future research into PEP-type phenomena. As Mezirow (1971) has advocated, development educators need to be conscious of and contribute to a theory of practice, theory grounded in investigations of real-life phenomena rather than mere testing of abstract theory.

In contrast to the above, another school has dominated American research into adult motivation to participate in educational activity. The general framework consists of three categories of factors influencing adult motivation: 1) extrinsic factors, such that "participation is a means to achieving another objective", 2) social factors, "participation is a means for socializing", and 3) intrinsic factors, "the learning to come from participation is pursued for its own sake" (Houle, 1961). An extension of this theory is that adults participate because of either a deficiency-motivation (i.e., to remedy a felt lack) or growth-motivation, and that once they reach their goals, they proceed to either a homeo-static level of satisfaction

or a hetero-static level of adjustment (Boshier, 1971). Further tests considered whether activities participated in were congruent or incongruent with previous experience and present views and the effects of this upon continued participation. Some studies have indicated that this research tradition is applicable to middle-class American adult education settings (Morstain and Smart, 1974) while others suggest a need to determine more accurately the utility of learning orientations as predictors of participation in different types of learning activities (Dickinson and Clark, 1975).

U.S. research has been middle-class-bound in spite of the fact that one of the greatest needs of policy makers and program designers has been a better understanding of why so many "blue-collar" Americans and functionally illiterate Americans do not participate in education activities. This will be discussed in the following section on "influences and conditioning factors."

Some recent cross-cultural research has focused on the relationship between culture and cognition and concludes that there are no fundamental differences in thought processes among different human groups (Cole, et. al., 1975). While this is an important finding and a conclusion of the first magnitude, other research has concluded that the possession of certain tools of learning (i.e., reading and writing) do make a difference in regard to capacity to identify and decipher pictorial symbols such as are projected through various visual media. This has obvious implications for educators, communication specialists, and development authorities concerned about rural people's comprehension of the meaning of packaged knowledge (Fonesca and Wassey, 1964).

Other research has identified such basic cognitive-attitudinal correlates as information-seeking, planning-investment, inter-systemic participation, and innovativeness as important determinants of education, functional literacy, and participation in development (Waisanen and Kumata, 1972). These results are further corroborated by others' findings which suggest that literacy and basic education, in order to have an impact upon the process of agricultural development, must be in articulation with available means of increasing economic productivity (Fliegel, 1966). It would be wasteful to promote educational programs which are not in tune with local realities. Available material resources, cultural proclivities, levels of learning capacity, and many other factors should be considered.

Cultural norms do seem to influence levels of satisfaction and performance in centralized and decentralized communication networks. Hare (1969) found the Filipino value of "smooth interpersonal relations" to have a very different effect on communicative behavior than Yoruba stress on "palavering" (wheedling), an outward manifestation of an aggressive pursuit of one's own ends. Other research has shown relationships between cultural values and social structure, comparing authoritarian and democratic values in terms of the sanctioning of individual behavior (independence or conformity) in subsistence level societies (Berry, 1976). In brief, "participative education programming" can only be understood within its larger context of socio-cultural values and norms.

"Individual modernity" studies (Lerner, 1958, Kahl, 1968, Smith and Inkeles, 1966) have attempted to identify the characteristics of

the modern-leaning individual, those who are progressive and active participants in development. The major problem with these studies is their western bias which quite often leads the investigators to operate conceptually from the viewpoint that westernization equals modernization, that western industrialized societies represent the ultimate model toward which all other societies are evolving. This absolutist form of thinking has its obvious deficiencies because no one today can predict what the world will be like ten years from now. Heavily industrialized nations themselves may soon have to retract from resource-destructive economies in favor of economies which conserve non-renewable resources and rely more upon renewable resources, i.e., those that can be grown by man.

However, there may be some utility in assessing the values of typically progressive individuals, those willing and eager to consider new and perhaps better ways of doing things. Peshkin and Cohen (1967) identified four interrelated sets of modern values: 1) economic (planning behavior, risk-taking, respect for manual labor), 2) political (sense of national unity, causal leadership, shared responsibility), 3) intellectual (open-mindedness, independence, respect for science and education), and 4) social (urban, desire for few children, primary family orientation). Some of these values are descriptive of persons who have been socialized within highly industrial and bureaucratic urban societies and therefore are values which can not be applied to individuals who do not inhabit such an environment but who, nevertheless, within their own milieu, would be deemed progressive. Such individuals can not be expected to possess values which were not present

in the environment as they moved from childhood to adulthood. Some of the values probably have universal generalizability, i.e., risk-taking, shared responsibility, open-mindedness. The major reason for noting these "modernization" studies is the heavy investments made in them and the frequency of their appearance in the literature. Promoters of "participative education programming" would be urged to deal with the existing values and environments of individuals, whatever they may be.

In the literature, fatalism is a frequently encountered descriptor of the rural poor. Sinha (1969), for example, found Indian villagers to be vague in defining needs, weak in collective action, accepting of backwardness as a norm, very cautious and non-enterprising, very low in goal-setting and in striving, and not interested in educational or agricultural skill development. All of these are previously identified aspects of a fatalistic syndrome. Other studies have characterized fatalism as being based upon supernatural beliefs (religion and magic), situational factors (cultural and historical), or "project negativism" resulting from past failures (Niehoff and Anderson, 1966). The descriptive versus the explanative contrast of such studies is important to note, for the former tends to have a regressive psychological effect on participative development efforts. The latter tends to suggest how the perceptions of the rural poor should be approached from a problem-analysis and solution-formation standpoint. The latter also promotes an appreciation of the complexity, dynamics, and evolution of fatalism. FEP participants may have overcome such supernatural, situational, or project influences or the positive balances in one

or two areas may override the negative influence of another.

"Locus of control" variables related to fatalism appear more often in the literature. The basic concept is the extent to which an individual perceives himself as being in control of the things that happen to him in his life (internal control) as against the extent to which he perceives that those things which happen to him are the results of the workings of environmental forces and therefore are beyond his control (external control) (Rotter, 1962 and Gurin, 1969). Extensions of this research have stressed: 1) the extent to which locus of control is conditioned by past experiences, 2) the importance of the perceived relevance of the learning-content in educational programs as a co-determinant (with internal control) of participation in educational activities (Peters, 1968), and the perceived probability of personally controlling and applying information to one's own benefit and information-seeking behavior (Zahn, 1969).

Other research, however, has found "locus of control" and "learning-meaning" unrelated to participation in adult learning activities whereas higher educational levels and socio-economic status were (Falconer, 1974) and that locus of control was not of direct value as a motivational variable but rather was more related to expectation (Collins, et. al., 1976). Again, conceptual oversimplification appears to have misguided much of this research. Participants in "formal" adult education activities may be more likely to be middle-class, but individuals of a lower educational and socio-economic status may be prone to participate in more "informal" learning activities. Such activities are less noticed and recorded because of elitist biases

among educators. Additionally, research which does not find a "fit" among the variables of "internal control," "learning-meaning" relevance, high educational and social status, and participation in formal educational activities must be held suspect. And research which does not take into account the logical causal chain of "internal control" to "expectation" to "motivation" to "participation" has limited value. As with fatalism, locus of control may be more complex than past research has indicated. One piece seems to illustrate this through findings of a study on 170 Brazilian women. Internal-external control was found to have two dimensions: personal control/efficacy and a political, global side to fatalism (Nagelschmidt and Jakob, 1977). These findings point out and support rationality theories which suggest that individuals make clear and logical distinctions between what they can conceivably have some control over (their own local situation) and what is obviously beyond their control (national politics controlled by parties, lobbies, and power brokers). This in turn suggests that the promoters of PEP will find more success by contextualizing activities in locally meaningful terms. "Openness to experience" (Back, 1958, Fitzgerald, 1966, and Averill, 1967) is a variable found to be related to adoption of behavioral changes, flexibility and spontaneity in thinking, and educational participation.

Needs, need perception, and need achievement have been the focus of much research. Needs have been defined as the gap between what is and what is desired, with "felt" needs (or wants) being the individual's perception of that gap. Maslow (1970) constructed a "hierarchy of human needs" to suggest that individuals must first meet basic survival

needs before they can be expected to attempt to satisfy higher order needs (love, esteem, self-actualization). In regard to PEP, there are spin-offs from this basic truth that should be considered. As a general rule, we can accept the dominance of survival needs; however, we should not deny the reality that ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-housed individuals living in subsistence economies nevertheless do frequently engage in aesthetically-oriented activities to satisfy esteem and self-actualization motivations. This is simply to say that we must not prejudge and predict individual motivations from general situational factors.

Much research has been conducted on "need achievement" (N-ach), a general personality trait identified by McClelland (1970) and others and demonstrated as being measurable. The roots of this trait are found in childhood experiences and, it has been demonstrated that through psychological training, adults deficient in this trait can be helped to develop it and its supportive baggage of attitudes and behavioral patterns. One problem with this concept, of course, is the amount and costs of inputs that would be required to bring about significant change among even a few individuals. Another problem is the obvious western "Protestant Ethic" bias underlying the general concept of N-ach. Cultures in which group norms and collective decisions are the primary vehicles for promoting change, would pose a dilemma for a person high in N-ach.

Other research (Swock and Swock, 1969) points out that considerable diversity exists in ways in which needs and N-ach manifest themselves in different cultures. Kidd (1973) suggests two basic types

of motivation that may determine participation in development: need-reduction or "positive striving". These correspond closely to Maslow's hierarchy of needs and again suggest the importance of determining accurately through effective "needs assessment" techniques the nature and extent of real and perceived needs of individuals and whole collectivities.

Need-perception has been emphasized as the first step in motivated activity, regardless of whether it is influenced by folk beliefs or empirical knowledge (Byrnes, 1968). Another suggestion is that problem-recognition (need-perception) alone is not a sufficient source of motivation to produce action (Tully, 1964). Perceived relevance (significance) and prospects for successfully dealing with a problem are posited as more definitive determinants of action. Other research suggests that "perceived relevance" is too diffuse to be an accurate predictor of participation, that it is comprised of and confounded by too many other variables (Yoder, 1973). And yet, Tough (1971) found that anticipated use or application of knowledge or skill to be acquired by participation in a particular activity provided the motivational impetus to participate. Perhaps, as Reynolds (1971) points out, what is most important is the increased attention received by "problem orientation" in participation and adoption research. Certainly PEP phenomena are born of the perceptions of individuals of themselves and their world.

Maehr assesses the antecedents of "continuing motivation" and argues for a renewed look at "self-regard" as a concept that facilitates an integration of the multiple social and psychological forces that

create and control continuing motivation to participate in education and development activities. Bandura (1977) recommends "self-efficacy" as a concept around which most existing theories on behavior change can be unified. Just as this section has moved from looking at demographic profiles of participants to a consideration of internal psychological states, perhaps research and development efforts should move from simply making government services available to people to more proactive involvement with the people themselves in the analysis, design, and implementation of development programs.

Influences and Conditioning Factors

A focus on participant characteristics must take into account the environmental conditioning of individual behavior. Viewed from a socio-cultural perspective, the concept of environmental conditioning suggests a look at traditionalism and modernity notions in social change.

To conserve that which has traditional meaning and value or reject it in favor of adopting something new and maybe better (i.e., a material object, a different form of social behavior or organization, a new set of attitudes) is seldom an easy, clear-cut decision for rural people to make (Korten, 1972). In line with the previous discussion on "locus of control," Textor (1954) suggests that peasants consider the extent to which they will be able to exercise sufficient control over new ideas and practices (as against the perceived prospect of being uncontrollably affected by them) before deciding to adopt or reject, participate or not participate. This in turn suggests that the achievement of a thorough understanding and a careful weighing of

alternatives, i.e., "trial adoption," requires educational approaches radically different from most directive approaches prevalent today. People simply need sufficient time and opportunity to think things through carefully for themselves, and change agents need to respect this truth and be patient.

Some development theorists see traditionalism and modernity as irreconcilable (Meister, 1969) and emphasize a need to educate rural people about modernity (Colin and Mollet, 1970). The central question remains, however, as to how to best structure and carry-out educational processes encompassing moral, ethical, and humanitarian issues related to manipulation, influence, and control dependency. In the final analysis, this largely boils down to a dichotomy of directive versus nondirective climates for change. From the perspective of the rural person, the climate for development decision-making frequently determines the results.

So, modernization yes, but whose modernization, patterned after whose model of modernization, conducted at whose pace, at what price (i.e., loss of traditional values and practices) to be exacted from whom: these political questions need to be considered by those who would influence national and rural development efforts. Jacobs (1971) has pointed out that modernization without development (i.e., the adoption of Western, modern, industrial, material, and bureaucratic forms by an elite or even the creation of an extensive infrastructure of roads, hydro-electric power, and irrigation systems) will not necessarily result in improvements in the lives of the rural poor. Quite to the contrary, their situation may be adversely affected as

wealthier and better-educated sectors use the new structures to maintain or increase their control over the economy and the polity. The larger context of socio-political change and the workings of a particular political economy is obviously of utmost importance as we consider the microprocesses of "participative education programming."

Beaglehole (1954) suggests that the traditional socio-political structure has a great influence on the "success" of cultural change and proposes a set of guiding principles for those who would influence successful adaptation to cultural change: 1) look for the nature of existing "successes," 2) look for a latent congruence between old and new values and beliefs, 3) be aware that every culture is a "living unity," 4) recognize the "ripple effect" (i.e., spread effect) of change, 5) know that cultural change means personal change, 6) accept that each change is unique to its cultural context, and 7) be aware that the consent and participation of the people concerned is necessary to introduce change. Goldschmidt (1952) examined technological and cultural changes and proposes six principles for influencing such changes. These early findings and recommendations still appear to be valid.

Some studies have focused on social position influences on participation and suggest that prior formal education is the strongest indicator of participation in adult education; that middle-class people seem oriented to involvement in more formal activities while lower-class people are oriented to family and neighborhood activities (London, 1970); that the years of schooling of males combined with the educational level of the wife (representing the quality of education available in the "family-educational system") strongly

influences participation in adult education (Dickinson, 1971); and that social position, determined by combinations of education, sex, and income, influences perceptions and participation in political activities (Rogers and Barb, no date).

Other social structure studies have suggested that the more integrated the social structure is, the better the chance that participatory development projects will succeed (Dasgupta, 1968). Alternatively, the framework of individual and community relationships within which participation occurs are affected by norms of control and change (Meister, 1969) and this normative structure frequently has an overriding influence on individual behavior. In short, the degree of integration can positively influence change-oriented participation if the integrated normative structure supports such change, otherwise it becomes a serious obstacle.

Change agents confront such realities constantly. Kimball (1956) points out that traditional social communication networks often make effective communication among different social groups within a community difficult. Since communication of intent is critical to group participation and since communication is influenced by social relations within a community, change agents, whether they be government agents or local innovators, obviously need to understand and deal effectively with such social realities.

Some research suggests that "a recipient's behavior with respect to an object is modifiable by the communicator's appeal to the extent that the recipient perceives that he and the communicator have a similar relationship to the object (Brock, 1965). And, of course,

much research on communication and diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1970), on journalism and media effectiveness, and on the education of adults (Brunner, et. al., 1959) has substantiated the importance of communicator-credibility in persuading potential recipients-participants. How rural people assess an agent's credibility is probably no more important, however, than the relationship of the message communicated to felt needs (Divesta and Merwin, 1960, and Berry, 1971).

Some research has contrasted the actual participative potential of rural villagers with that participation which typically goes on under the patronage of and pressure from experts and developmentists (Rafransoa, 1974). Although advocating a role for experts, young volunteers, and elite groups as facilitators of development (Rafransoa, 1974, and Heasman, 1966), such research has not indicated how "expertise" models can resist becoming oppressive and dominating. Rogers and Barb suggest a central-peripheral thesis in participatory decision-making, that there is only so much room in the center and therefore only so many can occupy the center at one time. This means that others must remain on the periphery. So, regardless whether an "expertise" model or a democratic-participatory model is pursued, the central-peripheral concept suggests that the nature of the decision-making process in human groups makes it impossible to ever achieve total participation. Perhaps the real challenge is that of maximizing the capacity of the inner circle in relation to the larger circle, i.e., giving as many people as possible an opportunity to participate in the various phases of the decision-making process.

The "human" environment of temporal/spatial perceptions, social solidarity, reciprocity, motivation, and beliefs and attitudes heavily influences participation (Colin and Mollet, 1970). And its effects are not always direct. Miles and Charters (1970) and many others have substantiated the extent to which incidental or deuterio learning occurs through interaction within the social environment. All this gives credence to the strength of group influence on individual behavior, whether direct and immediate or incidental. It also suggests that research such as Burgess' (1971) on reasons why adults participate in group educational activities is of utmost importance. Vengroff (1974) recommends a greater emphasis be given to efforts to increase educational and associational opportunities as a means to increase self-help motivations.

Finally, and as a synthesizing concept for this section, McClusky's (1970) concept of "margin" brings us back to the situation of the individual person. He postulates margin as the ratio of "load" (the burdens and responsibilities one has for meeting his and his intimates survival needs) to "power" (the physical, economic, social, political, mental, and spiritual resources one can employ to deal with load). People with little margin (much load, little power) do not participate in activities for self or community improvement. Strategically, we can help people reduce their load or increase their power in order that they may have more margin to invest in development. In other words, we must be ever mindful of the need and the prospects for increasing opportunities for people to participate, by either altering environment effects or empowering the individual himself by helping him find new or revitalized dormant powers.

Program Process

The influence of Paulo Freire (1970, 1974) on the thinking of development theorists and practitioners appears to be increasing daily. The basic concept of a "conscientization" or awareness-building process is not a totally new idea in itself (Glaser and Strauss, 1964 and Compton and Close, 1979). However, Freire's explication and demonstration of a new application of the concept has given it broad meaning, (Misgeld, 1975, Wagshal, 1974, and Ryan, 1974).

As mentioned earlier, problem-orientation (Reynolds, 1971) and perception of problem causes (Tully, 1964) represent a starting point in finding educational solutions. Much progress has been made during the past decade in literacy work, moving it out of a mode of merely teaching the 3 R's toward more comprehensive and interactive modes. A benchmark may be a USAID conference (Hayes, 1964) in 1964, the flavor of which was very academic (descriptive linguistics, experimental psychology, etc.). A later conference (World Education, 1973), one of many during the early 70's, emphasized political life, psychosocial methods, social development, and economic life. And a conference in 1975 (Peters, 1975) focused heavily on comparing practical strategies and methods of "functional" education. Literacy work has moved from basics to functional and processural pragmatics. There is some indication emerging that it may gradually be seen as a natural component of more wholistically integrated approaches to development.

This is in reference, of course, to the development and refinement of the science and the art of literacy work. The widespread application of this science and art is, yet to come. UNESCO launched an Experimental World Literacy Program (Bellahsene, 1973) but only in a few selected countries and locations within them (India Directorate of Adult Education, 1975). The schoolish

pedagogy used in this large project, however, is a reflection of the continuing gap between sound theory that has emerged from practice and the continuing domination of national literacy programs by "formal schooling" oriented educators. Mezirow (1975, 1978) critiques adult basic education programs in the USA and suggests that educators move away from the use of standardized formats in curriculum and learning. Oxenham (1975) makes essentially the same plea for non-formal education specialists in different countries.

To make such transitions possible, it would seem necessary for educators to investigate the traditional, culture-rooted learning practices of people (Goody, 1968) in order to understand the influences of culture on learning and to build on those influences whenever possible. This would be in contrast to the continued application of foreign educational structures and processes ill-fitted to a people's situation (Carnoy, 1974). The work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc. (Gudschinsky, 1973) in many countries is reflective of the type of effort that needs to be made, however, on a much more massive scale. This group transcribes oral languages into written form and helps the indigenous population learn to read their newly written language. They have advanced a variety of methods for doing this. The International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods has begun to publish a series of practical and high quality training monographs by experienced practitioners (Bhola).

Going beyond literacy as a teaching of the language form, Paulo Freire's views of the adult literacy process as cultural action for freedom (1970) emphasize the use of words with cultural meaning. This corresponds closely to the experience and writing of Ashton-Warner (1963). Others have followed these early pioneers to develop and test techniques for clarifying contexts and surfacing meaning of problems, ranging from such simulation games as letter fluency, math fluency, number bingo, letter dice, market rummy and

"hacienda" problem analysis (Smith, 1974, Hoxeng, 1973, and Gunter, 1973), to techniques for generating themes and facilitating the development of communication skills (Vella, 1975), to the use of folk media (Baird, 1971), and simple and inexpensive visual aids (Vella, 1979). A singular conclusion is that the prospects for developing appropriate educational and social technology are improving rapidly. The widespread and proper use of this technology remains as a larger hurdle. Hoxeng (1973) stresses the ability and willingness of the rural poor to make use of such educational devices to enhance their own learning after they have received proper guidance and encouragement by facilitators. Such facilitators are scarce.

Notions of "process" have probably been influenced most by the experiences of community development practitioners and group dynamics theorists and trainers. The classic work of Biddle (1962) established group social process as the central feature of community development practice. Others have added to this tradition (Cary, 1970, Frankel, 1977, Arensberg and Niehoff, 1971 to mention but a few). The art and science of group work is of course central to participative education programming and calls for the employment of a wide variety of non-directive approaches (Batten, 1967), by process facilitators. Even group decision-making affecting such matters as group farming strategies and farmer cooperatives does not escape these basic truths of human social action (Dorner and Kanel, 1975, Beal, 1956). Bruce (1976) analyzes the purposes, aspects, levels, modes, participants, and structures of involvement and recommends steps for designing involvement in the development process. These ideas suggests that it is entirely possible to influence such phenomena as PEP in a deliberate manner given proper analysis, strategy formation, planning, and implementation by the relevant actors concerned.

So far the discussion has focused on the awareness-building, cultural

relevance, and group functioning aspects of the learning or social action process. Another important aspect, especially in relation to group settings for educational activity, is that of a proper climate for learning. Gibb (1958) has stressed certain "context" norms which must be present if individuals are to be able to learn within a group. Exposure norms, supportive atmosphere norms, and provisional behavior norms correspond to the requirements of openness to new experience (discussed earlier), encouragement, and tolerance. Others have stressed the need for an atmosphere which encourages activity and involvement, discovery, diversity, overall trust, self-respect, acceptance, toleration of mistakes, the permitting of confrontation, and cooperative evaluation (Pine and Horne, 1969). The establishment of such a positive climate is perhaps the greatest challenge facing change agents. Its accomplishment makes possible the type of teaching-learning transaction envisioned by Bradford (1958).

Another aspect of "process" is communication. Freire's (1973) critique of "extension" concepts and methods is well taken although perhaps it is an overstatement in that not all extension workers are as directive and pedantic as he suggests. Certainly we can accept his emphasis on two-way communication as a vital ingredient in the learning and participation process. Considerable knowledge of modes of communication appropriate for influencing rural change has evolved within the past eight years (Wolf, 1973, Clarke, 1970, Burke, 1976, McAnany, 1973, Perrett, 1976, Hall, 1978, Opubor, 1975, Dodds, 1972, Ingle, 1971, and Colle, 1976). Reports exist on the role and effectiveness of study groups, cultural centers, film forums, radio forums and schools, open broadcasting, and correspondence learning through radio and television. Those efforts which have provided for two-way interaction seem to have been the most effective and enduring. At best, media can not replace personal interaction as an influence on attitude and behavior change. Media working in conjunction with

such interaction becomes a powerful tool for development.

One particular communication scientist, Andreas Fugelsang (1970, 1973), appears to have captured in his work the essence of effective communication with the rural poor. Although there is obviously much that remains to be learned about the proper balance between pictures, charts, and other illustrations on the one hand and text and about how learners really use pictures and illustrations in acquiring conceptual knowledge, Fugelsang has opened the door to the exploration of such matters.

Participation training is another process-related phenomena and stresses the role of the group in influencing individual change (Bergevin, 1965, Batdorf, 1973, Dando, 1974, McClelland, 1979, and Srinivasan, 1977). A major assumption is that many people do not possess a mental set supportive of participation or do not know exactly what they need or want to learn. For such individuals, some provision of opportunities to "test the waters" may be necessary as a first step.

Perhaps we need to affix in our minds the notion of "process structure," a concept denoting both an ideal and yet flexible sequence of events that human beings must pass through on their way to the achievement of specific and tangible objectives. There seems to be considerable validity to the old adage of helping people to start from where they are (in the fullest sense) and build on what they know and have and can do. Participative education programming suggests the necessity of such a process structure.

Program Structure

Government agencies, private, voluntary organizations, and local people's associations create development programs. Frequently these are inter-related. Quite often they are not. The relationship between central and local

institutions in the development process (Aboyade, 1968) and the whole issue of decentralization (Begna, et. al., 1979) is obviously an important factor in participative education programming. Centralization and PEP would appear to be diametric opposites. Chambers (1974) contrasts the communication patterns and resource allocations of top-down, governmental, block-grant approaches to participation with bottoms-up popularly, controlled, self-help approaches. He points out the potential for government sponsored programs emphasizing public involvement to create more inequity because the better able will participate and the poor will not. The central question is largely one of power and control and the potential if not actuality of manipulation. One particularly useful series of research efforts focusing on this question and others has been conducted by Esman, Uphoff, and associates (Esman and Uphoff, 1974). It analyzes the experiences of a number of Asian countries with local organization for rural development.

Several documents advocate a widening of opportunity and improvement of the competence of rural people to participate by:

- (1) Shifting focus from Barrio Councils to more broadly representative Barrio Assemblies (Agbayani, 1972)
- (2) Decentralizing administration through the creation of Rural Councils (FAO/FFHC/AD, 1977)
- (3) Sponsoring rural communes (Combaz Fauquel, 1967)
- (4) Creating "animation cells" (Goussault, 1968)

A word of caution is provided by de Vries (1978) by pointing out that even though Tanzania's government has attempted to organize isolated farmsteads into communal villages and decentralize development decision-making through this new mechanism, the government's extension system still maintains a top-down flow of information orientation. In short, it is easier to create new

structures than to change ingrained modes of operating.

The importance of popular associational structures is pointed out by several (Chambers, 1969, FAO/FFHC/AD, 1974, Dasgupta, 1974 and Karuri, 1974). Village assemblies and leadership interaction and consensus are seen as indicators of well integrated communities. The issue of personal freedom accompanying individual modes of land-holding versus the social participation found in communal modes of ownership has been raised (Chambers, 1969) as a reminder of the give and take that is an inevitable part of collective efforts to bring about development.

Another part of local program structure are the resources available in the area. Mallette's (1975) research suggests that a much greater use of local learning resources goes on than is usually expected, and Sam (1976) discusses his experiences with "group training units," a basic nucleus of 25 farmers who select their own "facilitator" for training them and for liaison with outside change agents.

The whole question of change agent roles (change agents being seen as part of the program structure) is very important to PEP. One major concern focuses on differences between the roles of outside and inside agents, i.e. those representing some extra-village entity, those indigenous to the community, and the potential and limitations of each. The Colle, et al (1979) study of health and agricultural paraprofessionals in a number of different countries and projects certainly demonstrates the sweep and utility of a paraprofessional approach in making government service delivery more relevant and effective. At the same time, it is important to realize that there are "indigenous specialists" (Compton, 1973 and Pasquer, 1973) in most village communities who represent only themselves and who assist others because of reasons and motivations very different from government supported paraprofessionals. Again a major

distinction revolves around who controls the decision-making process in relation to the work of the "change agent."

Franklin (1976) poses five alternative patterns of behavior that may be practiced by the "change agent - man in the middle" (between his agency and his clients in the community). Each pattern of interaction (indicated by arrows below) has its own requirements and consequences:

Organization	Agent	Community
O	A	C
O	A	C
O	A	C
O	A	C

India's experience with multi-purpose Village Level Workers (VLW's) (du Sautoy, 1961, Dubey and Sutton, 1965, and Cangrade, 1968) provides useful insights into the context and limitations of change agent functioning. The VLW's encountered much difficulty in performing their multi-purpose role (i.e., a set of content specializations combined with a set of facilitative process skills). "To be all things to all people" requires supermen and VLW's found it impossible to stimulate the people's decision-making, meet people's demands for specific information, and satisfy the reporting-accounting demands of bureaucratic superiors.

Compton (1973) divides the change agent role into two major functions, mediation and facilitation. Mediation refers to the encoding and decoding of specific knowledge and information content messages back and forth between two groups (i.e., government services and village people) so as to enhance communication, understanding, and successful use of knowledge. Facilitation refers to establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships based on

warmth, trust, and confidence so that change agent assistance is actually sought by the people. Both sets of functions must be possessed by agents in affiliative societies. In fact, agents will not be approached by the people and allowed to mediate unless they are seen and accepted as a facilitator, as one who has the best interests of the people at heart. Other studies and experiences support these views (Roling, 1971, Freire, 1971, and McCarthy, 1977).

Etling (1975) presents a wide range of facilitator characteristics, derived from a study of American and Ecuadorian experts. And many others have provided practical suggestions for training potential change agents in ways that will enhance their becoming more skilled in the art of facilitating such matters as participative education programming (Biddle, 1968, LeBoterf and Pinatel, 1970, Barbier, 1963, Bhasin, 1977, Morrow, Bowers, and Seashore, 1968, and Rafransoa, 1973).

Results/Benefits

Participative education programs center on the personal growth and development of the individual (attitudes, values, skills, knowledge) as this is influenced by a social process of group and community learning and problem-solving. Therefore, the major benefits to be sought from a PEP process must be spelled out in terms of what is to be gained by the individual.

Charlick (1974) points out the limitations of efforts to induce popular participation by authorities external to rural Hausa communities. And Sibley (1969) describes the negative consequences of efforts to direct local cultural change by outsiders. People resist, oftentimes sub-consciously, the manipulative efforts of others. And yet, non-directive and facilitative efforts to help people clarify needs and design and implement solutions are usually

received well, especially after sufficient trust is established among the relevant parties (Harcharek, 1974).

If participatory development is to be conceived as an on-going, never-ending process that involves people, is largely controlled by them, and results in human development, then we should measure its results and benefits accordingly. This is not to deny the importance of such targets as increasing individual income, improving health conditions, or developing supportive infrastructure. But in the final analysis there can be only one measure of success; the effects of whatever is done on individual human personalities. This simple principle is frequently forgotten or ignored.

Brunner's studies (1961), pinpoint what should be the primary objective of PEP. He demonstrates the effects of active participation in a learning process on increased intellectual potency, a shift from extrinsic to intrinsic rewards, a learning of the heuristics of discovery, and improved memory processing. Cole and Glass' (1977) research indicated that participatory educational planning had a positive effect on achievement and attitudes about continued participatory planning. Cooper and Wood's (1977) research concluded that individual satisfaction is increased through participation in group decision-making, even though participants initially perceived a great deal of "decision-riskiness" and were hesitant to get involved.

Perhaps PEP benefits are best cast into two modes of behavioral outcomes. Page (1978) describes the helping process as being carried out in two phases: helpee self-exploration and self-understanding followed by an action-oriented phase of "emergent directionality." Group learning and community development settings provide the medium through which such directionality emerges (Freire, 1971). This use of others to facilitate growth contrasts with Knowles' (1975) notions for self-directed learning. Perhaps an ultimate objective is to help people take more responsibility for their own learning. But hopefully this will be

fostered in such a way that individual capabilities for also working with and using the resources of others will be improved.

Policy

Educational policy makers in many areas of the world face two particularly difficult problems: 1.) Given limited resources how can they organize and facilitate a program of mass education for their people that will benefit the development of their country as a whole? 2.) Given scarce resources, what can they do to facilitate the learning of all ages and types of people throughout their life span?

The main focus in this section of the review of the literature is on the learning of out-of-school youth and adults. However, it is necessary to be aware of the effects that policy-making in the area of primary schooling has on youth and adult education. Duncan Ballantine, previous World Bank education chief, characterized part of the problem very well with a question he posed to some former students: "Given scarce resources, would you provide six years of schooling for forty percent of your country's population or four years of schooling for sixty percent of the population?"

Carnoy's thesis (1974) on the dysfunctionality of an extensive emphasis on schooling in less developed countries presents a set of related questions. He feels that an extensive "schooling" emphasis will simultaneously develop individuals who will be out of touch with what their society offers and needs and deter attention away from the need to allocate resources for the education of youth and adults. And Lister (1975) issues a warning against the adoption of "recurrent education" (continuing schooling) for youth and adults as a form of permanent schooling, stressing that it would pose a serious threat to self-reliance, creativity, and humanistic values and result in programmed societies.

In contrast to schooling, Deleon (1975) emphasizes out-of-school (non-formal) education as means of meeting the lifelong learning needs of people. He discusses ten sequential phases in a planning and programming process for determining related educational policy and strategies for development.

In the last decade the programming of nonformal education has emerged on an international scale as a means to address the learning needs of youth and adults (Axxin, et al 1974). This development obviously represents considerable progress in the expansion of educational opportunity and the relating of education to national goals through human resource development. Shukla (1975) argues for an integration of formal and nonformal education as a means of providing a comprehensive educational structure. The feasibility of such integration remains a serious question, however, because of stark differences in objectives, structures, personnel, and clientele between the two modes of education.

Harman's (1974) notions of a "community-based fundamental education," wherein local initiative and participation are seen as preconditions to development, suggest something much more than educational programming for people. Illiterate societies in underdeveloped regions are suggested as needing something more than just formal education, recurrent education, non-formal education, community development, or adult literacy efforts. Participative education programming in ideal terms would represent a means of addressing the requirements of relevancy, scale, local resource mobilization, continuity, self-motivated involvement, timing, and social and civic competency development, among other things. The relationship of these requirements to human resource, community, and national development should be direct.

The World Bank (1974) has stressed practical education programs for reaching the poorest of the poor and many loans made to LDC's reflect this emphasis. But as Sheffield (1976) reminds us, most developing countries are

still concentrating their efforts on improving existing educational systems rather than shifting more attention to community-based education. This is in spite of the past popularity and demonstrated practicality of participatory approaches in low resource countries.

U.S. experiences with participation of the poor in community development, education, and economic projects demonstrate that "maximum feasible participation" contributes to the education of adults for social and civic competence (Chertow, 1974). Participation in OEO/model cities programs helped assure program effectiveness. Anderson's (1970) proposal for a "participation returns model" in which "minimum feasible participation" is a key concept, stems from studies of U.S. experiences in the War on Poverty of the '60's.

Internationally, the Economic Commission for Latin America (1973) has made popular participation a central concept in its directives for the region. The U.S. Agency for International Development's "new directions" mandate stresses participation as necessary in efforts to reach the poorest of the poor (USAID, 1978). And Butterfield (1975) has stressed ways and means by which the Agency, through its programs and project support, can promote the participation of the rural poor in development.

Various development strategies place quite different emphasis on popular participation. Griffin (1973) poses three strategies for rural development (technocratic, reformist, and radical) and quite different sets of policy options for each. Tanzania's "Ujamaa" strategy probably falls somewhere between the reformist and radical labels. Ujamaa represents a master plan for actualizing a "brotherhood of the village" community-building effort, bringing families living on isolated farmsteads together in communal settlements in order to encourage local action and facilitate the delivery of

government services. This decentralized, flexible, and responsive nationwide system aims to address local needs and draw upon local contributive potential (Nyerere, 1971). Korea's "New Community Movement" is a similar national effort (Lee, 1977). And certainly Sri Lanka's Sarvodaya Movement, although non-governmental, is as well (Ariyaratne, 1979).

Such national efforts pose as many issues and questions as promise. Ingle (1972) focuses on the problem of how to "translate" a national development ethic so that it is accepted and acted upon at the local village level. Others have emphasized the need to inter-relate vital local and national structures so as to facilitate participation and evolve a popularly-accepted national philosophy of "education as a tool for transforming society" (as contrasted with the mere transmission of knowledge) (Buttedahl, 1976).

Communalistic approaches to national development planning present a number of dilemmas to development administrators (Brown, 1978, Aboyade, 1968, and Tomasetti, 1974). The dilemma of reconciling local initiative with national planning has resulted in a large number of studies on the management of decentralization, (Begna, 1978) although most of these studies are speculative and not grounded in fact. The Tanzanian, Korean, and Sri Lanka developments represent an opportunity to learn from actual efforts to decentralize the development process.

A related policy issue is that of the extent to which non-governmental and people's organizations should be encouraged by government to play a greater role in development. Some have suggested that such organizations can bring about greater participation in the development process than can government agencies forced to operate under certain kinds of constraints (i.e. budgeting, reporting, accounting) (Goussault, 1966 and ACFOD, 1977).

Development cells, facilitated by carefully selected and trained animators, represent a French influence on development in Africa. Such cells are seen as a means of changing rural social structure as a prerequisite to credit distribution, changes in land tenure, and changes in people minds (Goussault, 1961). The policy implication suggested here is clearly whether to invest in local action as a means to bring about structural change and economic development or to seek structural change as a prerequisite to local action or perhaps some balance between the two.

Colle et al (1979) suggest a number of community factors which influence the role and effectiveness of "paraprofessionals" (comparable to rural animators) in participatory rural development: stratification, community structure, cultural distance from the national mainstream, norms, political structure, geographic remoteness, population density, consumer-service delivery gaps, economic well-being, extent of modernization, and state of local institutions. This structural perspective contrasts with a processural perspective which would emphasize a need to investigate the participatory functions of mediation, communication, status maintenance, leadership, adaptation, social change, social cleavages, intensity, and ability and motivation differences within the population.

Although usually not carefully researched, examples do exist of successful efforts to tap indigenous capacity, to mobilize, organize, train, and support the work of indigenous specialists (Compton, 1973). Certainly the extensive use of the talents of local people in the development process by the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR, 1977) and the Sarvodaya Movement are only indicative of what can be and is being done by a large number of similar non-governmental organizations around the globe.

The real policy question may not be whether paraprofessionals, rural animators, community development activators, or indigenous specialists represent a viable strategy but rather what can be done to encourage government services to support the use of this strategy by non-governmental organizations and, perhaps when appropriate, employ it themselves.

Both the IIRR and Sarvodaya programs represent complex systems for identifying training, and supporting village specialists and village development groups/committees made up of "functional" leaders (not titular or legally mandated leaders only, though some of these may also participate as functional leaders if sufficiently skilled and motivated). Both have developed residential training centers (IIRR's People's School and Sarvodaya's numerous Development Education Institutes) and means of field-checking the later work of the indigenous specialists trained there. Korea's "New Community Movement," Tanzania's Ujamaa strategy and Thailand and Indonesia's national nonformal education and agricultural extension programs all represent current government-operated systems which tap indigenous talent and build it into the national program strategy.

What is still lacking and what perhaps needs investigation are: 1.) ways and means for evolving a greater role for women in the participation process (IIALM, 1968 and Ashraf, 1978); 2.) ways of conducting training so that process skills are developed along with a willingness to properly use them (McKenzie, 1975); 3.) ways of identifying and using traditional community resources (as against ignoring or by-passing them) in order to create opportunities for influencing their transformation or further evolution (Belloncle, 1973); 4.) a clearer understanding of rural people's decision-making and factors influencing it, as might be determined through the analysis of more

micro-data than is usually collected in participation studies (Kline, 1975 and Junck, 1976).

Progress in the design and evaluation of rural development (for example Cohen and Uphoff, 1976 and Lele, 1975) appears to be steadily marching forward. To make rural development mass oriented and self-sustaining will require comprehensive planning for the mobilization and allocation of resources and the involvement of the masses in the decision-making process. Participative education programming should represent a strategy for enhancing the quantity and quality of popular participation in development. But it is a strategy that requires the understanding and whole-hearted support of national authorities. Further research and development in PEP is needed in order to evolve and demonstrate effective methods and convince potential supporters of its value.

Methodology for Studying, Measuring and Evaluating PEP

With the redefining of development (Seers, 1970, Nyerere, 1971, Schumacher, 1973, and others) and a new emphasis on meeting basic needs (Grant, 1978) have come efforts to devise suitable measures for assessing the attainment of such development goals (Morris and Liser, 1978). These methodological advances should prove invaluable in the establishment of baselines from which progress can be judged in reducing infant mortality rates, increasing life expectancy, raising literacy rates, and increasing and more equitably distributing per capita income. Considerable sophistication regarding the use of such social indicators in development planning and policy making has also emerged.

The measuring and evaluating of participative education programs must go beyond macro and aggregate data, however, to assess human perceptions

and motivation as these affect involvement. Methods for accomplishing this have been developed and tested (see Crane and Angrosino, 1972, Lynch, 1976, and Gates, 1976, for example). And considerable advances have been made in assessing what people do to learn and guide their own learning on a day-to-day basis (Tough, 1971, Mallette, 1974, and Mallette-Amaratunga, 1977).

The results of baseline and learning profile studies provide insights into rural people as learners and factors affecting their learning. Advances have also been made in regard to methods for evaluating action programs so that shifts can be made during the course of a community education or social action project (formative evaluation) or, learning from an assessment of the project's results (summative evaluation), designing this new learning into project extensions or future projects (Weiss, 1972, Rossi and Williams, 1973, Clark and McCaffrey, 1979, Farmer and Papagiannis, 1975). Some renewed emphasis (Hall, 1975) is now being given by an international network of development educators to participatory research, a theme somewhat familiar to those acquainted with earlier community development efforts which emphasized community self-study surveys and continuous involvement in "process" research and feedback (Poston, 1950, Warren, 1955, and Biddle, 1965). What is most important about this more recent effort is the international and, therefore, the comparative cultural analysis potential it represents.

Ayazi (et al, 1978) provides an evaluation checklist for keeping development administrators ever-mindful of the need to make rural development projects simple, flexible, and functioning within a decentralized mode. He suggests a more strategic selection of problems, tailoring approaches to scale, delegating authority to local institutions, creating flexible

project designs, monitoring for mid-course correction, and emphasizing gainful employment even though this may lessen production or involve unsophisticated technology. Most importantly, the ideas expressed, as a whole, call for the employment of research and evaluation schemes which will improve government support of decentralized strategies of development. A shortcoming would seem to be the failure to consider non-governmental efforts as at least equally important. The discovery and nurturing of private and local initiative in development continues to be elusive.

At another level, Meister's (1972) criticism of social research as being non-committal and disjointed in relation to development participation suggests a greater need for change agents to consciously combine research with field work, to deliberately build a "proactive learning" mode into their consciousness to at least equal an already existing promotional mode. Finally and positively, Mezirow (1971) building on Glaser and Strauss' ideas (1967) suggests a rationale and a strategy for developing a research-based body of theory, indigenous to adult education and community development, and having practical utility for practitioners in program development, program evaluation, training, and in setting research priorities. This large task has only begun.

Research

Methodology

Research Methodology

Objectives

This particular research project proposed to examine the following hypotheses:

Sustained popular participation in educational activities will result when:

- a) People are provided an opportunity to determine for themselves or in joint action with their peers the content to be dealt with in a particular learning experience.
- b) People are involved in the choosing and/or development of the teaching-learning strategies, methods and materials to be used in a particular learning experience.
- c) The people themselves frequently assume leadership or instructional roles.
- d) The achievement of learning objectives is immediate and substantial.
- e) The application of content learned is immediate and rewarding.

This research was designed as the first of a three-stage research effort into participative education programming. This initial phase has been exploratory and descriptive in nature, the projected second phase would be of an applied nature, and the third stage would focus on the dissemination of knowledge gained from the research.

Design

A highly participatory, nonformal adult education project was chosen as an exemplary case study within which the above hypotheses

regarding the effects of participation on program design and success were tested. Staff members of the selected project were trained in interview and data collection techniques and undertook the actual information gathering process over a period of nine months.

Methodological dimensions of the research included the use of grounded theory and inductive methods. Case study and ethnographic field techniques including participant observation, diary accounts, and in-depth interviews with key informants were employed.

Some particular features of the research were:

1. the use of on-going, grassroots activities as a vehicle for researching popular participation in community development and adult education
2. the design and use of a thematic questionnaire based on themes emerging from reviews of research-based literature and from past personal experiences
3. multi-dimensional sampling, including consideration of climatic zones, ethnic distribution, and high-low participation rates
4. field interviewers establishing rapport by first living among the people as participant-observers
5. the segmenting of interviews into a series of sessions
6. the use of lead questions followed by optional probes
7. follow-up field visits by the principle investigator to representative sites

8. the use of a "levels of analysis" approach, focusing initially on a content analysis of the qualitative responses for the purposes of grouping those responses, categorizing them, and conducting a comparative data analysis
9. the debriefing of the field interviewers for further sensitizing the investigators to the cultural context and to check data gaps.

Sampling

The multi-dimensional purposive sample encompassed the factors of ethnicity, religion, geographic zone including both climatic and topographical considerations, and participation rates. The following illustrates the distribution:

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Zone:</u>		<u>Participation</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>District</u>
		<u>Climate</u>	<u>Topography</u>	<u>Rate</u>		
Tamil	Hindu	Dry	Coastal	High	Punkuduthivu	Jaffna
Tamil	Muslim	Dry	Coastal	Low	Tevanpity	Mannar
Sinhalese	Buddhist	Dry	Inland	High	Kumbukgollawa	Anuradhapura
Sinhalese	Buddhist	Dry	Coastal	High	Kivulekele	Puttalam
Sinhalese	Buddhist	Wet	Upland	High	Dolapihilla	Kandy
Sinhalese	Buddhist	Wet	Upland	High	Pitawela	Kegalle
Sinhalese	Buddhist	Wet	Lowland	High	Tunnana	Colombo
Sinhalese	Buddhist	Wet	Coastal	Low	Kabillewela	Badulla
Sinhalese	Buddhist	Dry	Coastal	Low	Dehigahlanda	Hambantota

Sample Villages

<u>Village</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>			
		<u>Village Leader</u>	<u>Sarvodaya Worker</u>	<u>Villager</u>	<u>Total</u>
Punkudutivu	Jaffna	4	2	5	11
Tevanpity	Mannar	2	-	4	6
Kumbukgollawa	Anuradhapura	2	3	5	10
Kivulekele	Puttalam	2	4	7	13
Dolapihilla	Kandy	3	6	5	14
Pitawela	Kegalle	2	3	9	14
Tunnana	Colombo	2	6	8	16
Kabillewela	Badulla	2	4	8	14
Dehigahalanda	Hambantota	1	4	6	11
	TOTAL	<u>20</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>109</u>

Instrumentation

Because of the requirements of flexibility and open-endedness in data collection procedures in inductive research, a thematic "interview schedule" was constructed. Each theme called for the use of a series of lead questions and optional probes. The themes are as follows (interview schedule is in the appendix):

- Theme I - Existing traditional (culture-rooted) participation patterns in the village context.
- Theme II - Existing procedures by which villagers (and perceived capacity of villagers to participate meaningfully in identifying needs.
- Theme III - Origin and extent of participation in Sarvodaya development projects.
- Theme IV - Characteristics differentiating participants from non-participants and degree of participation among participants in a development effort.

- Theme V - Social, economic and political factors which are either encouraging or hindering participation in Sarvodaya projects.
- Theme VI - Participation in Sarvodaya projects - determining projects, evolving methods of working and deciding upon instructional roles that have to be played in the project implementation.
- Theme VII - Benefits of participation in determining projects, evolving working methods of those projects and in playing instructional roles in implementing the projects.
- Theme VIII - Characteristics and activities of Sarvodaya workers in promoting villager participation in a Sarvodaya project.
- Theme IX - Nature and duration of relationship between facilitators and client community.
- Theme X - Nature of participation in sanctioning and legitimizing Sarvodaya activities.
- Theme XI - Functional outcome of Sarvodaya development projects; that is, general changes that have taken place in those who participated which you feel are a direct result of their participation in those activities.

Data Collection

Both the supervision of the field research and the interviewing of the key informants were handled by Sinhalese. Dr. Nandasena Ratnapala,

Professor of Anthropology at Vivodhaya University and Senior Research Consultant for the Sarvodaya Research Center, served as supervisor of the field research. He was responsible for the selection and training of the interviewers, the pretesting and revision of interview schedules, and the supervision of the collection and the preparation of the data (translation) for analysis.

Initially, the principal investigator held several lengthy, intensive sessions with Dr. Ratnapala and four other members of the Research Center staff in which the purpose and the design of the research were discussed and analyzed. At that time the interview schedules were studied in detail, and each theme and its accompanying questions were discussed.

Field interviewers were selected by Dr. Ratnapala with care. For the most part, they were young men with village backgrounds and college training. Those who were sent to the Tamil villages were of Tamil background. The field interviewers were then put through a two-week training period by Dr. Ratnapala. This training included lectures, practice in using the interview techniques appropriate with a thematic questionnaire, a trip to a pretest village to try out what they had previously practiced only in a classroom setting, and finally a revision of the questionnaire by the group based on their experiences with it in the pretest village.

Before beginning to interview in any village, the interviewers spent a day or two becoming acquainted with the village and the area. They arranged for housing in the community and lived there during the interview period (which sometimes was as long as two weeks).

They became familiar sights in the village. Since the interviewers were originally from villages themselves, they were familiar with village ways and were able to fit in quite nicely with the community. These initial days also allowed the interviewers to be participant-observers, getting to learn something about the village activities at that time. During this period the interviewers also obtained the house-holders list from which the village sample would be selected.

How the interview sessions began: Interviewers had been shown how to segment interviews during their training. Consequently, when it became necessary or useful to limit the length of interview sessions, the interviewers were aware of appropriate stopping points. Since the questionnaire was based on themes, an attempt was made to complete all questions under one theme before ending an interview session. Thus, in the next session, the questions asked would be on a new theme, and the ideas and train of thought of the interviewee on a particular topic would not be interrupted.

Another important aspect of the interviews was the use of lead questions under each theme. These lead questions attempted to get at basic information relating to that theme. Each lead question had a series of optional probes which the interviewer could make use of, should he deem it useful or necessary to learn more than was originally presented in a response.

The majority of the lead questions were of an open-ended nature. If alternative questions (either/or) or questions requiring a yes/no response were used, probes of the "why" variety followed. Throughout the interview sessions, the emphasis was on providing the interviewee

with an opportunity to share as much relevant information as possible under each major theme.

Following the completion of the field interviews (which were conducted in Sinhala or in Tamil) the interviews were transcribed from the tapes and then translated into English. This work was done by a team from the Research Center. Initial transcriptions were done by the interview teams themselves; translations were done by members of the Research Center staff, and they referred any problems to the initial interviewers for clarification.

Follow-up field visits were then made to representative sites in the study by the principal investigators. This provided an opportunity for the investigators to become better attuned to the village environments and to meet and talk with some of the interviewees. As we worked on the analysis of the data later on, we had a better feeling for the data and for the people who had presented this information to us. This proved helpful in establishing categories from the data provided to us.

When we returned from the field visits, we went over the data at the Research Center. We checked for gaps, major errors, or other points of confusion in the material which had been gathered. We discovered a number of references to cultural activities which were not adequately described, and a number of Sinhala words which had not been translated into English. We sought the assistance of the Center staff in dealing with these problems.

After visiting some of the field sites, going over the data, and talking with a number of staff members involved in the project, a

brief, open-ended questionnaire was designed which served as a guide in interviewing the field interviewers about their work. Besides obtaining general demographic information from the interviewers, questions were asked related to 1) the process they used from the minute they entered the village to the completion of the interviews in that village, 2) language and cultural problems which might have been encountered during the field work, and 3) logistical and interview-specific problems encountered by the interviewers. Finally, the interviewers were asked to share any information which they felt would be important for us to know as we went over the data and began to analyze it. The person responsible for most of the translation work was interviewed in detail. In addition, a long session was held with members of the Research Center staff to discuss the research projects - past, present, and future.

Discussion

One of the primary strengths of inductive research is that it lends itself to hypothesis building. The kinds of data obtained are different from the kinds obtained during deductive research. Because of the nature of the methods used for obtaining information/data from respondents, one can expect to get large quantities and a wide variety of information on a particular theme or topic. Because respondents are given the opportunity to express their own ideas (rather than simply asked to react to hypotheses and related questions already designed by the researchers) new viewpoints and perspectives about the issues discussed may be obtained. Inductive research of this kind is exploratory in nature. The data collected from any particular

question or theme may be uneven, both in terms of quantity and quality, since one respondent may present a lot of information about a particular aspect of a question or theme, while another respondent may present another aspect or provide little information or none on that same topic.

There can be some problems with this kind of research. In this study, questions arose concerning the following: 1) the effects of the construction and presentation of questions and themes on the responses, 2) the influence of the setting and/or environment in which the interviews took place, 3) the effects of logistical problems encountered by the interviewers on the nature of the data obtained, and 4) the importance of proper training, preparation, and field support of interviewers.

Because of the nature of the data obtained through inductive research, the analysis of the data may actually take longer than the analysis of data obtained through deductive research. In addition, the training of interviewers may have to be more intensive, since the interviewers have to understand the nature and purpose of the research quite well in order to conduct the field interviews. They have to know when it would be useful to probe, when the information being shared is not productive for the purposes of the research, how to encourage the respondents to elaborate on particularly useful or interesting points, whether a session should be brought to a close temporarily or adjourned until another day, what points need to be clarified for the sake of the respondent, and what kinds of information should not be contained in a question if the response is to be free from interviewer direction.

Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement:

A Case Study

Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement: A Case Study

A non-governmental people's movement, popularly known as the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, has been developing over the past twenty years in Sri Lanka. This movement has evolved a new approach to rural development, an approach based on the traditional Buddhist principles of "dana" (sharing), "priyavacana" (pleasant speech), "arthacharya" (constructive activities), and "samanathmatha" (equality).

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka is distinctive, not just because of its vast numerical growth (in participating villages), but also because it embodies a wide range of issues in development programming. It utilizes the traditional community development process and incorporates a definite cultural basis for both its philosophy and its activities into its overall program. It decentralizes and structurally integrates its program components and institutions, and has a profound integrity in its development philosophy and program activities.

A History

Chronologically, the history of the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka can be roughly divided into four stages: formative, consolidation, expansion, mandated. The primary formative stage began with the original activities out of which the Movement grew into a formal organization.

In 1958 A. T. Ariyaratne and fellow teachers and students from Nalanda College in Colombo went to a low-caste village 58 miles from the capital, "first, to learn from the village and then to utilize the knowledge gained to improve rural life."¹ The group lived with the residents of Kanatoluwa

and worked on self-help construction projects with them. Because of the success of this venture, Ariyaratne and other concerned people formed the Kanatoluwa Development Educational Extension and Community Service Camp as an on-going rural development project in Sri Lanka. By 1961, 36 work camps had been held in 26 villages in the country. By 1965 the Sarvodaya Movement was recognized as an approved charity in Sri Lanka and began a time of steady philosophical and programmatic growth.

The second stage began in 1967 with a deliberate effort being made to re-think and consolidate what had been learned from the experience up to that time and prior to the launching of a 100 Village Scheme. By 1968, 125 villages were affiliated with Sarvodaya, and 25,000 volunteers had worked on projects in those villages.

A third stage of expansion occurred during the 1970-1977 period. Political events during this time had a definite effect on the Sarvodaya Movement. A leftist government was elected in 1970, under the leadership of Bandaranike. The next year there was a violent 'revolt' centering on Marxist students and unemployed rural youth, an insurrection that was suppressed by the government. The frustration underlying that violence and the subsequent suppression combined to spur further Sarvodaya growth. Sarvodaya, as a non-violent approach to social change, now entered the third stage of its development. This period saw the Movement launch a 1000 Village Scheme. In 1972 the Sri Lanka Parliament approved the charter of incorporation for the Sarvodaya Movement. Between that year and 1977 the number of villages associated with Sarvodaya activities grew from 1000 to 2300; these were villages considered to be permanently and consistently affiliated with the Movement.

In 1977, a fourth stage was reached. The new government administration requested the Sarvodaya Movement to find the resources to establish rural training centers in each of the electoral districts in the country. This new mandate symbolizes a closer relationship between the government and the Sarvodaya Movement.

A Philosophy

The most important theme when considering the Sarvodaya Movement is its well-developed and culturally consistent philosophical basis, a philosophy that pre-dated the first work camp at Kanatoluwa and which was refined as the Movement grew over the period of years summarized above. The roots of this philosophy are two-fold: first, the work of Mahatma Gandhi and of Vinobha Bhave in India to bring about social change and spiritual awakening; and, second, the 2500 years of Buddhist culture in Sri Lanka, which "had helped the rural community to knit itself into a close cooperative unit, self-sufficient and creative."²

The former influence provided the notion of "Sarvodaya", meaning "awakening of all", plus four 'cornerstones' for the emerging development philosophy: respect for life, a universal compassion, the joy to be gained from giving service to oneself and to others, and psychological and physical stability. These basic social beliefs were then fused with Buddhist tradition and ideals, which were already a part of the culture for the Sinhalese majority in Sri Lanka.

The Buddhist bases for Sarvodaya activities were the elements of truth, non-violence, and self-denial, plus four practices derived from Buddhist belief: pleasant speech, sharing, constructive activity, and

universal equality. The title of the Movement itself juxtaposes two philosophical elements inherent in this program: "Sarvodaya" is the "awakening of all", while "Shramadana" means "sharing of labor". So the basic philosophy put into practice is a universal awakening of villages that occurs through shared labor in a project vital to each village.

The uniqueness of Sarvodaya comes through most clearly here in its depth of philosophical belief and cultural integration. Most development programs have almost totally secular values; Sarvodaya has a spiritual dimension that gives it both a history and a moral quality that sets it apart.

The values and the philosophy underlying the Sarvodaya Movement become clear when program objectives are analyzed. The initial 1958 objectives were: to develop the personality of youths in keeping with culture and with rapid changes; to awaken communities to social change and to their own role as agents of change, in relation to cultural and ethical values; to achieve national integration through openness to all, based on Buddhist principles, human rights, and social justice; and, to achieve world-wide collaboration.

The latest set of Sarvodaya objectives are set forth in the Ethos and Work Plan³:

- a) by concrete development action to awaken the masses of rural people to exploit their own development potential through self-help and self-reliance;
- b) to bring about a general recognition in regard to the value of utilizing labour resources, which the people were voluntarily prepared to gift [sic] for the development of the nation;

- c) to evolve in the country a grass-roots development leadership which is inspired by the people's traditional and cultural values, and to gain knowledge through participatory experience in the science of village development;
- d) to pave the way for development theory and practice in which an integrated approach is made towards the development of the human person of his or her community, the nation, and the world; this may be termed a "non-violent revolutionary movement for changing man and society." (p. 5)

Within both sets of values are a broad scope of social, cultural, political, and psychological beliefs. The dominant thread here is the cultural basis of these objectives, to achieve national integration, to inspire local leadership, and to provide guidelines for development. Beyond that, traditional community development principles are evident: grass-roots leadership, self-help and self-reliance, and participatory experience.

Beyond those objectives, Sarvodaya principles enunciated by Ariyaratne⁴ are further illustration:

- a) "All development efforts should be aimed at the achievement of the fullest awakening of the human personality. (p. 19)
- b) ". . . the principal aim of any development effort should be to fulfill without delay the social, economic, cultural, and spiritual aspirations of the segment of society which stands lowest in it. (p. 20)
- c) "National Development should have its beginnings within the village itself." (p. 20)
- d) "Development plans in the villages should be drawn up, implemented, and evaluated with the fullest participation of the people of the village." (p. 20)
- e) the primary production goal is meeting village needs.
- f) "Use should be made of appropriate village technologies and organizational structures which the villagers themselves can control." (p. 20)

- g) development plans should be integrated.
- h) "Development should essentially be an effort of the people." (p. 20)

These principles invoke the humanistic view of development, the social value of helping those most in need, and the central place of each village and its residents in development.

A Process

Moving from the history of the Sarvodaya Movement to its philosophy, values, and beliefs has shifted the focus here to the basic themes and issues of the Sarvodaya program. In addition to its philosophy, there are other significant features and dimensions which are germane in this context.

First, the Sarvodaya Movement utilizes the traditional community development process in its program: the perceived needs of a village are identified; Shramadana Camps are usually held to meet a basic need that is carefully chosen from among many as being important and appropriate to shared work; village volunteers are recruited at "family gatherings" during the Camps; those volunteers are given community leadership training; and projects and programs are developed in the villages, through village residents and volunteers and Sarvodaya workers, using participatory methods.

Second, that community development process is infused with practical applications of the philosophy described above. For example, the "family gatherings" cited have traditional songs and stories as part of the 'business' of such meetings. Efforts are also made to surface and deal with concepts, principles and values as they can be applied to situations

facing the villagers. The gradual development of a greater awareness of development problems and process takes place through this medium.

Third, the structure of the Sarvodaya Movement is a balance of centralized and decentralized institutional arrangements, with the focus being what services can be provided to Sri Lanka's villages. Linkages within these levels and types of institutions facilitate a flow of information and training which ultimately arrives at Sarvodaya-affiliated villages.

These issues will weave in and out of the more detailed description below of the activities of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. That description is organized around a set of fundamental programmatic phases, the descriptions of which serve to illustrate how the Sarvodaya Movement responds to key questions and how it is structured.

A Structure

(1) Beginning work with the villages:

This process starts with a village seeking to join the Sarvodaya Village Development Scheme. A questionnaire is circulated by the Gramodaya Division of the Movement, to secure basic data about the village, followed by a visit by Sarvodaya-trained volunteers to explain the Sarvodaya program, the causes of underdevelopment (poverty and cultural disintegration), and the need for social (and economic) regeneration. This all takes place at a community meeting, to which all village families and leaders are invited. The idea of a Shramadana Camp is raised, and its implementation is considered. If accepted, a labor-intensive project is decided upon and the degrees of shared responsibility are determined. Both on-site

Sarvodaya volunteers and the higher-level Sarvodaya organization representatives work to set up the facilities necessary for a large number of 'external' volunteers to stay at a residential camp in the village. These volunteers have been previously selected and trained by the central Sarvodaya organization.

As the Camp proceeds, a core of voluntary labor during the day by both village and non-village volunteers is interspersed with "family gatherings", in which village history and culture are discussed, village problems are raised, the Sarvodaya program is explained further, and villagers are encouraged to put forth their own views. Three benefits are perceived from this experience: village leadership emerges, community spirit is buoyed, and government extension services may be linked with during the Camp. At the final "family gathering", a follow-up program is decided upon, and this program takes the form of several visits by Sarvodaya volunteers, who organize the village into groups by age, structure, and interests. For example, there might be Youth Groups, Gramodaya Mandalaya (village "re-awakening" councils), etc. These groups form the focus for on-going Sarvodaya activity in the village. Over the course of time, the foundations laid in the Sarvodaya Camp are built upon, as the socio-cultural traditions utilized in the Shramadana are continually used to build further solidarity (e.g., the Buddhist temple and monks as vital centers of activity in the village).

The use of the Shramadana Camp exemplifies certain concepts of entry into a community in the development process. First, there is a joint effort, via shared labor, to bring a concrete change to the village. The use of outside Sarvodaya volunteers both provides encouragement to overcome

obstacles and begins the linkage with Sarvodaya (and vice-versa). This combination of self-help and outside technical assistance also has a central unifying experience: "We build the road and the road builds us." This is 'praxis', a unity of action and reflection upon the village condition that is reinforcing and that fosters further such cooperative efforts within each village. The "family gathering" provides for the awakening and 'conscientization' of the village, the initial participatory mechanism to set the climate for what may come.

(2) Pooling resources for villages:

The primary Sarvodaya structures for combining resources efficiently are the 50 Gramodaya Centers in the country. Their general purpose is to coordinate the "village awakening" process for the 20-30 villages within a 5 to 10-mile radius of the Center. Specifically, that means making decisions regarding village development planning, shared labor projects, and participation patterns in its area. It coordinates all the Sarvodaya services developed in its area, provides community leadership and development training, provides meeting space for village groups and the area Council of Elders, and develops income-producing projects such as batik work for its villages. Finally, it serves as an administrative and programming link to the Sarvodaya regional and national centers and institutes, so their resources may flow down to the villages.

Overall, the Gramodaya Centers serve as a focus for inter-village projects, which both pools scarce resources and provides a link for the villages to people beyond the village itself. That expands the world-view of the villagers and hopefully expands their social identity to include larger systems in the society and in Sarvodaya itself. And,

of course, with the responsibility it has, the Gramodaya Center is an obvious example of decentralization of Sarvodaya activities.

(3) Helping impoverished villages develop working capital for economic ventures:

When the issue of financial support for village cottage industries arose in 1972, the Sarvodaya Movement was able to start the Gramodaya Revolving Fund with external aid. This Fund successfully evolved into a systematic approach to rural credit activities, and, as of 1976, was providing money for village-based agricultural, small industrial, and commercial shop enterprises. In addition to other training provided through Sarvodaya, managers of these village projects are now being trained to run their projects efficiently.

(4) Providing a "head start" for human development:

Services for children provide an important part of Sarvodaya activity. Beginning in 1972, the Sarvodaya Movement developed an integrated set of pre-school, nutritional, and health care services for children. At present there are 330 pre-schools and community kitchens in Sarvodaya villages. Of course, the purpose of these services is to meet the basic physical and mental growth needs of children during their critical formative years.

There are yet other dimensions to this set of services. Parent adult education is achieved through the medium of the pre-school. The Mothers Group in each village with a pre-school actively participates in the pre-school, and by this participation, informal, indirect training of the mothers takes place, as needed. Also, the Suwa Seta home for malnourished children and physically handicapped girls has been established by Sarvodaya.

This unique home has two main purposes: first, it trains the handicapped girls to care for children (i.e., useful skill training as day-care workers); and, second, it provides care for malnourished, abandoned children who would otherwise die of neglect. There is a striking humanitarian set of values here. Two groups of people who would otherwise be unserved and neglected can be helped simultaneously.

(5) Providing development education for all levels of programs:

There are five objectives for development education in the Sarvodaya Movement: a) awareness building (of both problems and solutions); b) community leadership skills; c) economically useful skills and organizational patterns; d) program-planning/resource development facilitation; and e) coordination of self-development programs. Three examples of frameworks for training have already been described --- the Shramadana Camps, the integrated children's services, and the Gramodaya Centers. They provide lower-level, primary training.

However, more precise and comprehensive training is needed for skilled program leaders in the villages themselves. So the Sarodaya Movement has five Regional Development Education Institutes located in appropriate parts of Sri Lanka, to help meet the training needs of Sarvodaya workers. Utilizing two-week, three-month, and six-month courses, Sarvodaya brings in village people to work with skilled technicians and educators to solve specific village-level problems via increased knowledge and skill.

The five centers are Meth Medura, the national center (to be described later); Tanamalwila (also described below); Baddegama; Kandy; and Kerativu.

The latter is the first Development Institute in a Tamil area of Sri Lanka and will be developed as Meth Medura was in the early days of Sarvodaya. Also worth noting is Pathakada, the unique Community Leadership Training Institute for Buddhist Monks. This Institute began in 1974 and trains Buddhist monks for community development leadership work, since those monks can have a tremendous influence because of their positions within most of Sri Lanka society.

These Institutes are further examples of the decentralization in the Sarvodaya Movement. They provide a regional focus within which participants can be more comfortable in learning (to increase participation, maintain relevance, and encourage responsiveness). Also, the learning method utilized in the Institutes is important. The aim is to work out solutions for specific problems, and that is accomplished by combining local insights with the expertise of outside professionals. The Sarvodaya activities and processes described above are examples of how the Movement centers on village needs and how coordination and training services are decentralized. Yet there are needs for resources, information, and coordination which demand more centralized, higher-level institutions and structures. The latter will be the content of the remaining sections below.

(6) Providing overall coordination for a development program:

The Meth Medura Headquarters serves as a dynamic focus for the whole Sarvodaya Movement. It is not only the administrative headquarters for Sarvodaya; it serves as the technical information center, it provides training, and it is the 'Mecca' for the spiritual dimension of the program.

Meth Medura is the national and international coordinating center for Sarvodaya. It provides technical support services for local and regional programs, transportation and repair, communications, printing, a library, and general administrative services. It also has its own self-supporting production units attached to it. It organizes technical expertise and information in support of an extensive program, facilitating the flow of that expertise and information among the many parts of the Sarvodaya program. But it serves as more than a material center for Sarvodaya. Because it was the place where many Sarvodaya activities began, Meth Medura also is viewed as the spiritual center for the Movement; and, as such, it is the "finishing school" in the Sarvodaya training system, at which village leaders and technicians have a higher-level 'community experience' to deepen their beliefs and their skills.

(7) Developing appropriate technologies and disseminating them to the villages:

In 1976 the Movement started the Sarvodaya Appropriate Technology Development Program, to develop technological methods that fit village resources and know-how. Rather than use villages themselves as 'experiments,' the Movement incorporated the testing of appropriate technologies into the functions of the Tanamalwila Development Education Institute. Tanamalwila is 500 acres of wasteland given to Sarvodaya by the government. Here strategies could be tried and refined first before dissemination through the technical services and communications networks of Sarvodaya and through the village technicians trained there.

This testing of appropriate technologies is incorporated into the training of village youths to be 'resident agriculturalists' in their

This set of services is consistent with previously described Sarvodaya services. They are a combination of "on the ground" scientific knowledge and skill and local indigenous capacity and tradition. They encourage a learning from the experience of others in the process of monitoring, screening, selecting, and packaging workable, relevant examples from other areas of Sri Lanka and the world. They also encourage a fresh assessment of dilemmas and possible solutions by adding new data and insights. Finally, they make available the knowledge and skill that may be missing within the village and, in the process of informally training village resource-people, leave behind valuable skills and knowledge.

- (9) Finding out what is being done wrong and what is being done right and why:

The Sarvodaya Research Center is the hub of evaluation and research in the Movement. This Center, itself still in a rudimentary stage of establishment, aims to conduct formative and summative evaluation, feasibility studies, baseline studies, pre-program surveys, and applied and experimental research. For example, these are the kinds of projects undertaken so far: an evaluation of 15 Sarvodaya Centers and Farms; a descriptive analysis of 13 Sarvodaya Centers and Farms; a socio-economic survey of a 10% sample of Sarvodaya villages; as well as the current 'participative education programming' project.

The Research Center's work, over the course of time, will address several issues in programmatic and evaluative matters. In general, it is to determine the scope and nature of development problems in Sri Lanka villages and establish benchmarks in that area. In terms of overall program activity, the Center's work will incorporate the dynamics of

villages. In the course of agricultural training work at Tanamalwila, new technologies that utilize existing materials and fit village-level skills are tested. Complementing this effort is the land reclamation project aimed at restoring Tanamalwila's traditional Sinhalese water system of tanks and canals (which had been left in disrepair since the colonial era) and projects involving model farm family developments in housing, production, etc.

The Tanamalwila education complex addresses several levels of training. It develops basic agricultural skills; it provides a practical laboratory for identifying, building, and testing new agricultural technology; it trains manpower for developing and applying new and workable 'old' ideas, using village technicians as dissemination agents; and, at an even higher level, it reaffirms a national cultural heritage, strengthening 'love of land' values.

(8) Providing specialized technical skills 'out in the field':

In addition to information on agricultural practices being circulated through Tanamalwila and the village agriculturalists trained there, Sarvodaya responds to the need for technical information and skills in the villages through its Rural Technical Services. The purpose of this service is three-fold: to supply skilled technicians to bring about qualitative improvement in agriculture, irrigation, etc.; to facilitate systematic and objective analysis of development problems and solutions; and to facilitate information-sharing across large geographic units. These services are provided as the villages request them, and the 'experts' are mobile and able to travel where they are needed.

assessment and feedback into on-going program planning, as well as providing a framework for 'results' evaluation and accountability. Finally, by testing alternative problem-solutions, more realistic and practical programming choices will be made from among those tested.

(10) Spreading the word internationally:

There are four different examples of how the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has linked with interested people and institutions across the world. First, as the result of a similar link-up with the town of Balen, Belgium, towns in New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Canada have paired off with Sri Lanka villages, with the Western towns collecting money for the Sarvodaya villages, which made up development plans in response to the aid they were to receive. Second, there is an international student and youth exchange, which allows young people who are interested in the Sarvodaya Movement to come and work with the Sarvodaya 'family'. As with other activities in Sarvodaya, these people experience sharing and co-operation while providing what expertise they have in return.

Third, the Vishvodaya ("World Awakening") Center is in the process of being built in Colombo as the Sarvodaya International Headquarters. The Center will coordinate all Sarvodaya international programs, house the Research Center and a development library, and serve as a conference and training center. Fourth and last, because of the expansion of the Movement and the growing number of external donors for the programs, a number of international Sarvodaya seminars have been held. These seminars have served to provide an 'evaluation' (by direct observation) for donors, an opportunity for cross-fertilization of ideas from many perspectives, and a forum for discussion of what can be learned from the Sarvodaya movement.

In Summary

The Sarvodaya Movement incorporates different levels of education and training in a coherent, integrated manner. The following chart illustrates the overall pattern:

<u>Village Level</u>	<u>Area Level</u>	<u>Regional</u>	<u>National</u>
Shramadana Camps: - entry - awakening	Gramodaya Centers: - inter-village coordination scheme for self-government and resource maximization	Development Education Institutes: - advanced training for village and program leaders	Pathakada Buddhist Institute: - integrating the psycho-social force of religious-based values and principles for change
Formation of Functional groups: - youth - children - elders - mothers - farmers	Libraries: - development literature		Meth Medura Institute: - preparing leaders and training new manpower for socioeconomic development
			Tanamawila Farm Complex: - a laboratory for developing appropriate technologists for rural living

Results/Accomplishments/Developments

The Sarvodaya Movement has conducted 358 Shramadana Camps during the period from April 1, 1978 to September 30, 1978*. The activities of these camps provide a panorama of Sarvodaya's work.

SUMMARY OF CAMP PROJECTS (4/1/78-6/30/78)

Activity	Number of Camps	Completed Amount of	Number Participated	Value of Work done
1. Construction of roads	40	Miles 45½	8186	127,725.00
2. Construction of latrines	05	Pits 87	1362	6,025.00
3. Construction of play grounds	06	Acres 3 3/4	1626	9,300.00
4. Re-construction of the community kitchens and pre-school lands	07	Acres 2½	562	3,385.00
5. Repair of tanks and irrigation canals	09	Miles 11	1862	18,950.00
6. Repair of temple grounds	09	Acres 11 3/4	1023	7,275.00
7. Construction of the farm yards and home gardens	04	Acres 3½	263	2,250.00
8. Clearance of Gramodaya Centre	05	Acres 2	198	1,560.00
9. Construction of wells	02	Wells 2	55	400.00
10. Clearing of the school environment	06	Acres 6½	471	4,515.00
11. Paddy planting and harvesting	04	Acres 10½	540	4,800.00
12. Construction of foundation	15	sq. ft. 64595	2009	21,340.00
13. Digging of the waste pits and manure pits	02	Pits 15	50	425.00
14. Cleaning of the hospital environment	07	Acres 9½	733	8,310.00
15. Cleaning of the cemetery	01	Acres 1½	48	575.00
16. Cleaning of the church environment	01	Acres ½	58	250.00
17. Cleaning of a land slide	01	01	49	800.00
18. Building of the houses	03	Houses 3	409	3,100.00
19. Transport of the bricks and stones	01	4000	16	125.00
20. Cleaning of the hospital wards	02	Beds 48	125	1,255.00
			<u>19,665</u>	<u>R222,365.00</u>
(For the period 7/1/78-9/30/78)	<u>228</u>		<u>39,508</u>	<u>R545,085.00</u>
TOTAL	<u>358</u>		<u>59,173</u>	<u>R767,450.00</u>

* This outlines the major Shramadana Camps coordinated by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Coordinating Division. It is estimated that hundreds of Shramadana Camps are taking place which have been organized by the villagers themselves.

Quarterly Service Reports (4/1/78-6/30/78 and 7/1/78-9/30/78).

During this same report period, other administrative sections of the Movement accounted for considerable activity and production. The Communications Section encompasses photography, arts and crafts, village libraries, audio-visual programs, and publications. Thirty-five village libraries were developed, bringing the total to 260. One mobile library was put into operation. Library users (registrations) increased from 13,200 regular users to 15,000. 1,350 books and magazines (Rs.93,439) were distributed. Twenty-eight librarians were trained for Gramodaya Centers by a librarian at the University of Sri Lanka at Vishvodaya. 70,000 villagers saw the film "We Build the Road and the Road Builds Us," and other slide presentations. 40,000 copies of the Sinhala monthly "Sarvodaya" were distributed and 15,000 copies of "A Struggle to Awaken" and "Basic Human Needs." During this period, roughly 3,500 people from throughout Sri Lanka visited the Movement headquarters at Moratwva. Approximately 60 foreign visitors came to the headquarters.

Children's Services Section activities saw the number of community kitchens in its nutrition program increase from 750 to 892 with 218,463 individuals (mothers and children) benefiting from the program. Of this total number 101,013 were children 3-5 years old, the critical formative years when nutrition is especially important.

Pre-schools established in the villages had a total enrollment of 48,638 children. 100 sets of play materials were distributed as were 213 copies of a general science book.

Primary Health Care saw 19,432 participants in health education discussion sessions, 12,554 injections given in the immunization program, 3,215 latrines or wells constructed or repaired, medical assistance or child and

maternal health care consultation provided to 5,761 individuals, 1,415 detections and treatments made in the nutritional corrections program, and 2,215 contacts made with various public health officials.

Sixty-one (61) Gramodaya Centers were operating, covering 2,025 villages. Also, 299 children's groups, 252 youth groups, 249 mothers' groups, 28 farmers' groups, and 26 samudans were functioning.

The Gramodaya Fund was supporting 96 agricultural, small industry, and community shop projects with Rs 201,201 loaned. The Production Units (wood, metal, batik, arts, and printing) earned Rs 454,167 for the period.

During this period, the Movement had training activities conducted at 26 different centers and institutes of the Movement (Moratuwa-Damsak Mandira, Tanamalwila, Panwila, Baddegama, Pathakada, Anuradhapura, Pungudutivu, Palpatha, Meddewatte, Nedalagamuwa, Rambadagalle, Kabillewela, Matugama, Polwatta, Jayamalapura, Veheragoda, Tunnana, Minuwangoda, Talawa, Alawwa, Purijjala, Kivulakele, Nagarodaya, Baticaloa, Akurala, and Dikkumbura).

The training activities were for community service workers, pre-school instructors, community health service workers, school principals, Sarvodaya trainers, youth service workers, Bhikkus (priests), community leaders, mothers group leaders, library service workers, agriculturalists, and craftsmen (batik printing, masonry, carpentry, needle work, weaving, rattan, wood work, barbering, and brick making). These training sessions amounted to a total of 189,756 man/days of training received. Other activities during this period were:

1. Launching of the Nagarodaya-Colombo Urban Community Awakening Program

2. Plantation Workers Development Services organized
3. A "Sarvodaya-in-the-Schools" Program was begun
4. Rural Technical Services Section organized
5. Asian Multi-National Study Service Meeting conducted
6. Village-to-Village Link-Up (Sri Lanka with Belgium, Holland, and UK) Program strengthened
7. International Conference on Sarvodaya held
8. Participatory Resource Personnel Scheme formulated
9. Cooperation with Government's New District Ministers (decentralization effort for grass-roots development)
10. Summit Meeting with NOVIB held

Financial Management and Accountability

A concise picture of the costs and budgeting procedures of the Sarvodaya Movement is provided by the accounts of one (3-month) quarterly period (April 1 - June 30, 1978). Receipts and expenditure for this 2nd quarter of 1978 are as follows:

Receipts

NOVIB	3,475,990.00
OXFAM (ENGLAND)	392,010.00
11-11-11 Campaign (BELGIUM)	520,016.00
F.N.S.	743,991.00
OXFAM (AMERICA)	158,700.00
WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE (CANADA)	552,000.00
Other Foreign Donations	156,287.00
Local Donations	14,700.00
Earnings	192,038.00
Total	Rs. 6,205,038.00

(Cont.)

Expenditure

Shramadana	36,619.76
Pre-school, Community Kitchen and Health Care	250,839.91
Gramodaya Projects	86,581.25
Development Education Institute - Tanamalwila	1,490,433.03
Other Development Educational Institutes	852,800.99
Library Services	11,333.19
Gramodaya Centers	315,644.69
General Stores	146,981.35
Administration	253,484.00
Transport & Garage	94,249.38
Communications	108,204.31
Bhikku Seva	8,777.12
Research Center	81,767.11
Suwa Setha	73,610.06
Training Programmes	51,236.71
Production Units	315,988.88
Food Accounts	147,258.75
Mixed Expenditure	1,204,542.30
Advance & Transfers	2,815,590.15
Accrued Expenses for 1977/78	285,093.06

Rs. 8,631,036.00

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**Data Analysis
and Interpretation**

DATA ANALYSIS

In much of the analysis that follows, various categorical labels have been derived from the grouping of the data into units that seem to have some logical order and meaning to the analyst. In most cases, these categories could be re-arranged to some extent by further collapsing or sub-dividing them. The choices that have been made represent a combination of the researcher's purposes for this research and the insights gained from his own experiential background. The reader may want to, and in most cases will be able to, manipulate the data to reflect his own understanding, insight, or purpose.

Theme One

The questions contained in the first theme represented an effort to identify and describe the existing traditional (culture-rooted) participation patterns in the village context. A general awareness of the cultural context within which this study is being conducted should facilitate an understanding of human motives and the interrelatedness of behavior patterns. Also, the information derived from the analysis of the data from this first theme should serve as a backdrop for much of the remaining analysis and interpretation.

Question #1

Respondents were asked to identify the kinds of formal activities engaged in by the people. The responses were grouped and categorized after a careful study of the total collection of responses.

Data

Formal Activities Engaged in by the People

<u>Category and Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Number of Mentions within Sub-category</u>
Religious Ceremonies, Festivals, Rites, Practices (118)	<u>General religious ceremonies</u> (17): in the (Tamil) home (1), temple festivals (2), church prayers (1) <u>Calendar, periodic:</u> Pong Day (5), Wesak (Full moon) Day (13), Season (5), Monthly or bi-monthly (12)	21 35

<u>Category and Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Number of Mentions within Sub-category</u>
Religious Ceremonies, Festivals, Rites, Practices (Cont.)	<u>Offerings, almsgiving</u> (4): in the names of devils or gods (1), to god Kataragama (2), rice harvesting (3), Pideni offering of food and drink to demons and spirits (1), to sacred Po tree (1), Chaithiya (Dagabe) offering of new rice, flowers, lamps (1)	13
	<u>Processions</u> (1): Devala (four) processions (3), Perahera (1), at the temple (2)	7
	<u>Chanting, preaching</u> : Bana preaching (3), Pirith chanting ceremony (6)	9
	<u>Exorcism</u> (7): getting a witch doctor to recite manthrams to expell evil spirits or exorcise devils (1), tying threads following an incantation to the evil spirits (1)	9
	<u>Other</u> : incantations of manthrams (1), Sangi Kadana in remembrance of the dead (1), Piri Kama (1), Katina Pin Kama (1), Pin Khama meritorious ceremony (3), Vas ceremony (2), worshipping the Pullisar (Kovila, Pulliar, Pulliyar Samy) (2), Pullesha Wandinawa (1), ordination ceremony for monks (1), visit of a monk (1)	14
Rites of Passage (229)	<u>Childhood</u> : naming ceremony (1), feeding small child with rice for the first time, a child's first bowl of rice (13), first teaching of the alphabet (3), boring of earlobes (1), birthdays (5), girls attainment of puberty (Kotahalu) (22)	45
	<u>Marriages, weddings</u> (76): the arranging of marriages by parents, relatives, match-makers (5), Dhoby woman's washing of the bride (2), young girls reciting astakas or jayamangalagathas (6), Poruwa ceremony (4)	93

<u>Category and Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Number of Mentions within Sub-category</u>
Rites of Passage (Cont.)	<u>Inhabiting a new domicile:</u> laying the foundation stone for a new house (4), construction of a new house (1), fixing door frames (1), entering new house at an auspicious time (4), housewarming ceremony (18)	28
	<u>Funeral (houses) (63):</u>	63
Agricultural Events (5)	At auspicious times (1), new rice festival (2), harvest ceremony (1), plowing, sowing, reaping at auspicious times (1)	5
Community Events (62)	Annual general meeting of Rural Development Society (1), annual general meeting of Death Aid Society (2), opening the new school building (1), Shramadana camps of Sarvodaya (4), New Year festivals, celebrations (54)	62
Entertainment, Games, Dances, Storytelling (80)	<u>Games:</u> Races, jumping events, volleyball, rope pulling (6), sports festivals and meets at the school (15), playing robhana (1)	22
	<u>Storytelling:</u> telling Goyan Kavi (3), Nadagam-sandakinduru Jathaka and other stories (1)	4
	<u>Poetry/Oratory/Drama:</u> singing poems (Kavi) (1), drama (1), oratorical contests (1)	3
	<u>Singing, Dancing, Music:</u> singing songs in the rice fields (1), singing contests (1), musical evenings of the children (1), beating of drums (1), dances (1), Leekeli dancing (1), Sokari dancing (1), Ruhunu dancing (2), Devil dancing (27), Bali ceremonies (12), Kan Kari (3)	

Interpretation

The respondents were asked to identify activities other than those related to working, sleeping, cooking, eating, conducting family business, or nursing the sick (i.e. activities not related to basic survival). Life-cycle "rites of passage" and religion are the predominant forms of activity mentioned. They represent the "thing to do," have "life-meaningfulness," and many probably carry a "fear of negative consequences" or "hope of a blessing."

Some of the "entertainment" activities could perhaps more accurately be identified as informal since there would probably be little emphasis on 1) certain participants occupying prescribed roles, 2) extensive ritual and symbolism, and 3) very many established behavioral expectations. Many of these events would seem to be of a spontaneous nature. However, some standardized forms of fun-making such as dancing and storytelling may very well be aimed at preserving the form down through the generations and as is usual in such cases, take on all the trappings of formal activity alluded to above. Much oral history has been preserved in other cultures largely because the process of "storytelling" became a formalized activity.

The manner in which the question was posed (i.e. not wanting references to basic survival activities) may have served to reduce the number of mentions that would have otherwise been given regarding formal, traditional activities engaged in which relate to the agricultural cycle. Also, entertainment might be seen as a more prevalent activity if "New Year festivals, celebrations (54 mentions) were shifted from the "community events" to the "entertainment" category.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses

1. The form of an activity, as expressed through its rituals and symbols, may be as important a determinant of participation as the function, in so far as these become appealing or aesthetic features for the potential participant.

2. An understanding of the indigenous cultural roots of behavior in rural village societies is important in any study of participation patterns simply because of the dominating, determining force tradition plays in people's lives.

3. Internal and external dimensions of "locus of control" as a social-psychological measure of motivated human behavior will parallel modern and traditionally oriented styles of behavior, respectively. This means that rural villagers will feel that the ultimate control of their destiny is largely out of their hands. And yet, paradoxically, the assignment of day to day responsibility for efforts to meet survival needs will be seen as an individual matter. If this statement is valid, it should have implications for the design of strategies for achieving participatory involvement in development with the purpose, length, and input requirements of the development activity being important facets for consideration.

Question #2

When asked to identify informal activities engaged in by the people, the respondents generally tended to indicate what would be considered "informal" events (i.e. occurring irregularly, usually spontaneous, devoid of extensive ritual and symbolism, etc.). However, similar to the previous question wherein some activities mentioned

would definitely seem to be more informal (when the question called for formal activities), with this question, some responses identify formal instead of informal events. The responses are presented with this point having been considered.

Data

Informal Activities Engaged in by the People

<u>Category and Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Number of Mentions within Sub-category</u>
Informal meetings, Gatherings (150)	<p><u>Locus:</u> at the (tea) boutique (21), at the bazaars or street corners (1), at grocery shops (2), at the trading center (1), at the dispensary (1), at the bus stand (1), near the wells (2), at the tanks (2), at the wewa (3), at public bathing places (10), at places of work (1), near or in the paddy fields (7), at the threshing floor (1), at the school (various functions) (4), mothers, at the preschool (1), at the Sarvodaya Center (5), at the temple (5), near the Cooperative Society (2), at the Rural Development Society Hall (1), in our homes (1), at places where illicit liquor is being distilled (1)</p> <p><u>Occasion:</u> during emergencies (accidents, sickness, helping a person in need) (25), during fights and disputes (to see) (10), a big noise draws people (1), during the harvesting of paddy (5), during the collection of wages at the estate (1), when going in search of firewood (1), during the making of a new roof for a house (1), during inoculations at the school (1), at times when something is being given free or at bargain prices (1), during the drinking of illicit liquor, toddy, arrack (4), while going on hunting expeditions (1), while going on pleasure trips (1), to welcome a newcomer (2), to</p>	82
		58

<u>Category and Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Number of Mentions within Sub-category</u>
Informal meetings, Gatherings (Cont.)	welcome a VIP (2), to bid farewell to a person going abroad (1), for Shramadana construction and cleaning activities (1)	
Society, Association Meetings and Other Group Functions (19)	<u>Standing groups:</u> at Society meetings (5), women's organizations (1), village committee meetings (1), annual general meeting of the Village Development Society (1), PTA meetings (1)	9
	<u>Sporadic groupings:</u> at Shramadanas (8), political functions related to gaining prestige and revenge (1), at invited political discussions (1)	10
Entertainment, Recreation (50)	<u>Songs, dances:</u> singing songs at the boutique (1), group participation in songs and storytelling while working (6), pre-wedding music parties (1), chorals (2)	10
	<u>Films, radio listening, plays:</u> listening to the radio at the boutique (1), listening to the radio in the paddy fields while working (3), listening to the radio while working in the home (1), gathering for radio news broadcasts (1), a cinema show or magic show (3), movies (shown by Sarvodaya) (1), for film show- ings (1), to see a play (1)	12
	<u>Sports, games, contests:</u> public gather- ings at sports meets (3), sports meets (10), play volleyball (2), play matches (1), play cricket or carrom (1), games (Kilithaddu) (1), games for children (1), football (1), contests (1), gambling (2), card playing (3), evening games of panchi in the home (1), billiards (1)	28

<u>Category and Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Number of Mentions within Sub-category</u>
Religious related (15)	<u>Spontaneous gatherings:</u> meeting at the temple on Poya Day (1), people getting together informally during religious or other holidays (3), informal meetings at the temple (3)	7
	<u>Observing functions:</u> gathering to observe religious processions (1), going on religious pilgrimages (2), Bana preaching (2)	5
	<u>Making contributions:</u> meetings of temple welfare committee (Dayaka Saba) (1), special work at the temple (1), at discussions held at the temple to discuss problems of the village (1)	3
Other/general (6)	At any collective activity (1), on public holidays (2), gathering to shout encouragement during difficult tasks (log loading) (1), young people do work together (1), social activities on Sunday (1)	

Interpretation

The data indicates that the most popular places for gathering informally are the (tea) boutique and the source of communal water supply. These would tend to be rather permanent sites within the village and likely to have someone there most of the time. This would probably account for much of what are probably chance meetings of people.

Meetings near or in the paddy fields where different plots would be adjacent to each other or accessible by the same path or road would

seem to be a natural occurrence. However, meetings at the temple, school, or Sarvodaya Center would probably occur more frequently as a result of decided behavior since these would normally be places reserved for other more specific functions and therefore not likely to be used as spots to gather for casual conversation.

People gather in response to problems or sudden trouble. This may be because of a desire to help someone or general curiosity or both. And again, the activities of harvesting seem to bring people in contact with each other, perhaps for purposes of mutual assistance or because of the proximity of fields.

Entertainment and recreational pursuits appear to be an important aspect of village life in Sri Lanka with a wide variety of activities being engaged in. Competitive events pitting the skills of individuals seem to be more popular than passive forms of listening or watching.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses

1. There are key sites in every village where people gather: some sites for casual interaction and some sites for more deliberate (although informal) interaction. Villagers usually distinguish between these types of sites and confine themselves to the appropriate form of behavior for each site.

2. Studies of the social space of people living in village communities would yield valuable insights into where, when, and how various kinds of interaction can be expected or arranged.

3. People respond to stimuli which evoke empathic feelings of concern toward the welfare of significant others.

4. Friendly competitive struggles indicate a willingness to match skills to see who can do best. This can have positive social value if defeat is handled as well by both parties as is victory. Competitive modes of interaction can be anathema to constructive group activity if it becomes an end in itself.

5. The challenge of a game or contest can capture the attention of individuals for a time span long enough to allow subtle or incidental learning to occur. This can have educational value if skills and knowledge learning activities are presented in the form of games or contests.

Questions #4 and #5

Questions four and five concerning the respondents perceptions of the reasons why people participate in formal and in informal activities again posed a problem in that many of the respondents seemed unable to distinguish between the terms "formal" and "informal". Because of the resulting overlapping of response patterns across the two questions, the responses to these two questions were combined so as to fall within an overall category of "reasons for participation," with no distinction being made as to the type of activity being referred to.

Responses of village sample respondents, village leaders, and Sarvodaya workers were also grouped together for these two questions since the information desired dealt with overall participation patterns and not whatever distinctions (if any) regarding perceptions of reasons why people participate might exist among types of respondents.

Data

Thirteen responses fell into a category that can best be labeled "force of traditional customs and habits." These responses emphasized the strength of the culture, the activity being the traditional thing to do, and that these activity patterns had become habitual. Three responses emphasized that the people saw no need to change their traditional habits, that these had been deeply inculcated in them, that they didn't care whether these were right or wrong, and that it would be difficult to rid their minds of these things.

A second category, labeled "obligatory adherence to tradition," encompassed thirteen responses. Emphasized here were feelings of obligations to forebears and/or fear of calamity should deviations be made from the "pointed way." Responses indicated that deviation would be tantamount to committing a sin against ancestors, that if the elders regarded it as a good thing then the villagers must do it, that if one follows his parents footsteps his children would follow his, and that elders themselves participate as much as they do because they like to see their children taking part in the activities. Others emphasized a likelihood of trouble and suffering if customs of their forefathers were not safeguarded, that the wrath of God would fall upon them, that pleasing the gods was necessary to obtaining a good harvest, and that if the gods were pleased (appeased) there would be benefits to be derived.

Another category, "religious significance," contained nineteen responses which collectively emphasized the importance of the activity to Buddhists and that people participated in the activity simply

because they were Buddhists.

The next category of "social responsibility" contains twenty-three responses, all except one emphasizing the giving of assistance to another in need (i.e. sick, in danger, poor, grieving, injured, undertaking a difficult task, troubled, etc.) as being a matter of social obligation, moral responsibility, duty, an opportunity (to earn merit), or simply because people help each other in distress. Participation in this vein was generally in reference to joining with others in helping with the burden of funerals, sickness, accidents, or other situations of stress or misfortune.

Another category, somewhat related to the previous one, encompassed twelve responses, and is labeled as "shared feelings." The emphasis here was upon forgetting any differences of opinion that may have existed among parties and coming together to share in the joy of a wedding or in the sorrow and work of a burial. (It is significant to note the seeming strength of the Death Aid Societies in Sri Lanka villages.) The matter is best stated through one particular response: "Death is the final thing, so all people come for that."

"Promoting social harmony" encompassed ten responses and ranged from deriving satisfaction from the goodwill generated to protecting village peace and cooperation, to strengthening village unity and associations among the people, to harmonizing relationships among quarreling parties. The data drawn from other themes constantly referred to friction among individuals, families, and groups (i.e. political factions) in the villages. It would seem natural then that there would be efforts made by some to counter the effects of such friction.

The next category of "community unity" (twenty-three responses), stressed people's participation because of the existence of a strong sense of unity, of community, of feelings of family, and because "people need people."

"Social identity" contained forty-four responses and strongly supports a characterization of human relationships in the rural villages as being of a very intimate, interpersonal nature. This in turn would seem to suggest that participation in group activities might be affected to a considerable degree by how closely the potential participants identify with, accept, and are friendly with each other. The responses stressed race, caste, personal relationships, and trust and mutual confidence as important determinants.

The next category is "reciprocity in social relationships" and accounts for thirteen responses. The existence of an informal "quid pro quo" among the people was stressed by statements regarding desires to protect and maintain cordial friendships or relationships, to return favors, or to honor an invitation if the inviter had honored an invitation from the present invitee on an earlier occasion. Conversely, some responses emphasized that if an invitee failed to attend, the same treatment would be meted out to him on a similar occasion. Perhaps the clearest representation of the principle of reciprocity is provided by the following: "Around fifty to sixty will be informed that a harvesting has been planned. They will come to help in the work. Those who come will be treated to rice, sweets, and betel. Usually, the helpers do not expect any payment for the work. It is done because of mutual cooperation."

The next category of "compulsory participation" is related to that of "reciprocity" above but differs in regard to origin of the sense of compulsion and the consequences of non-participation. Here, decisions to participate would seem to stem more from a general fear of negative sanction rather than from a consideration that one would not have some favor returned at a later time. This category encompassed twenty-one responses, ranging from an emphasis on pressure coming from others to pressures coming from one's own values and beliefs. A fear of exclusion from the society and of being prevented from participating in later activities, clustering at one end of the spectrum and the belief that non-participation is bad, and that there is no reason not to participate marking the other end.

The next category, "for the common good," contained twelve responses and emphasized participation for the sake of developing the village, its economic state (through clearing irrigation canals, settling land disputes, etc.), for planning collective efforts in cultivation or other community projects (repairing the temple, constructing a road, or joining in a "Shramadana"), to supporting activities in order to provide a bright future for the young generation. One statement seems particularly important to the thrust of this research: "When they take the ideas from the people taking active part in the village, all the people will agree and confirm these principles and attend to those functions."

The category of "availability of time" accounted for twelve responses and emphasized free time, the activity occurring on a holiday, being free from work, and unemployed youth having time for

informal activities. The statement that "a customary celebration is like a day of freedom" accents the conscientiousness of people in such rural communities in attending to their livelihood.

The next category could easily be seen as two separate ones. They are combined here to comprise "benefits/merit" and account for six responses. The common unifying factor is that of deriving something from the activity of value to the individual, whether it be physical health or religious merit.

Another category, "acquisition of tangible rewards," overlapped in a minor way with the previous one. However, the points of distinction seem stronger than any commonality. The eleven responses subsumed under this category emphasized prizes (8), obtaining something free or at a bargain price, or partaking of free food and drink.

The category, "awareness of the activity," encompassed eight responses and pointed to attendance or participation due to adequate propaganda/information/news about the activity.

"Extension of invitations" is the next category and accounts for thirty-one responses. Quite obviously, there are certain occasions in the villages (i.e. weddings, certain rites of passage, etc.) which people attend only if they receive an invitation. Several responses indicated that it is necessary to invite kin, outsiders attend by invitation only, and the more people invited the more who could be expected to participate.

The next category, "requirements of the event," contained eight responses and emphasized that the nature of the activity itself necessitated extensive participation (i.e. there would be no such event

without it) and that everyone's assistance was needed to divide and handle the tasks in a cooperative way.

The next category (nine responses) emphasized that the "activity is well-led and organized" and under social control (i.e. that there would be little chance of such undesirable behavior as toddy drinking and gambling taking place).

The following category, "prestige of the convener/honoree," encompassed twenty-two responses. These ranged from an emphasis upon a sanction from an appropriate group or the status of the convener to an emphasis upon the goodness, popularity, and respect for the honoree and/or his family. Approximately one-third of the responses were in reference to the attendance of weddings. Eight of nine responses in direct reference to status of the convener came from the village sample, not leaders.

The next category refers to the fun, entertainment, and pleasure to be derived from participating in an activity and accounts for forty-seven responses. Labeled "pleasure seeking," this category emphasized the personal delight an event could offer its participants or audience. One response pointed out that youth participation in religious ceremonies was sometimes the result of the inclusion of drums, puppet shows, etc. Another response pointed to people finding ways of entertaining themselves in order to make work more enjoyable.

The next category contained seven responses and refers to the phenomenon of human curiosity and "inquisitiveness." Villagers were described as being curious (to see or welcome newcomers to the village, to inquire into an accident where others had gathered, etc.) and

responsive to noises and novelty. One response stated that "when they hear a hooting call, it is the custom to respond/participate."

A categorization of three responses stressed participation because of opportunities "to display natural talents" and capabilities or to make use of personal skills basic to facilitating good interaction.

The next category, "supportive financial conditions," emphasized the ability to provide (afford) presents and/or the existence of satisfactory financial situations (three responses).

The next category, "influence of modernity," contained four responses which referred to the influence of modern civilization, people becoming more civilized, the influence of newspapers and radio, and students learning to participate in non-traditional activities while in school.

An interesting set of seven responses is labeled "negative input," and stresses that some participate in order to cause trouble, quarrel, pick a fight, or because they have malice in their hearts or are drunk and want to sabotage the program. One response indicated that "some take advantage of such gatherings for gambling opportunities." Another response pointed out that "in the case of an accident, they come because they want to loot." The label "negative input" is, of course, in reference to how the respondent sees things and probably devotes a tendency to ascribe improper motives to only certain other individuals.

The last catch-all category, "other," contained sixteen responses. Stressed here were participation because the event was a national festival, that it was conducted at an auspicious time, or that it represented an opportunity to talk about politics or to collect information.

Also mentioned were the role of self-interest (atthama) and youth participating in sports meets because it was the natural thing for young people to do.

Summation

"Reasons for Participation"

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Mentions</u>
Force of traditional customs and habits	13
Obligatory adherence to tradition	13
Religious significance	19
Social identity	44
Shared feelings	12
For the common good	12
Community unity	23
Promoting social harmony	10
Social responsibility	23
Reciprocity in social relationships	21
Compulsory participation	9
Activity is well-led and organized	9
Extension of invitations	31
Prestige of the convener/honoree	22
Requirements of the event	8
Awareness of the activity	8
Benefits/merits to be acquired	6
Acquisition of tangible rewards	11
Pleasure seeking	47
To display natural talents	3
Supportive financial conditions	3
Availability of time	12
Inquisitiveness	7
Influence of modernity	4
Negative input	7
Other	16

Interpretation

"Community" is an important concept in rural Sri Lanka. The pervasiveness of responses which pointed to considerations of social solidarity factors would seem to indicate community as being of central concern to the village people. Casting aside considerations of tradition, the pursuit of pleasure, constraining factors such as time and money, anticipation of rewards, the influences of personal curiosity and modernizing forces, and the nature of the activity itself (a total of 177 mentions or 45%), we are still left with a preponderance of responses which indicate social factors as being the major source of reasons why people participate in various activities.

Social identity (44), shared feelings (12), actions for the common good (12), community unity (23), promotion of social harmony (10), social responsibility (23), reciprocity in social relationships (21), compulsory participation (through application or threat of application of group sanctions) (9), status of the leaders and organizers of the activity (9), the extension of invitations to attend (31), and the prestige of the convener/honoree (22); this large socially-oriented set of responses account for 216 (55%) mentions.

The data did not permit an analysis of motives for participation in different types and varieties of activity. Therefore, the picture is half finished at best. However, some general motivational patterns do seem to emerge.

A sense of allegiance to ancestors and tradition would appear to be strong among many Sri Lanka villagers, who see no need for "change for the sake of change." A basic faith appears to exist that

if one is loyal to his/her forebears, then he will be in turn remembered by later progeny. (This view, of course, does not take into account that the surrounding world is ever changing and that the process of the transmission of local culture through the generations will probably be affected by those larger changes.)

A fear of ostracism seems to be prevalent among the villagers. Of course, without the existence of some constant example of the harsh effects of such ostracism (i.e. caste) to remind them, this fear might not be so pervasive and consequential in influencing participation decisions.

Sri Lanka villagers appear to possess a great drive to reduce tension and friction and to maintain social harmony. They also seem to adhere to a hierarchy of leaders when functions are to be undertaken which affect the whole community. And yet, there appears to be considerable emphasis on democratic principles of open and widely participatory decision-making when matters are being discussed. The data would seem to suggest that a general call for participation is more effective if it comes from someone with social status and prestige.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses

1. A community approach to social change may be the only means of accomplishing some goals of development within the rural villages of Sri Lanka. Such an approach must emphasize the mobilization of sanctioned community leadership and their trying to obtain as wide participation as possible from other villagers in the decision-making process.

2. The twin propositions of preparing children to strengthen and continue tradition while meeting the challenge of changes in the larger world culture do not have to be (or be seen as being) contradictory. The fears which stem from such perceived contradictions often can be defeating both to efforts to maintain cultural identity and continuity and efforts to acquire some of the benefits of modernization.

3. Attempts to understand participatory phenomena in rural villages should take into account, among other things, a) the event or activity (how aware people are of it, how well it has been organized, whether it contains any entertaining features; whether there is an established precedent for it, and the extent to which it necessitates wide participation in order to be successful), b) the time of the event (occurs at an auspicious time, is convenient to people's regular patterns of work and living), c) the benefits (prospects for earning merit, winning prizes, displaying talent, deriving pleasure), d) resources (material, monetary), e) atmosphere (aura of a community event, religious overtones, amicable social relationships among participants), f) purpose (for common good, individual benefits), g) organizers (respected), h) participants (attitudes, morality, mentality, shared identity), and i) the initial stimulus (invited participation to individuals, open and direct appeal to all).

Questions #6 and #7

Perceived reasons for non-participation in formal and informal activities were combined (as in the previous case with reasons for participation) because the respondents did not indicate that they could distinguish clearly between "formal" and "informal" events.

Data

The first category of fifteen responses, "status distinctions," pointed to caste (seven responses) and religious differences (one response) and the notion that non-participants often had few friends or kin (five responses) or were landless outsiders. The emphasis seemed to be on those of a lower caste choosing not to participate in events involving those of a higher caste, and not vice versa. It is necessary to refrain from drawing any conclusions about this because the existing data does not provide information about the caste of the respondent.

The second category of "social distance" emphasized the social, economic, and educational distance between participants and non-participants, with the more advantaged groups being described as non-participative. The six responses in this category all stressed the apathy and aloofness of the advantaged toward community efforts at improvement. One statement appeared to be in reference to the Sarvodaya Movement; "Elites see it as a common people's movement. The wealthy, educated, and the officials are not involved."

"Interpersonal friction" was seen as a source of non-participation by thirty-four respondents. Stressed here were family disputes, personal grudges, differences of opinion, political rivalry, or a personal dislike for certain people.

The next category, "reciprocity in social relationships," contained four responses which emphasized quid pro quo thinking in regard to not attending the function of someone who did not attend yours in the past, of not attending someone's function if you do not want them

to attend yours in the future, and the failure to obtain mutual cooperation with other villagers.

A separate category referred directly to participation in Sarvodaya activities (three responses) and emphasized non-participation because of having ideas about Sarvodaya which differed from those of others, boycotting Sarvodaya meetings because certain other people attended them, and feelings that Sarvodaya had not accomplished anything. There were few such "negative attitudes toward Sarvodaya" in the data.

"Avoidance of risk of social sanctions or personal injury or property loss" categorized the next set of eight responses. Emphasized here were a person believing that participation might be harmful to their social status or might (in the case of being present at a fight) destroy their social image. Not wanting trouble, fearing for one's personal safety, or being burgled while away from home (three responses) were reasons given for not getting involved.

A "lack of an invitation" accounted for twenty-five responses. One response perhaps sums up all the others: "People don't participate in weddings when they are not invited; also in housewarming ceremonies, first rice feed ceremony, and girl's attainment (of puberty) ceremony."

The next category, "economic status," encompassed twenty-five responses which emphasized poverty, economic hardships, lack of money to spend on the occasion, financial inability to treat a large crowd, inability to afford presents and employment problems. Two responses pointed to doubt as to the economic benefits to be derived.

The next category, "perceived deficiency or restriction of the activity," was a conglomeration of thirteen responses pointing up such factors as personal dislike for the activity, feelings that the activity and the accompanying gossip were a waste of time, poor organization, unattractive staging, lack of amusement or entertainment, lack of awareness due to inadequate information or propaganda, or the segregation of the activity by sex (i.e. puberty rites).

A "dislike for the conveners" category encompassed five responses and stressed lack of popularity of host or honoree, suspicion of dishonesty on the part of the organizers, a disagreement with or resentment toward the organizers, and the exploitative behavior of certain individuals in the community's associations, centers, and societies.

The next category emphasized a "moral deficiency of the potential participant." Six responses identified evil ways, lack of moral responsibility, lack of religion, unawareness of social niceties, laziness, and being outcasted as reasons for non-participation.

A related category of a "mental deficiency of potential participants" had ten responses and ranged from illiteracy and ignorance to attitudes, lack of curiosity, indifference, lack of interest, to self-centeredness.

The next category, "burden of personal problems," accounted for seventeen responses. Family, personal, private domestic troubles, worry and being upset, and being sick or crippled were given as reasons why some do not participate.

The "work ethic" is a categorization of twenty-five responses stressing no time for relaxation or leisure due to the demands of

work, pressure of the agricultural cycle, the need to look after the house and the land, and that some find relaxation within their work.

A catch-all "other" category contained twenty-two responses and covered such factors as: people getting used to customs encountered in the town when going there for study or occupational pursuits and then not participating in the village customs; indulging in non-traditional activities only when allowed to do so through the advice and approval of the (competent) and the elderly; parents restricting their children's participation; age; reasons connected with official laws; people feeling they can solve their problems by themselves; desire to lead a secluded life; fear that participation in said activity might interfere with (previously arranged) personal engagements; lack of time; lack of opportunity; inconvenience; there were no reasons for non-participation; and that there were no non-participants.

Summation

"Reasons for Non-Participation"

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Responses</u>
Status distinctions	15
Social distance	6
Interpersonal friction	34
Reciprocity in social relationships	4
Negative attitudes toward Sarvodaya	3
Avoidance of risk of social sanctions or personal injury or property loss	8
Dislike for the conveners	5
Lack of an invitation	25
Economic status	25
Perceived deficiency or restriction of the activity	13
Moral deficiency of potential participant	6
Mental deficiency of potential participant	10
Burden of personal problems	17
Work ethic	25
Other	22

Interpretation

The burdens of earning a living, of coping with personal problems, and of being poor are given as reasons for non-participation. Social factors in general are not suggested as frequently as being influential in retarding participation as they were in accounting for it in the previous question. Interpersonal friction, however, does seem to play a major role in reducing participation. Also, the fact of not receiving an invitation (whether because of social alienation or because the event called for a small closed circle of friends and relatives only) seems to be an important determinant.

There was considerable reference in the data to the more advantaged segments of the population not participating. This may be or may not be accurate. A more careful sampling across economic and educational strata would have made it possible to determine this.

Inability to afford presents or to make other similar contributions to an activity evidently affects decisions to participate. The embarrassment of not being able to match a neighbor or friend's contribution serves as a deterrent.

A significant amount (16 mentions) of attribution of reasons for non-participation are laid on the deficiency of the non-participant. Again, the interpretation of this is hindered by a lack of information regarding the respondent's own attitudes toward the particular activity on which he (in his own mind) is evaluating the non-participants. If the respondent sees non-participation as a negative form of behavior, then he might tend to ascribe a deficiency to the non-participant.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses

1. Margin (the ratio of load to power, of the burdens and responsibilities with which one has to cope to the ability and resources one can command to use in coping with those burdens) is a major determinant in participatory behavior. An individual who has very little margin (i.e. much load, little power or $M = \frac{1P}{4L}$) left after meeting basic survival needs will participate less frequently in community development or self-improvement activities. An individual with excessive margin (much power, little load) may invest that margin wisely, squander it uselessly, or not employ it at all depending on other factors related to personal values.

Question #8

The pattern of responses to question eight were as follows:

Data

"Do people devote time separately for the purposes of relaxation and enjoyment, or do they attempt to have relaxation and enjoyment while they are at work?"

	<u>Separate Time for R & R</u>	<u>Separate Time for Religious Activities</u>	<u>R & R Combined with Work</u>	<u>No Time for R & R</u>	<u>Other</u>
Sample Respondent (SR)	26	18	27	7	1
Village Leader (VL)	10	1	9	1	1
Sarvodaya Worker (SW)	18	10	15	-	1
	<u>54</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>

A selection of a few responses under each category clarifies the general thrust of the responses. Separate time for R & R (SR): I cannot deny the fact that they sometimes spend several days for fun and leisure. The village population consists of chena cultivators, paddy cultivators and casual laborers. Those who are laborers have only the public holidays and evenings to spend in leisure. In the case of paddy cultivators, their work depends upon the two seasons, namely 'Yala' and 'Maha'. Activities connected to cultivation take only four months, leaving them eight months which could be spent in any way they like./There is separate time for R & R after the harvest season./(VL): I only have time to read newspapers./(SW): Now they have organized sports associations./Generally at the conclusion of the day's work, if they have enough time they go to see a film.

R & R combined with work (SR): Our main occupation is paddy cultivation. While this is being done, we enjoy festivals held by our small children./At the estate, when people are tapping latex, they exchange information about village activities and gossip for enjoyment./I have to walk to find goods to sell. Therefore, I have to go here and there. On some days I have to spend some time in other villages. Throughout the month I spend my life that way./(VL): At night they go to guard their fields, in huts built on tall trees where even elephant's can't reach. From these they sing songs and recite poetry specially created for this. We also can hear them. People enjoy themselves by sending messages from one hut to another by hooting. When reaping, they also enjoy themselves by singing songs and poetry. When threshing their harvest, they sometimes spend days on the

threshing field at a stretch. To kill this time they sing songs and poetry./Some people shout while ploughing./(SW): While reaping, one person will beat a drum while the others sing. It's the same in the case of weeding, too./They crack jokes at each other and enjoy themselves. They ridicule someone and laugh at him. When someone makes a mistake while at work, they make that an occasion for ridicule.

No time for R & R (VL): There is a dominating idea in the minds of everybody that one should devote time for beneficial things and make as much money as possible./(SW): We do not have any hobbies. Whenever we are free, we make small handicrafts from the products of the palmyrah tree.

Interpretation

It is very likely the inhabitants of Sri Lanka's rural village communities set aside time from their work for R & R activities, that they set aside some time for religious activities, and that they also attempt to integrate into their work activities ways and means of enjoying and amusing themselves. The pattern will probably vary among individuals dependent upon economic situations and personality factors, among other things.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses

1. Rural villagers may not (be able to or be inclined to) compartmentalize their lives into distinct activity units of work, play, and maintenance.
2. Life is seen as being one continuous flow of activity with the boundaries between phases often being non-discrete.

In Summary of Theme I

The religious, agrarian, and communal nature of life of Sri Lanka's rural population provides the cultural context for our study of motivated human behavior and participation patterns. Sri Lanka rural culture, like all cultures, is ever-changing, however, and, therefore, it is necessary to not only understand the traditional roots of the people but also the effects of influences external to the local culture. The interplay between old and new and the subsequent adaptations and accommodations made by the people in order to protect, discard, or adopt particular objects or forms of behavior represents the dynamics which alternately cloud our vision and give final meaning to the human behavior we hope to come to understand. The analysis and interpretation of subsequent themes should be more meaningful given the socio-cultural context provided by this initial theme.

Theme Two

Existing Procedures by Which Villages (and Perceived Capacity of Villagers to) Participate Meaningfully in Identifying Needs and Making Decisions About Meeting Those Needs

Question #1

As you will know people will always have problems and needs no matter who they are or where they are. How, where, and with whom do villagers spend time in discussing problems?

Data

In response to where villagers spend time in discussing problems, the following places were identified: Temple (38), homes (14), association halls (10), school (7), Sarvodaya Center (6), during casual encounters (6), source of water supply (5), place for legal resolution (4), and shops (3).

As to with whom the people spend time discussing their problems, the following types were identified:

Religious leaders (42): priest (37) and Mudalali (5).

Association/Society members and officers (37): Death Aid Society (6), Village Development Society (4), Rural Development Society (15), Village Welfare Society (4), Cooperative Society (1), Cultivator Committee (1).

Village leaders (19): gramasevaka (11), headman (3), leaders (2), council members (2), and administrative secretary (1).

Elders (19)

Specific personal qualities (15): educated (7), intelligent, enlightened, knowledgeable, experienced (2), rich (1), important (1), prominent (1).

Neighbors, friends, relatives, family (15)

A specific person (8)

Government officials/police (9)

Sarvodaya workers (5)

Other (8): Businessman (2), native doctor (2), lawyer (1),

Arachi (1), political party officer (1), member of Parliament

(1)

In regard to how discussions are arranged and held, the following two statements provide some perspective:

They take their problems to the village committee or to the Rural Development Society. Let us take an example. There was no water in this area. We thought of getting pipe borne water. We discussed as to how it should be done. There are in this village persons who come forward on occasions like this. They had gotten the matter attended to through these institutions. In the same way they had stopped the floods by cutting a canal. There was no library at the school. There were no toys or teaching aids for the kindergarten classes. Seven of us got together. We discussed the matter. The Gramasevaka, too, joined us. We went from house to house and the people made contributions. Now there is a good library in the school. For this we didn't go the government institutions.

- A Villager

(In the case of a priest)...He will collect people at the temple by ringing the bell or sending verbal messages.

- A Villager

Discussion and Interpretation

The temple is a retreat for contemplation, discussion, and perhaps even resolution of many problems. One can speculate that the degree of confidence that villagers place in the temple is based on a belief that it is a site where those present will be honest and fair

and where an objective counselor/arbitrator can be found to give considered advice or help resolve disputes.

Association halls, schools, and the Sarvodaya center probably represent sites where people are called together for special meetings to deal with specific issues or regular business matters, although the Sarvodaya Center, the temple, and homes may also represent places where people casually drift together or go to find friends in whom they can confide. It is also likely that more casual or chance meetings occur at wells or shops or in passing than are reported here, which lead to people using the occasion to discuss their problems. It may be that the "where" in the question suggested the answer should indicate a more formal place for meetings.

The obvious important role of the priest aside, it is interesting to note the "committee/society/association" kind of joining that seems so prevalent in Sri Lankan villages. This type of extra-family "belonging" is not typical of many village societies. Such groups usually come into existence to deal with specific problems, issues, or needs common to a number of village residents but may, after structural features and operational procedures have been defined, go on to become mechanisms for dealing with other matters as well.

Elders and formal village leaders, although their role is obviously important, do not seem to command the power and influence often found in the hands of such types in other cultures. As we saw in theme one, the elders do seem to play a strong role in upholding tradition, but it may well be that the resolution of problems calls forth a wider range of human resources such as those represented by the various

associations and societies that have been formed. Many of these (i.e., Death Aid, Rural Development) appear to exist in practically all the villages surveyed. This suggests that linkage of these groups to an extra-village, larger parent or coordinating body could result in a relative diminution of the overall leadership influence of village headmen and other officers. This may also be affected by the process of selecting such village leaders, i.e., the losing side in the politics harboring grudges or the winning side closing them out.

It is worthwhile to note that knowledgeable, wealthy, and prestigious characterize the type of person that many rural Sri Lankans seek out to discuss their problems. (It would be interesting to assess whether these characteristics tend to cluster in the same individuals.) The data also indicate that intimate relationships become a basis for much problem-sharing.

The data also suggest that Sri Lanka's village may be quite accustomed to seeing a problem in its "community" context and taking action to tap the resources of the community to solve it. And, again, the priest is suggested as being particularly adept at calling people together to deal with problems.

Principles, Concepts and Hypotheses

1. Trust and confidence are prerequisites to the open sharing of feelings and ideas related to problems and problem-solving. Such trust and confidence among rural Sri Lankans is based on personal intimacy, religious faith, or the fairness of a democratic process (i.e., an association meeting.)

2. The power of local leaders over their constituency is often reduced through community group linkage with larger extra-village associations.

3. Villagers do not hesitate to tap community resources to solve problems if those problems are seen as affecting a significant percentage of the residents, even though the other residents may not be interested in the problem.

Question #2

"Are villagers aware of what they want to know in order to solve their problems?"

Data

	Yes	<u>No</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
Village Sample Respondent (VSR)	29	10	5	-
Village Leader (VL)	7	3	3	5
Sarvodaya Worker (SW)	22	1	1	3
	<u>58</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>

Discussion and Interpretation

Some of the "yes" responses were qualified through additional comments. Some responses emphasized that "some," a "section," the "majority," or "most" were aware. Other responses made distinctions among age groups, some emphasizing the young people as more aware and open, with other responses placing an emphasis on the experience of the older people. A significant number of responses pointed to the

people's recognition and use of particular persons in their ranks as counselors and mediators, persons whom they would consult when confronted with problem situations. And finally, a number of responses pointed to the role of the Sarvodaya efforts in facilitating a greater awareness among the people.

The "no" responses tended to characterize the villagers as being uneducated and helpless, of having no hope of finding ways to solve their problems without the advice of elders, leaders, or outside mediators. The "other" responses pointed to the constraints of traditional values. Others suggested that there were no difficult problems to solve. It is interesting to note that 22 of 27 of the Sarvodaya workers viewed the people as being aware.

The general perceptions of the village people are that they are aware of what is needed to solve problems. This suggests a self-confidence not frequently attributed to them by outsiders. The frame of reference, "their problems" probably evokes very different notions from the villagers and such outsiders, however, as to what those problems are, with the former's confidence resulting from a tendency to see as their own personal problems those matters which are potentially resolvable (as perceived by them). Unresolvable matters are then seen as being someone else's problem or representing such difficulty and complexity that it is useless to think of them as problems or even to think of them at all.

Youth-elder distinctions in terms of open-mindedness and experience are not surprising in light of what is known about life-span psychology. Youth's open-mindedness is largely a result of having

less "learned knowledge" (developed through the trial-and-error of life's experiences) to apply to specific situations than do elders. Conversely, such elders may be more prone to see particular responses as possible solutions to such problems because they are aware of similar applications having been made in the past to similar problems. If they are correct in identifying or accurate in recalling such past success in problem-solution patterns and can demonstrate this (especially) to the youth, they enhance their leadership influence. If such old patterns are seen by the youth as ineffective or not as effective as some new concoction, they have conceived or seen demonstrated elsewhere (as so often happens), disagreement and conflict between the two age groups may result.

It is also clear from the data that there is an appreciable amount of disagreement among the villagers as to the proper source of information and guidance when problems are encountered. Again, the view of rural village populations as being homogenous is to be questioned.

Principles, Concepts and Hypotheses

1. People perceive as problems those difficult matters of an immediate personal nature (nearby, soon, small scale) that they can conceive of resolving if
2. People generally perceive of themselves as being "able" to solve "their" immediate problems and would (or will) do so if
3. The interplay between younger and older generations in decision-making regarding the resolution of personal, family, or

community problems is conditioned by the prestige accompanying age, elders' demonstrated success in the past in resolving problems, and youth's exposure to other models.

Question #3

"Do you feel that all villagers are able to identify the most important problems in the village? If not, explain why some are able while others are unable."

Data

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
VSR	31	4	10	-
VL	6	1	7	-
SW	7	2	12	6
	<u>44</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>6</u>

Discussion and Interpretation

Again, age distinctions emphasized the younger generation as being better educated and more perceptive. Some responses pointed to frequent involvement in community social activities as being a means whereby most become able to perceive the problems of the community. A minority on non-participants and illiterate types were seen as lacking such ability. One response pointed to fatalistic attitudes as the reason why a few people do not even try to understand the problems that exist, i.e., that they wouldn't be able to do anything about them anyway (see previous question). One Sarvodaya

worker responded that the people became able to comprehend after the movement came into the village.

The "no" responses pointed to low levels of education and lack of exposure to the outside world because of the financial constraints of travel. The "other" responses were mostly explanations of why some villagers were able and some not able. Pointed to here were factors of mobility, education, motives (selfishness), poverty, and lack of desire to focus on community-wide problems because of the burden of personal problems.

By and large the villagers are seen as being able to identify the most important problems of the village. An appreciable number are seen as being hindered by the weight of personal problems, deficiencies, or the crystalization accompanying age. Extensive social interaction is seen as enhancing ability to identify problems.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses

1. Distinctions are made between more capable-less capable individual villagers by the village population themselves and contributory factors are usually proffered. An understanding and appreciation of this fact should be of importance to outside agents attempting to communicate with or influence the village people.

2. Village populations view themselves in positive ways and tend to see themselves as efficacious in regard to determining what their problems are.

Question #4

"Do people really feel or not feel that they have the right to make their own decisions?"

Data

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes Qualified</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>No Qualified</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
VSR	24	3	3	5	3	-
VL	13	1	-	-	1	2
SW	19	3	1	1	1	1
	<u>56</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>

Discussion and Interpretation

The "unqualified yes" responses emphasized the hereditary privileges (rights) of the people, being free men; the fact that people are constantly solving problems related to their children or families by themselves; personal responsibility because "as you were born alone, you will die alone-Your life is in your own hands"; that all have the ability and right to think and (therefore) by thinking and discussing matters they automatically exercise that right; and the recognized responsibility and right of all to help solve the problems of the village..

"Qualified yes" responses emphasized that when youth exercised their rights and their decisions were in conflict with the elders, it was necessary to honor the elders wishes. "Neutral" responses pointed to "some yes, some no" dichotomies or the fact that some people keep silent in situations regarding their rights and so it is

difficult to know if they are aware or not.

"No, qualified" responses indicated the feeling that there were only a few people who really knew they had rights to make decisions individually or collectively as members of a rural community; and that some people find it difficult to realize that they have freedom according to the laws of the government. "No" responses emphasized that village elders determine everything and that there is no such thing as a "right."

Generally, the perceptions tapped here indicate considerable confidence among the people in expressing their individual and collective rights and (perhaps less so) responsibilities to make their own decisions. Some few obviously represent the voices of disenchantment with the "establishment" of the village.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses

1. A sense of self-reliance exists in the villages along with a strong appreciation of the right to pursue such a pattern of life.
2. There will always be some who feel that they lack such rights because others have pre-empted the statuses to which they aspire.

Question #5

"Do people really feel or not feel that they have the freedom to make their own decisions?"

<u>Data</u>	<u>Yes</u>		<u>Neutral</u>	<u>No</u>		<u>Not Applicable</u>
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Qualified</u>		<u>Qualified</u>	<u>No</u>	
VSR	23	6	-	1	2	-
VL	11	2	1	1	1	2
SW	17	6	5	2	2	-
	<u>51</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>

Discussion and Interpretation

"Yes" responses emphasized that the process whereby people make decisions related to their work and attend meetings without invitations is evidence; that when one has a problem, he doesn't like another interfering in it; that people generally feel that they possess the necessary ability and intelligence; that it is best to make independent decisions without being a source of trouble to others; that if there is a need, freedom should be achieved even if there is no such thing before; that people have a trust and a faith in each other and liberty to do things in the village for the common good; and that they must participate and cooperate to develop their village.

"Yes, qualified" responses suggested that people have freedom of thought but are hindered by certain customs; that there is no freedom in some situations because of the need to yield to public opinion; that no one would oppose personal freedom, but problems come when a public decision is made; if some can use his/her brain in the correct way, (s)he has liberty; that only the educated feel this way, those who can understand the problems; that it depends upon economic status; that some don't due to dire poverty; that there are some

restrictions due to differences in caste; that the youth feel they have but the older generation do not.

One response, labeled as "neutral," provides a particularly clear view of the community-individual interplay in decision making:

I can tell you what chances a person stands to avoid increasing a loss. For instance, my paddy cultivation is going to perish without water, although the tanks are full. Isn't it proper that it should be given some water? I am also a man of roots here. Then they block the passage of water to my paddy field. Even if I try my best, I know that I will fail. Now, I have to go to the officials. They will complicate matters more. When they do that, it hurts you here. That's how they do things."

"No, qualified" responses stressed that the majority do not have an opportunity to come to a decision freely; that others still do not recognize their freedom; that it is necessary to defer to others (better able) to make the decisions; that people are aware of the freedom of a few to get together and solve community problems; and that freedom is restricted. One response is particularly meaningful:

"...if one has a well which yields pure water, the owner will always permit water to be carried away only in buckets or other vessels, but never allow it to be taken away by the bowsar (cart) load because he may fear that his needs and others' needs will be impaired or the well may be drained unduly."

"No" responses stressed that there was no economic freedom; that that people were like slaves; that the majority did not think there was freedom. One villager emphasized that:

"because decisions are taken in all community activities after joint discussions; because it is not possible to promote the group process if it is subject to individual decisions, that this is why individual decisions can not be accepted. It is, therefore not

possible to state that the villagers have such freedom."

There is a slight amount more qualification offered to the responses here than with the previous question, as might well have been expected given the general disposition of more people to feel that impinging factors are restricting them from accomplishing all that they would like to do. However, by and large, rural Sri Lankans do not seem to see themselves as an oppressed people.

There seems to exist a general awareness and acceptance of a necessary give and take between personal wants and what is required for the common good. Although there will probably invariably be individual cases where someone's personal wants or needs have been slighted and the individual then becomes resentful of the others involved (e.g., the above irrigation case, although we can't judge the accuracy of this report).

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses

1. Isolated rural village populations do not perceive of themselves as being oppressed. When such populations have pointed out for them what they lack or need in comparison to some other group, then they may begin to feel oppressed or discriminated against, provided that they are led to identify some other collectivity as denying either access to what should be rightfully theirs (water, education, roads, electricity, etc.) or the freedom to exercise their rights to provide for their own needs (e.g., self-help projects that might conflict with government development plans for an area.).

2. Villagers make distinctions between the desirability of exercising one's freedom to cope with personal situations and the necessity to sometimes subordinate the exercising of such personal freedom to efforts to achieve a collective goal or condition. The processes whereby these distinctions are gradually arrived at should be identified and studied carefully by change agents.

Question #6

To what extent do you alone make decisions regarding what your problems are?

Data

	Entirely by my self	Con- siderably by myself	Half the time by myself	Hardly ever by myself	Other	First self, then others	Villagers	Confidants	Authorities	Not asked	Not applic. - non-sequitur
VL	6	-	2	1	2	2	4	-	-	1	1
SW	3	7	6	3	-	1	1	3	1	4	2
VSR	13	5	5	5	-	5	4	1	5	1	4
Total	22	12	13	9	2	8	9	4	6	5	7

Other responses: depends on problem (1), through leaders to other people (1), solve one problem at a time (1)

Question #7

To what extent do you alone make decisions regarding what the solutions to your problems are?

Data

	Entirely by myself	Considerably by myself	Half the time by myself	Hardly ever by myself	Other	First self, then others	Villagers	Confidants	Authorities	Not asked	Not applic. - non-sequitur
VL	4	2	3	-	1	-	3	-	1	3	1
SW	4	5	5	4	-	-	2	2	-	8	1
VSR	10	6	4	5	2	1	4	-	3	8	2
<hr/>											
Total	18	13	12	9	3	1	9	2	4	19	4

Other responses: depends on problem (1), solve one problem
at a time (1), solve minor problems only
(1), can not solve my problems (1).

Question #12

To solve your problems, what actions do you take?

Data

		Yes		No		Total
		#	%	#	%	
a. You do it alone.	VSR	35	70	15	30	50
	VL	8	50	8	50	16
	SW	19	70	8	30	27
b. With the cooperation of other villagers	VSR	40	80	10	20	50
	VL	16	94	1	6	17
	SW	25	93	2	7	27
c. With the cooperation of government officials	VSR	25	54	21	46	46
	VL	16	94	1	6	17
	SW	15	63	9	37	22
d. Combining b & c, above	VSR	5	83	1	17	6
	VL	7	-	0	-	7
	SW	3	-	0	-	3
e. By another way	VSR	0	-	5	-	5
	VL	3	-	2	-	5
	SW	1	-	1	-	2

Discussion and Interpretation (6-7,12)

The pre-established categories in #12 are not mutually exclusive. Nor were the categories in #'s 6 and 7 which were established through a grouping and labeling of responses. As such, the results have limited meaning. They do indicate that there is no discernible singular pattern of problem-solving behavior in the villages but rather that the three major patterns mentioned (self, others close to me, reputable authorities in the village) encompass practically all the responses. The nature of the problem (very personal, of a community nature, serious, small, etc.), the perceived capacity of the individual to resolve it without assistance from others, and the nature of the individual's relationships with others around him probably determine to a large extent the type of problem solving approach employed for a problem.

Principles, Concepts and Hypotheses (6-7,12)

1. Rural people in general are predisposed to try to solve their personal problems first by themselves, resorting to seeking advice or assistance from intimate associates (friends and relatives) or trusted authorities only when it becomes obvious to them that they personally lack the capacity to do it alone.

2. Villagers perceive of a proper sequence for soliciting the attention of others on their personal problems---first try it alone, ask friends or relatives, then approach authorities.

3. Community problems (i.e. affecting many) are clearly distinguished from individual personal problems ("affecting only me") in the minds of the villagers.

Question #8

Who influences you in your decision-making?

Data

	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
No one	12	4	-	16
Intimates (parents, relatives, spouse, children)	21	5	26	52
Religious leaders (priest, temple committee)	7	5	8	20
Elders	9	2	5	16
Education leaders (principal, teachers)	8	1	5	14
Village gov't officers	10	4	3	17
Village society members and officers	3	1	2	6
Sarvodaya Officers, Workers	5	2	3	10
Other I (farmers, businessmen, clerk, people with gov't jobs, police)	11	1	3	15
Other II (rich, important, prominent, competent, younger generation)	7	2	4	13
A specific person	8	-	1	9

Question #9

If you have a problem, whose advice do you seek?

Data

	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
No one	1	4	-	5
Intimates	22	5	25	52
Religious leaders	17	6	11	34
Education leaders	9	1	5	15
Village gov't officers	17	4	4	25
Village society members	4	-	2	6
Sarvodaya officers and workers	4	1	5	10
Other I (farmers, businessmen, clerk people with gov't jobs, police)	11	1	3	14
Other II (rich, important, prominent, competent, younger generation)	4	1	1	6
Specific person	6	-	1	7

Discussion and Interpretation (8-9)

Question #9 was intended as a probe for #8. With the exceptions of (1) a slight shift in some VSR responses from seeing "no one" as influencing their decision-making to perhaps being more prone to seek advice, and (2) more emphasis on obtaining advice from religious leaders, the two sets of responses are fairly consistent. It is worth noting that the sequence again seems to be intimates first and then either village religious or government leaders, respected elders and educators, and

then other skilled or prominent individuals. There seems to be little if no reliance upon outsiders.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses (8-9)

(See #'s 6,7,12 previous)

Question #10

What is the nature of the inter-relationships among the people you named in 8 and 9 above?

Data

	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Relations, kinsmen	16	-	16	32
Friendship, trust	9	2	7	18
Of (and work for) same village	5	3	4	12
Other (good, acquainted, etc.)	6	3	1	10
No relationship	2	1	-	3
Non-sequitur	4	5	1	10
Don't know, no answer	4	1	-	5
Not asked	-	2	4	6

Question #11

Have you seen any change in that relationship since the Sarvodaya Movement was introduced into your village?

Data

	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	33	8	22	63
No	19	3	10	32
Question not asked	-	5	4	9
Non-sequitur	2	2	-	4
Other (no answer, don't know)	5	-	-	5

Several descriptions of the changes perceived are instructive in themselves and are provided as follows:

"There has been vast change. I think the Sarvodaya Movement was introduced in this village in 1972. Mr. X noticed that there was no unity or cooperation among the people here then. Today the village has made progress through Sarvodaya. This has been due to the establishment of the preschool and the youth group. A Mother's group has been started. Then a Gramodaya center, too, has been established. All these organizations and their activities have resulted in unity in the village. All the people participate in the activities."

"There is no Sarvodaya in the village now. When it prevailed, few changes took place in the village."

"Previously if some work had to be done, one had to trek from individual to individual. But now, if you relate your problem to a Sarvodaya worker, they help you in seeking speedy help by contacting the authorities concerned without delay."

"The reason is that Sarvodaya is a movement which serves the people without any racial, religious, or caste distinctions."

"Since Sarvodaya, young people no longer do bad things, and activities and connections among the elderly have improved."

"The Sarvodaya Center has become a place to discuss problems."

"People have begun to think of the common benefit."

"Before Sarvodaya was introduced, there was a situation where all the people alike were unable to arrive at any solution. No one was accepted as a village leader or village elder. In short, all of us were like a set of stupid people, who did not understand anything. After Sarvodaya was introduced into this village of Pitawela, people came to understand what is right and wrong and to respect the village elders. In short, the people in this village area did not even respect the Buddhist priest. It was after this Sarvodaya was introduced to Pitawela Village that people have learnt how to live."

"There has been a change since Sarvodaya came to this village. In those days we had only a building as a place to offer flowers and lamps. There was a drought in the village. We used to eat murukku to live as we did not have paddy. We had a rough time during that period. Then the

Sarvodaya came, and they started giving milk to the sick patients, expectant mothers and small children. At that time we told the two officers working in the headquarters to take any steps they could to release us from our unfortunate situation. We begged them to make any decisions. These two officers went to Moratuwa (Sarvodaya national headquarters) to discuss matters with Sarvodaya. They came back and took about 15 people to Moratuwa at their own expense. After taking us they made a decision at the Mother's Conference to get our paddy fields released since we had already mortgaged them, and they gave us some egg paddy seeds to cultivate and funds to engage tractors. They gave us all this necessary help as promised. After borrowing this money we were able to cultivate three, four or five acres. We got very good results from our cultivation."

"There has been considerable change, especially among the parents. The kids that attend school are being well schooled. Their past speech and conduct has all changed. When there is some Sarvodaya activity in the village, we invite people from other Sarvodaya villages. They supply information regarding the Sarvodaya Movement to the people of this village while taking part in the activities. This has brought about changes in the people. It was only after the commencement of the pre-school that people learnt about the Sarvodaya Movement. They have learned that this Movement is going to develop the village, irrespective of caste, etc. They have shown films in the village. Now the people know much about the Movement. There have been meetings and various celebrations that were organized by the Movement. So they know the importance of this Movement, and so Sarvodaya is very popular in this village."

"There have been a change in the association after the arrival of Sarvodaya. Before the establishment of Sarvodaya in the village, it was with the friends and elders of the village that problems were discussed and advice sought. After the Sarvodaya worker came to the village, he was the person with whom all problems were discussed."

"After the Mudalali joined the Movement, he held several discussions with regard to the extension of Sarvodaya activities which further strengthened the existing relationship. The elderly people started to respect him because he is always most helpful in Sarvodaya Activities."

"All these people get together for functions such as Shramadanas held by the Sarvodaya Center. It could be said that associations develop on these occasions."

Discussion and Interpretation (10-11)

The power of personal intimacy as a determining factor in influencing human behavior in rural Sri Lankan villages is further made clear by the responses to #10 and #11. Not all village-level social interaction is smooth and without conflict. Quite to the contrary, there seems to be a goodly amount of interpersonal friction and hence the obvious importance of close ties with selected allies (friends and relatives) as a buffer and support base. As we saw previously in theme 1, social reciprocity may be built into such relationships as a way to assure that trusted help will be there when it is needed. At the same time, putting together the results of this theme, it appears that individuals can be expected to refrain from calling upon this assistance until it is absolutely necessary.

It is also made obvious here by the qualitative responses to question #11, that the Sarvodaya Movement is generally accepted by the people, although a few seem to resist or resent its presence. The kinds of perceived personal losses or gains behind such responses are not decipherable from our data however.

Concepts, Principles, and Hypotheses (10-11)

(same as previous questions in this theme)

In Summary of Theme II

An early conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis and interpretation of the data in this theme is that Sri Lankan villages are basically psychologically healthy communities. Aside from a natural amount of interpersonal friction and give and take between personal motivations and communal obligations, the people as a whole seem to have a fairly clear view and acceptance of behavioral expectations for self and others. Traditional structures and channels are used in times of stress but a more general tendency is to rely upon personal powers or those of intimates initially. The people generally evidence a high level of self-efficacious, independence, and personal responsibility. They do not feel oppressed.

There are both vertical (village - extra-village) and horizontal (intra-village) forces at work in the village to influence behavior. The Sarvodaya Movement, at one and the same time, represents a village-based entity (i.e., Sarvodaya Workers and Sarvodaya functional groups are the people themselves) and an external network of assistance. The data in this theme suggest that the Sarvodaya Movement has contributed in a most positive way to the social and psychological health of the communities studied.

Theme Three

Origin and Extent of Participation in The Sarvodaya Development Projects

Theme three focuses on how the Sarvodaya Movement got started in the villages studied, why and in what manner people were drawn into the Movement, who the primary protagonists were, what kinds of contributions were made by the people to the Movement, the nature and extent of involvement in decision-making related to Movement activities, and villager attitudes toward participation by outsiders. The data has been quantified as much as possible and illustrated. However, the data in a pre-quantified form is in the appendices and may be assessed for subtle meanings that can not be expressed in a tabular format.

Question #1

How did the Sarvodaya Movement get started in this village?

DATA

(Identification of the introducers)

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Priest, visiting priest	16	5	13	34
Sarvodaya officials	18	3	10	31
(Mr. Ariyaratne)	(5)	-	(4)	(9)
Schoolmaster, teacher	9	-	4	13
Youth (Sarvodaya, leaders)	6	2	1	9
Specific person (named)	2	5	1	8
Elders, village leaders	1	3	-	4
RDS, Society officers	3	1	-	4

(Method/Approach Used)

Category

Inside persuasion	20	4	6	30
Outside persuasion	16	2	9	27
Community meetings	8	1	8	17
Shramadana	9	5	3	17
- Construction projects such as:	20	1	3	24
- Roads	(7)	-	(1)	(8)
- Houses/buildings	(10)	(1)	-	(11)
- Wells	(2)	-	-	(2)
- Latrines, library, playground	(1)	-	(2)	(3)

(Method/Approach Used cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Established groups	8	6	13	27
- Youth	(3)	(3)	(6)	(12)
- Children	(2)	(1)	-	(3)
- Toddler	(2)	-	(2)	(4)
- Mothers	(1)	(2)	(2)	(5)
- Farmers	-	-	(2)	(2)
- Elders	-	-	(1)	(1)
Started Pre-school	10	3	2	15
Training courses (Carpentry, masonry, CD, rush work, farming, pre-school)	7	1	2	10
Other: Community Kitchens Providing meals, loans made, Sarvodaya and Gramodaya Center constructed, farm started	4	3	1	8

Discussion and Interpretation

It is very clear who the primary introducers of Sarvodaya are. The persuasive role of the priest is paramount, either as an initiator, strong supporter of others' initiative, or as clarifier-counselor-encourager for the people's involvement. Combined with the schoolmaster, the two represent religious and educational influences which correspond to the essential character of the Sarvodaya Movement.

The Sarvodaya officials quite frequently seem to play a role in getting the Movement started by coming to the village to dialogue with community leaders, to conduct sessions wherein they explain Sarvodaya to the people, and then to help organize Shramadanas. Mr. Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya's President, has himself played this role many times (perhaps more frequently than indicated by the data in that several respondents may simply not have used his name specifically). It is worthwhile to note that elders, village leaders, and association leaders generally have not been the early protagonists for Sarvodaya.

The second table illustrates the type and frequency of mention of the approaches and methods used in getting Sarvodaya started in the village. These are presented in what approximates a sequence of activities.

Outside and inside sources of persuasion are mentioned about the same number of times. Sarvodaya Workers seem slightly more prone to indicate "outside" persuasion than are the villagers and village leaders. This may be a function of greater Sarvodaya Worker awareness of and identity with this large Movement which extends far beyond their own village. Some responses indicated an inter-active and supportive relationship between initial persuasion by insiders or outsiders followed by secondary persuasion from the other source (inside or outside).

The sequence emphasizes considerable dialogue in the early stages (persuasion, meetings, and Shramadanas where "family gatherings" are held at least twice daily to discuss development problems, prospects, and principles). Out of the Shramadanas comes concrete evidence of what people can do working collectively. It is interesting to note that Sarvodaya Workers, in contrast to the villagers, emphasized the establishment of the "functional" interest groups more than construction through Shramadanas. The villagers themselves emphasized the construction projects, the training courses, and the pre-school. This may be a result of older people's tendency to look for tangible evidence of an activity's worth and younger people's tendency to socialize around the discussion of ideas. The Shramadana experience often seems to lay the groundwork for the formation of functional interest groups which are the primary mechanisms for continuous problem analysis and remedial action.

If the need is identified and sufficient village support is obtained, a pre-school and, quite frequently, an attached community kitchen are established. Various "skill training" needs are identified and courses conducted, sometimes in the village but with some trainees going elsewhere. Pre-school instructresses-

to be are sent away to receive training at one of Sarvodaya's many centers. The revolving loan project, pilot farms, and other such projects usually evolve at a later point.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses

1. Indigenous "insiders" and visiting "outsiders" can play important roles in introducing new ideas to a village community. Outsiders will not usually play the lead role but rather will follow the lead of respected insiders. Insiders gain prestige by having their views openly supported by respected outsiders. Outsiders benefit by waiting for invitations from inside legitimizers.

2. Youth are more prone to seek the assistance of outside figures, to identify with them and adopt a "follower" position than are older and more entrenched adults in a village society. Youth are more idealistic and likely to be persuaded by new ideas, whereas older adults are more likely to adopt a "show me" attitude. Older adults will demand tangible evidence of the value of a new idea, whereas youth will be more willing to accept ideas as valuable in their own rights and invest time in discussing them.

3. Time invested in the initial discussion of ideas is time well spent since considerable discussion is usually needed to clarify ideas and issues and achieve enough agreement to assure collective action. There is probably a point when older adults will become impatient with mere talk. To maintain their involvement, the early achievement of tangible results is necessary.

4. The "reflectors" (e.g., priests and teachers) in a village society, because of the nature of their daily (pre-) occupations, will usually envision the need and the prospects for change sooner than those who earn their living through extensive physical labor. To the extent that they are held in a revered status by the people, they can strongly influence behavior and attitudes vis a vis change.

Question #2

How and why did you get drawn into the Sarvodaya Movement?

DATA

(How)

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Did not join	8	2	-	10
Participated/cooperated	15	6	-	21
Joined	<u>26</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>63</u>
	49	18	27	94

(Why):

Did not join - Three sample respondents from different villages, stated that 1.) "if the Movement had functioned properly, I would have joined in due course of time," 2.) "Because I have no time," and 3.) "I felt that my sister's pre-school ownership ambitions in another village would be pre-empted by Sarvodaya." No village leaders gave reasons for not joining.

Participated/Cooperated - Fourteen sample respondents gave the following as reasons: it was proper and correct; everyone was joining; being an elder and a teacher it is only natural to participate; for the future welfare of the village; Sarvodaya is for the welfare of the village; it has promise for employment; by working on the farm I earn Rs.5 per day; can get free meals during Shramandanas; received messages about it; because of a scolding by the priest; persuaded by my son; influence of the Police Inspector.

Six village leaders responded: Sarvodaya is for the future welfare of the village; I respect its activities; the Sarvodaya philosophy for loving kindness; good for the children; the influence of an outsider; a high regard for the Movement because of influences upon it by great Indian leaders.

Sarvodaya Workers, by definition, all joined the Movement and their responses fall into the next category.

Joined

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Chance to do service	3	2	7	12
My responsibility	1	1	-	2
To support the priest	-	1	-	1
Its value made clear to me	4	1	4	9
Influence of intimates	6	-	5	11
Influence of (prestigious persons)	6	3	9	18
Goodness of Sarvodaya	5	-	6	11
What Sarvodaya could do for village	8	4	5	17
What I could get from Sarvodaya	6	-	8	14
No government objection to it	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
	40	12	44	96

Question #3

How about some of the following as reasons for your participation in Sarvodaya activities;

DATA

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Totally</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not At All</u>	<u>Total</u>
Dependent upon the availability of time	VSR	20	18	2	40
	VL	11	3	2	16
	SW	<u>17</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>24</u>
	Total	48	25	7	
Availability of resources-facilities-ability	VSR	21	14	5	40
	VL	12	2	1	15
	SW	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>21</u>
	Total	51	17	8	
Degree of acceptance of project goals	VSR	25	15	1	36
	VL	11	3	1	15
	SW	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>22</u>
	Total	54	21	3	
Attractiveness of probable rewards	VSR	20	10	3	33
	VL	13	-	1	14
	SW	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>22</u>
	Total	51	12	6	
Pressure from upper socio-economic strata	VSR	2	4	31	37
	VL	-	1	14	15
	SW	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>23</u>
	Total	2	6	67	

DATA (cont'd)

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Totally</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not At All</u>	<u>Total</u>
Felt need to conform	VSR	10	7	16	33
	VL	3	1	9	13
	SW	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>
	Total	<u>17</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>38</u>	
Felt need to belong	VSR	4	7	12	23
	VL	3	2	4	9
	SW	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>
	Total	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>22</u>	
Opportunity for self service	VSR	25	11	1	37
	VL	13	-	1	14
	SW	<u>23</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>24</u>
	Total	<u>61</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	
Satisfaction to be derived from completion	VSR	18	14	-	32
	VL	13	1	-	14
	SW	<u>22</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>24</u>
	Total	<u>53</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>-</u>	
Prospects for unifying the village	VSR	19	13	2	34
	VL	12	-	3	15
	SW	<u>23</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>24</u>
	Total	<u>54</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>	

Other additional responses offered emphasized: the acceptability, usefulness, and suitability of the project for the community (6); non-participation (6); the right that people had to belong to something (14); and six other types of responses (9). There were eleven responses that did not seem applicable to the question and two 'no answers'.

Discussion and Interpretation (#2 and #3)

The ten "did not join" responses for question #2 were distributed over six villages with no more than two such responses in a village. Almost twice as many villagers and village leaders (36) stated that they joined the Movement as mentioned

participating in or cooperating with Movement activities (21). Sarvodaya Workers, by definition, all joined.

An analysis of reasons for joining the movement indicates: 1.) the influential role played by key prestigious persons in persuading others; 2.) the importance of perceived chances for the village to benefit from it; 3.) the significance of anticipated personal benefits; 4.) the importance of a chance to do service; 5.) the necessity of perceived moral values and goodness of the Movement; and 6.) the influential role of intimates in introducing one to the Movement.

It is important to note that Sarvodaya Workers seemed proportionately more inclined to be influenced by prestigious figures, to look for a chance to do service, and to seek personal benefit from involvement in the Movement. This contrasts with a greater villager emphasis on what Sarvodaya could do for the village, including how it would help the youth.

The responses to question #2 indicate perhaps more than anything else a strong aversion to being seen as being influenced by someone having higher socio-economic status. A slightly less strong aversion to being seen as a conformist, as running with the crowd, was also made evident by the data. A chance to achieve village unity, a chance for service, attractiveness of probable rewards, acceptance of project goals, availability of resources, and anticipated satisfaction to be derived from project completion were rated highly by the respondents as some of the reasons why they participate in Sarvodaya activities. Sarvodaya Workers emphasized service, anticipated satisfaction, and village unification as their three major reasons. Villagers emphasized service, goals, resources, rewards, and time as the most important reasons. Village leaders emphasized service, anticipated satisfaction, and rewards.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (#2 and #3)

1. Age and status distinctions in rural village societies are important factors in determining which type of role is proper for an individual and what should be the nature of inter-role relationships. Youth are very concerned about their future and look for behavioral models (idols) whose paths they would follow. They are concerned about what is to happen to them personally, how they will benefit occupationally or in terms of enhancing their own image with others through participation. They are at the same time idealistic or subject to being persuaded by proponents of high sounding causes. Older adults are more hesitant to invest what they feel to be valuable time and energy in activities which may be risky or which portend no certain concrete benefit for the village.

2. Youth can be mobilized, organized, and helped to set an example in rural village community development that will serve to inspire and motivate older and more cautious adults.

3. Rural people take pride in their independence and freedom of thought. Although likely to make sure that other villagers are in agreement with them before deciding to participate in community projects (seemingly a contradiction to the above), they resist being labeled as anyone else's servant, disciple, or slave. Other villagers are seen as peers and are consulted in order to maintain harmonious relationships. Upper status individuals are seen as "not like us," perhaps as exploiters (conditioned by past experiences), or as being unjustifiably wealthy (i.e., at the expense of others) and, therefore, perhaps are not someone by whom a villager would want to be seen as being influenced.

Question #4 (a)

What type of village residents were instrumental in organizing Sarvodaya activities?

DATA

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Priest	33	10	20	63
Teachers	21	5	13	39
Village Leaders	13	8	12	33
Government Civil Servants	13	6	10	29
Village Influentials	23	11	16	50
Occupations	8	3	10	21
Social Status	5	-	1	6

"Village influentials" included 17 mentions of the local ayurvedic physicians (14 for one of them), ten mentions of RDS leaders, and nine mentions of youth leaders. This accounts for 36 of the 50 mentions of "village influentials."

The "occupations" category contained 11 mentions of traders-businessmen and four mentions of farmers. Mechanics, masons, carpenters, bus conductor, and casual laborer were also mentioned.

Question #4 (b)

Describe how they went about organizing the activities.

DATA

<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of times Mentioned</u>
<u>Talk and/or Exhortation</u> ; through discussions, meetings, visits, consultations with explanations, advice, instruction, encouragement	44
<u>Direct Aid</u> ; supplying financial support, food and drink, equipment, land	22
<u>Social Organization</u> ; early development of a pre-school, children's group, youth group, and mothers' group	21
<u>Shared Labor</u> or Shramadanas; (typical project is road-building)	19

Question #4 (b) (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of times Mentioned</u>
<u>Occupational Training Projects; masonry, batik, rush work, handicrafts, and carpentry</u>	7
Question not asked (9), not answered (1) non-sequitur (1), not ascertainable (2)	13

Question #5 (a)

What type of non-residents (outsiders) were instrumental in organizing the activities? With this question, the respondents seemed inclined to first indicate whether outsiders had or had not actually been involved. Fifty-eight "yes" and 25 "no" responses were distributed as follows:

DATA

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	27	11	20	58
No	<u>15</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>25</u>
	42	16	25	83

<u>Category</u>	<u>Mentions</u>
Sarvodaya officers, workers from other villages	18
Govt. officers/civil servants/ service agents	18
Local govt. officers/leaders	7
Noted figures (physician, principal)	4
Specific persons	5
White men, foreigners (Norway, W. Germany)	2
Other (former residents, other villages)	<u>4</u>
	58

Question #5 (b)

Describe how they have gone about organizing the activities.

DATA

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Talked, Exhortation	13	1	11	25
Shared Labor	7	2	4	13
Direct Aid	2	2	3	7
Social Organization	2	2	2	6
Not Ascertainable	2	-	1	3

Question #6

After joining the Sarvodaya Movement, in which of the following areas have you contributed:

DATA

<u>Category</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Providing Leadership	VSR	5	34	39
	VL	9	4	13
	SW	<u>17</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>25</u>
	Total	31	46	
Assisting those organizing projects	VSR	34	5	39
	VL	13	-	13
	SW	<u>23</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>25</u>
	Total	70	7	
Providing food, etc.	VSR	32	8	40
	VL	12	1	13
	SW	<u>22</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>24</u>
	Total	66	11	
Providing tools and equipment	VSR	29	11	40
	VL	12	1	13
	SW	<u>20</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>24</u>
	Total	61	16	
Providing Funds	VSR	27	13	40
	VL	12	1	13
	SW	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>24</u>
	Total	57	20	
Providing advice, ideas, opinions, suggestions	VSR	20	19	39
	VL	13	-	13
	SW	<u>22</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>23</u>
	Total	55	20	

Question #6 (cont'd)

DATA

<u>Category</u>				
Canvassing villagers to participate in project work	VSR	30	10	40
	VL	13	-	13
	SW	<u>24</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>25</u>
	Total	<u>67</u>	<u>11</u>	
Canvassing the people to provide material inputs	VSR	25	14	39
	VL	9	4	13
	SW	<u>25</u>	-	<u>25</u>
	Total	<u>59</u>	<u>18</u>	
Assisting project organizers in decision-making	VSR	28	11	39
	VL	13	-	13
	SW	<u>23</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>25</u>
	Total	<u>64</u>	<u>13</u>	
Making efforts to settle differences and conflicts	VSR	18	22	40
	VL	7	4	11
	SW	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>25</u>
	Total	<u>43</u>	<u>33</u>	
Other:	VSR	3	13	16
	VL	-	-	-
	SW	-	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	Total	<u>3</u>	<u>16</u>	

There were fifteen "no answers" (seven VSR, six VL, and two SW). Three VSR's said they did not contribute anything at all.

Discussion and Interpretation (#4 - 6)

Priests, teachers, local native physicians, and village local government and association leaders are seen as being instrumental in organizing Sarvodaya activities. The priest is the dominant figure and this is perhaps naturally so given Sarvodaya's integration of development objectives with religious values and principles, plus the rather deliberate manner in which the Bhikku order is exposed to and brought into the Sarvodaya program. The general absence

of direct reference to villagers themselves (i.e., those outside of a leadership role) is worthy of note in that it demonstrates again the importance of leadership in collective endeavors for change.

The only nine mentions of youth leaders may be partially a function of the age of the respondents, with older adults less prone to identify youth as leaders, even though the introduction of Sarvodaya and its early organization in the village probably tapped youth leadership rather heavily. (See Theme VIII, Question #1.)

Leaders are generally seen as exhorting others, giving tangible aid to the collective effort, and helping to organize those involved (4-b). There is a less frequent reference to their sharing labor and little reference to their involvement in occupational training activities.

Considerable emphasis seems to be placed on human communicative interaction. The importance of this in achieving clarification, commitment, and a collective will, all prerequisites in Sarvodaya community development, would seem to be obvious.

The "direct aid" contributions (i.e., food, equipment, money) of leaders may serve as enticements for others' participation and as tangible evidence of leaders commitment, both perhaps necessary stimulants for the general population's participation.

The responses to question 5-b indicate that Sarvodaya Workers are more prone to see outsiders as having played a role in organizing Sarvodaya activities in the village. This may stem from SW direct connection and identity with the Movement, whereas VSR's and VL's perhaps think of the activities launched more in "village-ownership" terms. The 25 "no" responses (i.e., no outsiders were involved) is perhaps an indication of considerable desire on the part of rural village people to maintain a sense of village ownership, to resist co-optation into extra-village organizations. This further suggests the importance of

Sarvodaya Workers ideally being insiders who firstly represent the interests of the village, secondly the Movement.

Outsiders identified in 5-a were primarily Sarvodaya officials or government officials. The 18 mentions of government officials is surprising in light of the question's reference to the organization of "Sarvodaya" activities.

Outsiders (in 5-6) were seen as talking in support of or exhorting villager participation in Sarvodaya activities. Their role contrasted with inside leaders, however, in that 13 respondents identified them as providing labor input in projects and only six saw them as giving direct aid. This may partially be explained by "self-help" projects, by definition, being constrained to a reliance upon local resources. However, outsiders participating in Sarvodaya Shramadana campaigns are expected to share in project labor, to demonstrate commitment in a manner allowable to them.

The responses to question six clearly indicate that VSR's do not see themselves in leadership roles but VL's and SW's do. As a whole, a picture of a diverse number of leaders and a greater number of followers emerges. VSR's also tend to see themselves as being less involved than VL's or SW's in giving advice or providing funds to support activities. They also show a greater tendency to avoid or shy away from conflict situations, perhaps another characteristic of their non-leadership.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses

1.) Outside inputs into self-help projects in the form of money or equipment are not as highly desired by local people as are inputs in the form of verbal encouragement and comraderie through a sharing of labor. Inside leaders are more likely to be expected to contribute such direct aid as making land available, providing food and drink, equipment and money. The more advantaged members of

the community may be more prone, however, than the disadvantaged to resent any inputs by outsiders which casts a negative reflection on them (the advantaged) as not having met their own social obligations.

2.) The "role of talk" is of paramount importance in mutual help projects. Whereas the achievement of tangible results may be necessary to sustain motivation for participation, "talk" (dialogue) is necessary to initiate it. Time must be allowed for sufficient exchange of ideas and feelings.

3.) Adults are not prone to see or accept youth as leaders of community development. Volunteer programs which use the youth's energy and talents require adult intermediaries as spokesmen and influencers of other adult cooperation and support.

4.) A tendency for village people to favor "community" ownership of local projects necessitates a closer identity of indigenous leaders with the community than with an outside organization. Indigenous leaders must maintain a delicate balance between representing their community and relating to an outside sponsoring agency.

5.) Traditional Sri Lanka village society is narrowly heirarchical in regard to leader-follower relationships in community-wide activities; a few constantly assume leadership, many constantly assume the posture of follower.

Question #7

Have you ever made major decisions about this project alone, by yourself?

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	8	5	5	18
No	35	12	21	68
Non-sequitur	5	-	-	5
Not Asked	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	49	18	30	97

Question #8-a

If you do not make major decisions, do you just implement others' decisions?

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	25	11	19	55
Not Asked	1	1	4	6
Non-sequitur	8	-	1	9
Jointly	7	5	7	19
Answered Question				
No. 7 Yes	2	-	1	3
Do Not Know	3	-	-	3
No	3	1	-	4
No Answer	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	51	18	32	101

Question #8-b

Who are these others?

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sarvodaya Workers, Officers	7	5	14	26
Teachers, Educators	6	-	7	13
Priest	4	2	7	13
Village Society Leaders, RDS				
Officers	7	-	4	11
Youth	2	-	3	5
Relatives, Family	4	-	1	5
Educated	3	-	1	4
Elders	-	1	3	4
Government Officers	1	-	2	3
A Specific Person	1	-	2	3
Village Leaders	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	37	8	44	89

Single references were also made to: the rich, non-drinkers, the honest, non-rich leaders, a businessman, a medical director, the executive committee, and the majority. This gives a total of 97 responses.

Question #9-a

Which would you like, the organization of activities in your village by you and the other villagers themselves, or by outsiders?

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Total</u>
By Ourselves	23	7	24	54
Outsiders with us	18	7	3	28
By Outsiders	4	1	-	5
Not Asked	-	1	4	5
Total	55	16	31	92

Questions #9-b

Please give reasons in support of your views (re question #9-a).

The individual responses to this question are provided in the appendices. The following is a summation of the responses. The responses are broken down into "we" (the villagers themselves), "we-they" (outsiders with us), and "they" (outsiders) in terms of preference for initiative and action. These are separated according to positive (in support of) or negative (against) values.

<u>Category</u>	(+)				(-)				<u>Total</u>
	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Sub-Total</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>Sub-Total</u>	
We	18	4	9	31	3	1	-	4	35
We-They	9	2	2	13	-	-	-	-	13
They	6	1	1	8	5	2	7	14	22
Total	33	7	12	52	8	3	7	18	70

"We-positive" responses of VSR's, VL's, and SW's emphasized that villagers: know each other; are aware of needs, problems, and resources; have sufficient labor; will follow each other's advice; can achieve consensus; not likely to disagree among themselves; can meet frequently; their self-reliance strengthens

unity and fosters independence; results are more valuable; expenses are less; self-respect and a sense of ownership is fostered; are loyal; and others can not thereby find fault with them.

"We-negative" responses stressed villager lack of knowledge and personal disputes.

"We-They positive" emphasized: improved cooperation among villagers; benefits from comparing opinions with outsiders; encouragement of associations and friendly relations, within the village and with other villages; villagers will show greater enthusiasm; ideas will spread through the influence of example; outsiders' experience; and the value of such interaction for the whole country. There were no "we-they negative" responses.

"They-positive" responses stressed: outsiders' greater knowledge; outsiders as a source of ideas; their assistance as valuable; their functioning as advisors; their encouraging local organization; and their value in providing assistance beyond village capabilities.

"They-negative" responses emphasized that: outsiders are untrustworthy; can't count on their work; cause quarrels; order the people around; do not know the villagers' feelings and ideas; are prone to hire the people as casual laborers; create dependency; never know much about them; their efforts won't be successful; their involvement as an insult to the village; and the village's loss of status if outside help is used.

Three responses may be classified as neutral as they emphasized that it didn't matter who was involved so long as they had good ideas and the proper values.

Discussion and Interpretation (7-9)

Community project decisions (Question #7) are obviously not perceived as

matters for isolated individual initiative but rather as matters to be worked out with others. Individual decisions in relation to the value of or problems and needs associated with a project may be seen by some individuals as being "major" and may account for some of the eighteen "Yes" responses.

The responses to question #8-a suggest a major tendency to implement others' decisions. These "others" may be individuals or groups, presumably more the latter. Joint involvement in the decision-making process (19 responses), when combined with the projects of the referent "others" indicating group decision-making, suggests more collective thinking than the data may indicate at first glance.

The "others" identified in the responses to question #8-b suggests that Sarvodaya Workers (members and officers) are seen as the primary protagonists of Sarvodaya sponsored activities, with priests and educators as major supporters. Villagers active in leadership roles in other village societies (primarily referred to here is the Rural Development Society) are also supportive.

In regard to preference for sources of initiative in local project activity, the responses to #9-a suggest a predominant wish (54 responses) for inside control. Joint action with outsiders is also seen as an acceptable pattern for 28 respondents.

Obvious resistance to extensive outside initiative also exists, especially among the Sarvodaya Workers. These Workers, being of the village and being largely, as a group, in control of the Sarvodaya sponsored activities there, probably take pride in what is accomplished and, therefore, prefer accolades to fall on their shoulders and not the shoulders of outsiders.

Pride, accomplishment, ownership, unity, self-reliance, and economy are seen as justifications for villages retaining control over what happens in their

community. This contrasts with the lack of trust, poor problem-solution fit, and dependency stemming from reliance upon outside initiative.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (Questions 7-9)

1. In regard to community activities, a collective mode of decision-making is preferred by rural village people. This collective mode will consist of many being present and/or involved but with a few finally emerging as leaders and articulating the final decision. So long as the general population is provided a chance to be present, to see-hear-talk, they will usually accept the group decision. They resist decisions presented 'post facto'.

2. The guardians of wisdom and values (priests and teachers) are important legitimizers of community activities for change. Elders and village government leaders represent a second wave of legitimizers, i.e., they are not likely to initiate change activities but will (and must) support them if their own roles and statuses are not threatened.

3. "Community" ownership is a central requirement in many collective efforts for improving local conditions. Outside assistance is more positively received when it is in support of village initiated activity.

4. Local villages desire for control of community projects by the people themselves is based primarily on mutual trust among village people and their awareness of community problems and resources. Their resistance to outsiders is based on suspicion stemming from past experiences combined with an unfamiliarity with the outsiders as human beings.

In Summary of Theme III

Local priests and teachers have been instrumental in introducing Sarvodaya into Sri Lankan villages. Sarvodaya officials have also played an important

role. Priests and teachers themselves are probably influenced by what they have learned about the Movement while at the Buddhist Institute, from observing Sarvodaya in other villages, from Sarvodaya leaders personally, or through Sarvodaya literature. In essence both insiders and outsiders have served as key influentials.

Methodologically, persuasion through discussion leads to the formation of functional "age and sex" groups, pre-school programs, and training courses as initial Sarvodaya activities in many villages.

Self-motivation, the influence of others, a concern for the village community and positive views of the Sarvodaya Movement serve as reasons for people participating in the Sarvodaya activities.

A pride of independence among the villagers fosters a rejection of social pressure from elites to conform, join, or belong. People get involved in and contribute to the Sarvodaya Movement in their village largely because of their sense of ownership of the Sarvodaya activities.

Theme Four

Characteristics Differentiating
Participants from Non-Participants and
Degree of Participation Among Participants in a
Development Effort

Theme four focuses on perceptions of participants and non-participant characteristics (age, sex, education, social status, income, employment, and residency), the nature of observed attitudinal and behavioral changes in participants, and the rewards and sanctions of participation. The first fourteen questions are part of the following major question: "What are the major differences between participants and non-participants in your village?" The first seven questions focus on "active" participants. "Are the active participants mostly ...?" The second set of seven question focuses on non-participants.

Question #1 and #8

<u>Age</u>	<u>VSR</u>		<u>VL</u>		<u>SW</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>
a. Youth	33	4	10	-	23	5	66	9
b. Middle-Aged	2	7	3	1	2	5	7	13
c. Old	-	25	1	7	-	9	1	41
d. Youth & Middle-Aged	3	2	1	-	1	1	5	3
e. Youth & Old	4	-	-	1	-	-	4	1
f. Middle-Aged & Old	-	4	-	1	-	4	-	9
g. Youth, Middle-Aged & Old	3	2	1	4	1	1	5	7
NA (not asked/no answer)	4	4	1	4	4	3	9	14

Question #2 and #9

<u>Sex</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>
Male	15	12	2	3	5	5	22	20
Female	4	15	3	-	7	4	14	19
Both	27	7	11	9	15	17	53	43
NA	4	5	1	3	4	5	9	13

Question #3 and #10

<u>Education</u>	<u>VSR</u>		<u>VL</u>		<u>SW</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>	
	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>
No Schooling	9	27	4	9	3	12	16	48
Drop-Outs	7	5	1	1	2	2	10	8
Average Education	31	8	8	-	21	5	60	13
Well Educated	3	-	-	-	2	1	5	1
All of the Above	2	3	3	4	4	5	9	12
NA	4	6	1	3	4	5	9	14

Question #4 and #11

<u>Social Status</u>								
a. High	3	2	-	1	-	1	3	4
b. Medium	34	26	14	7	23	16	71	49
c. Low	3	6	1	3	-	3	4	12
d. High and Medium	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
e. High and Low	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
f. Medium and Low	2	1	1	-	1	-	4	1
g. High, Medium and Low	4	4	-	2	3	3	7	9
NA	4	5	1	5	4	6	9	16

Questions #5 and #12

<u>Income</u>								
a. Very Low	13	19	4	3	9	10	26	32
b. Average	27	18	10	6	14	13	51	37
c. High	1	13	-	2	-	1	1	16
d. Very Low and Average	3	1	2	-	3	-	8	1
e. Very Low and High	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	2
f. Average and High	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
g. Very Low, Average, and High	1	2	-	-	1	2	2	4
NA	4	4	1	5	4	5	9	14

Question #6 and #13

<u>Employment</u>	<u>VSR</u>		<u>VL</u>		<u>SW</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>
a. Unemployed	23	26	10	6	12	6	45	38
b. Employed	3	7	1	3	4	2	8	12
c. Under-employed	12	9	1	3	5	11	18	23
d. Unemployed & Employed	3	2	-	-	3	1	6	3
e. Unemployed & Under-employed	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	3
f. Employed & Under-employed	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
g. Unemployed, Employed, & Under-employed	1	-	2	2	2	5	2	7
NA	3	3	3	4	5	5	11	12

Question #7 and #14

<u>Residency</u>								
Old settlers	30	34	13	11	27	25	70	70
Newcomers	9	8	2	2	-	1	11	11
Both	3	2	-	1	-	-	3	3
NA	3	6	3	4	4	5	10	15

Discussion and Interpretation (1-14)

Participants in Sarvodaya activities are seen as being young, being both male and female, possessing an average education, having a medium social status in the village, earning an average income, being unemployed (non-farm) and long-time residents of the community

Non-participants are mostly from the older generation, are male and female, unschooled, of medium social status, of average or low income, unemployed or underemployed, and long-time residents.

Age and education would appear to be the major characteristics differentiating participants from non-participants. It is perhaps important to note that those considered to be well-educated were not seen as participants or non-participants,

implying that there were few well-educated individuals around or that they were not considered by the respondents.

Very low income as compared to high income is also an important characteristic, with few high income persons being seen either as a participants or non-participants (except for the 13 mentions of VSR's of high income earners being non-participants). This could be a result of there being few high income individuals in the community or, if they do exist, their isolation from the consciousness of the respondents. Such isolation would not be surprising in light of the general behavior of more advantaged sectors to protect gains by maintaining social distance from the less fortunate.

The employment variable presents a possibly confused picture in that farmers were sometimes seen as being employed (in their own work of farming) but more frequently were seen as being unemployed. Employment, as a concept in the minds of the respondents, seemed to imply earning income from labor outside of farming.

Most of the "newcomers" identified as non-participants came from one village where other data indicates an influx of new settlers in recent years. Participant "newcomers" were spread across several villages. In toto, this might suggest that there is considerable stability (i.e., little migration) among Sri Lankan villages.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (1-14)

1. In rural village community development activities, men and women both play useful roles that are recognized as such by the general community populace.
2. In extra-family, extra-occupational activities in which energy, openness, and enthusiasm are premium qualities and over which older adults are not apt to have absolute control, youth can be expected to play a major role.

3. For the average person, moderate educational attainment instills self-confidence and a vision of and a hope for better things. This confidence, vision, and hope often triggers involvement in development activity.

4. The wealthier sector of a rural village community is not apt to participate in development activities in which they might be called upon to contribute disproportionately because of their greater wealth. The very poor will not participate because of their own personal struggle to meet basic survival needs, leaving them with little margin to invest in self-improvement or community development.

Question #15

What attitudinal and behavioral changes have you observed in those who participate in the Sarvodaya projects in the village?

DATA

Mentions

"Greater respect for elders and parents"	4
"More considerate, merciful, and kind toward others; philanthropic, help the poor, give more social services, responsive to emergencies"	5
"More sociable, trusting and believing".	3
"Greater unity, cooperation and working together; see the importance of collective action"	16
"More attachment to their community"	2
"More devoted to Sarvodaya; greater understanding of the Sarvodaya philosophy"	3
"Better attitudes, better ideas"	5
"More interested, more positive outlook"	3
"Improved speech and conduct, habits and virtues, dialogue; more polite; better discipline and dress"	21
"Greater spiritual development"	2
"See need for development"	2

"Stronger desire to participate, participate more"	2
"Industrious, better use of finances"	3
"People have learned more; younger generation is better educated"	2
"Fewer caste distinctions, equality in social status, fewer animosities"	3
"Less conceited and likely to seek social status"	1
"Have gotten rid of bad qualities; less drinking, loitering, gambling; have given up bad ideas"	7
<u>NA</u> (Don't know, not asked, not-sequitur)	18

Question #16

What attitudinal and behavioral changes have you observed in those who have changed from being low or non-participants to become high participants or people who have demonstrated increased participation in Sarvodaya activities in the village?

<u>DATA</u>	<u>Mentions</u>
"Understand Sarvodaya better"	2
"Work in cooperation in community work; have learned the value of collectiveness; try to enroll others; come and help"	8
"Participate more, with more interest; have a greater desire to join and participate; it is now good to participate"	7
"New participants cooperate with veteran participants, become more like other participants; even non-participants emulate participants' speech and behavior"	6
"Friendlier; less disunity, less disharmony"	5
"Converse better; better speech, behavior, morals, dress"	4
"Respect others; follow elders' advice"	3
"Better attitudes; more broad-minded"	3

Mentions

"More interest in self, community, and national progress; want to improve self; see improvement in the community"	3
"Have given up bad habits"	1
"Non-participants go their own way, are shy of society, tend to fight, are the same as before"	4
"Participants are improved in every way"	1
"Everyone has always participated"	1
<u>NA</u> (don't know, not asked, non-sequitur)	31

Question #17

There may be some people in your village who were once very active in the Sarvodaya activities in the village but do not take part in Sarvodaya activities at present. They must be having their own reasons for the change. Do you know what the reasons are? If so, describe them.

DATA

Mentions

"Have not understood Sarvodaya since it was never explained to them; misconceptions about Sarvodaya; fear it is a Che Gueverra Movement"	3
"Inactivity of Sarvodaya Workers; poor work of the Sarvodaya Organizers; dislike behavior of SSM girls"	3
"Failure to realize objectives (3); disagreements over the dividing up of farm profit (4); desires to establish a factory through Sarvodaya were unsatisfied; Sarvodaya failed to distribute money; no benefits for the village; failure to see benefits; Meth Medura promises not honored"	12
"No personal benefits realized"	9
"Sarvodaya is a community organization with no direct personal benefits"	1
"High posts and employment which came to some were based on personal ties; unable to fulfill economic and leadership ambitions"	2
"Temple given too prominent a position in the activities"	1

Mentions

"Frustrations due to differences of opinion; disputes;
jealousy of later participants; non-cooperation 11

"The drop-outs are no longer getting work out of the poor people
who are now getting help. That is why" 1

"There has been a natural gradual decrease since the early
stages" 1

Personal characteristics. "Aloof, lazy, self-centered, selfish,
nature of some people, have become physically unfit, a feeling that
others can be dispensed with" 7

"Employed now; employed in distant places; permanent employment;
work responsibilities; want to do their own work" 8

"Moved away from the village" 1

"Married" 7

"Family obligations; home responsibilities; home babysitting
responsibilities of the young ladies" 3

"Lack of time" 2

"Personal reasons; some have personal or family problems" 4

"Poverty; lack of food, clothing, and money" 5

"Reasons unknown" 2

"No one was ever interested" 2

"No such people here" 25

NA (not asked, don't know) 19

Question #18

If there are people in your village who never participated in Sarvodaya activities they also must be having their own reasons for non-participation. Do you know what these reasons are? If you know, please describe them.

DATA

Mentions :

"More concerned about their own personal occupations; no leisure, freedom, time, or opportunity; must use time to earn a living" . . 15

"Personal problems, financial inadequacy, poverty" 6

"Too old, unable to get about" 4

"Family, home responsibilities" 1

"Ignorant (4) poor brains; uneducated (6) illiterate (4); inexperienced" 16

"Fear of having to give up bad habits like gambling and drinking illicit liquor" 1

"Lazy, stubborn, aloof, selfish" 4

"Unsociable; want to live alone, have a secluded nature; lack of a social life, do not identify with others; feel they can do better alone; never participate in anything" 15

"Think world is created for them alone; have no love for the village" 2

"Lack of understanding of community activities" 1

"Rich, can get along without others" 6

"Political fanatics who feel they can get what they want through politics" 1

"Recent settlers" 1

"Lack of knowledge and understanding of the Sarvodaya Movement and its philosophy; do not understand Sarvodaya aims and values; wrong opinions of Sarvodaya; do not recognize Sarvodaya services" . . . 15

"Can see no benefits from Sarvodaya; no personal gains" 6

"Fear movement is a fraud; some felt Sarvodaya was associated with the 1971 rebellion and was politically motivated; fear that it was insurgent, a Che Gueverra Movement" 5

"Dislike activities of the Sarvodaya leaders; resentment of those who try to take leadership; if they can't gain leadership, they resent those who do" 3

"Bad behavior of the Sarvodaya girls" 1

"Sarvodaya dosen't try to understand the people of the village" . 1

	<u>Mentions</u>
"Dispute with Sarvodaya over the use of the temple building"	1
"Fear of being held responsible for activities; fear of incurring a loss"	2
"Center is far away"	1
"No one was ever interested"	2
"Few such people; everyone participated"	18
<u>NA</u> (don't know, not asked)	12

Discussion and Interpretation (15-18)

Attitudinal and behavioral changes among "early" participants and "late" participants (questions 15 & 16) can be grouped into three major categories: individual attitudes and behavior patterns, interaction patterns with others, and community concern-involvement-solidarity.

Individual participants are seen as developing more positive attitudes toward themselves, their peers, and their elders. They are seen as becoming more cooperative with others, having greater interest in their community and its development, and less concerned about caste (class) differences.

Non-participants or "drop-outs," on the other hand, are seen as not understanding Sarvodaya, as being social isolates (because of their wealth and class, pressure of other obligations, or personal proclivities), or having certain personality deficiencies or inadequate personal resources (margin) to invest in development activities.

It is worthy of note that: 1) the one Tamil Muslim village in the sample is indicated as not participating, as not ever having had anyone interested

in participating; 2.) Sarvodaya's involvement with a pilot farm operation in one village has created considerable ill-feelings; 3.) competition exists for leadership positions within Sarvodaya's operations at the village level; 4.) marriage and employment tend to take a good number of participants out of the Movement; and 5.) in spite of the difficulties in helping people to understand and accept the Movement, Sarvodaya has had considerable influence on the development of pro-social behavior of the village people.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (15-18)

1. The introduction of a new social movement into a previously non-involved rural village community will necessitate a disruption of the dynamic give and take of existing social equilibria. This disruption will result in the eventual establishment of new equilibria. Individuals displaced from privileged positions because of the new movement will resent it and resist its development.

2. Satisfaction from collaboration with peers in community activities mutually agreed upon results in more positive attitudes toward self, peers, and the community.

3. Family and occupation will take precedence over general community development in rural village communities. People are more prone to participate in community activities which are seen as useful for their family or to their occupation.

Question #19

Are the following characteristics typical of a high participant or a low participant?

DATA

<u>Category</u>	<u>VSR</u>			<u>VL</u>			<u>SW</u>			<u>Total</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>NA</u>
a. Has a strong desire for self-advancement	15	24	11	5	7	5	13	11	10	33	42	26
b. Has a weak desire to achieve	2	38	10	2	10	5	4	21	9	8	69	24
c. Has a strong sense of being able to accomplish whatever sets mind to	30	9	11	11	-	6	16	8	10	57	17	27
d. Has a sense of being personally able to accomplish personal goals	13	26	12	1	9	7	14	7	12	28	42	31
e. Thinks positively of self as a person	27	9	14	8	2	6	18	6	10	53	17	30
f. Thinks negatively of self as a person	8	29	13	2	8	7	-	24	10	10	61	30
g. Is bossy in relations with others	10	26	15	3	6	6	5	16	13	18	50	34
h. Is democratic in relations with others	35	2	12	11	-	6	23	2	9	69	4	27
i. Has a strong need to belong to group	30	4	16	11	-	6	22	3	9	63	7	31
j. Is independent in behavior and ideas	21	16	13	7	3	7	14	10	10	42	29	30
k. Has a strong need to feel accepted by group norms	24	12	15	9	-	8	21	4	9	52	16	32
l. Doesn't care what others think of him/her	25	9	13	6	5	6	15	8	11	46	22	30

The "NA" (not applicable) represents a variety of deviations from the expected and desired response pattern (of "high" or "low"): "it depends," not asked, non-sequitur, don't know, no answer, and wrong question. Eleven VSR's gave an "it depends" response as did four VL's and eight SW's, or a range of 0-3 such responses per question. "Not asked" ranged per question, from 9 to 12 for VSR's, 5 to 6 for VL's and 9 to 11 for SW's.

Discussion and Interpretation

Low participants are seen as having a weak desire to achieve, as thinking negatively of themselves as persons, and as being "bossy" in their relations with others. They are also seen by many as having a strong desire for self-advancement, a slight incongruity with "a weak desire to achieve." What thoughts guided the respondents is not clear.

Low participants were also seen as having a strong sense of being personally able to accomplish personal goals. Because Sarvodaya activities are primarily conducted through group and community work, such a self-efficacious individual might prefer to work alone and not participate in such "social" activities. This may also help explain the incongruity mentioned above in that respondents may feel that low participants are selfish (concerned about self-advancement) and, therefore, not apt to invest in activities for the common good. Obviously, a very different research approach is necessary to deal with such questions.

High participants are seen as having a strong sense of being able to accomplish whatever they set their minds to, of thinking positively of themselves as persons, as being democratic in their relations with others, having a strong need to belong to a group, and to feel accepted by group norms. The message here is clear: social interaction is the medium and those who can accommodate

themselves to it participate frequently in Sarvodaya activities. Conversely, those primarily concerned about their own individual personal gain do not participate as frequently.

One inconsistency within the data between VSR's/VL's and SW's is worth noting. VSR's and VL's tended to see low participants as having a strong desire to achieve while SW's were more prone to see this as a characteristic of high participants. This may be a function of age differences among the respondents, with younger SW's being concerned at that point in their lives with self-advancement.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses

1. Social movements can not tolerate personally motivated idiosyncratic behavior. All behavior must be based on concerns for the common good first with individual benefits being a secondary and indirect spin-off.
2. A high regard for self conditioned by a concern for others serves to motivate extensive participation in community development.
3. Low or non-participants in community activities either lack sufficient personal esteem or are compelled by a strong "need achievement" (N ach) to find their own path, not waiting for the slower machinations of group efforts.

Question #20

What rewards or positive sanctions accrue to those persons experiencing success in group participatory efforts in learning and/or development efforts?

<u>DATA</u>	<u>Mentions</u>
"Satisfaction, contentment, merit, happiness; joy in successfully completing an activity"	14
"Children's observance of traditional values and customs; better behavior, education of the children; learn the right way of living, improved morals".	13

	<u>Mentions</u>
"Unity, common benefit, mutual assistance"	18
"Knowledge, knowledge about the world"	5
"Training, education improved capabilities, certificates"	8
"Employment; income"	9
"Development"	9
"Road, irrigation canals, community kitchen (food, nutrition, milk), pre-school, relief assistance, farms, loans, trade center, cemetery, houses"	18
"Understanding others' ways of thinking; surfacing useful ideas; learned much about development work; disciplined action; solved the problems of the people"	6
"Foreign aid"	1
"Better society"	1
"People's welfare"	2
"No personal gains, nothing"	14
<u>NA</u> (Don't know, not asked, non-sequitur)	16

Question #21

What negative sanctions come to those who do not participate in such efforts?

<u>DATA</u>	<u>Mentions</u>
"Loss of face; status is lowered; will be looked down upon; isolation; outcast"	10
"Personal desires will not be taken seriously by others; others will not help them; non-cooperation from others; no help received in emergencies; non-selection for training in technical services" . . .	8
"Loss of common feeling; do not receive social training; don't acquire good habits or learn codes of conduct; very weak social behavior; become unsociable; their participation decreases"	6
"They are losing a great deal; have not benefited; loss of common benefits"	6

	<u>Mentioned</u>
"Not able to see improvement of the people; no development; deprived of a good social order; lack of knowledge about society; lack of education"	5
"Children will not get milk; a pre-school education".	4
"There is no disadvantage because they get the same benefits; a gain, not a loss even for non-participants"	10
"Unaware of what they are missing".	3
"None".	27
<u>NA</u> (don't know, not asked, no answer, non-sequitur).	23

Discussion and Interpretation (20-21)

Both tangible and intangible rewards and sanctions are seen accruing to participants. Social conduct, observance of tradition, satisfaction from participation, social solidarity, skill development, economic gains, and community improvements are emphasized.

Sarvodaya Workers tended to stress intangible gains (better ideas, etc.) whereas VSR's and VL's emphasized tangible gains (roads, canals, etc.) This may contrast the idealism of youth with the pragmatism of older adults.

Again, it is important to note the 14 "no personal gain" responses, perhaps indicating the "common benefit" emphasis of Sarvodaya activities. It is also possible that Sarvodaya theology captivates the youth and strongly influences their perceptions of development, its real meaning and objectives.

The most notable result in the responses to question 21, is that non-participants are not seen as suffering extensive disadvantages or negative sanctions (37 responses). Sarvodaya Workers stressed this as much as the VSR's and VL's. This could mean that Sarvodaya Workers recognize the essential community base of Sarvodaya activities and realize the necessity for a gradual

building-up of widespread involvement over a long period of time. They may well realize that earlier non-participants may need to learn from the example of others.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (20-21)

1. Rural village people recognize both tangible and intangible goals for community development. "Age" and "previous acceptance of a development ideology" function as discriminating factors between individual emphases on the tangible and intangible. Youth, having received a thorough grounding in the Sarvodaya philosophy and theory, will be more prone than older adults who have not received such training to emphasize intangible objectives.

2. Participants in development efforts are hesitant to chastise non-participants because the participants (a) can empathize with the non-participants, (b) hope to influence the non-participants to follow their example, (c) realize that the non-participants may not understand the significance of the effort.

In Summary of Theme IV

This theme focusing on participant and non-participant characteristics, points up several interesting contrasts between youth and older adults; those with an average income versus the wealthier and poorer groups; and the well-educated, average educated, and uneducated.

Sarvodaya, with its stress on both tangible and intangible results, would seem to satisfy the desires of both older adults and youth. In one sense, the energy, enthusiasm, and idealism of the youth serve to launch initial Sarvodaya activities in the village, although often with the initial support of a few key adult figures. The general adult population, to the extent that they see concrete results, then join in and support subsequent activity.

The rich, the very poor, the old, the self-sufficient, the lazy, and the well-educated and uneducated frequently do not participate. Some previous participants are seen as dropping out because no direct personal gain came from the activities. Non-participants are most frequently seen as possessing now desirable human qualities. Participation itself is seen as enhancing human development.

Theme Five

Socio-Cultural, Economic, and Political Factors Which Either Encourage or Hinder Participation in Sarvodaya Projects

This theme is divided into three sub-themes: (1) socio-cultural/religious, economic, political, community life, and outside (the village) forces which encourage participation in Sarvodaya projects, (2) forces (same categories) which discourage participation, and (3) perceptions of interpersonal relationships between the respondent and key influentials. These sub-themes will be treated in the order listed, with the responses to questions 1-3-5-7-9 constituting the first sub-theme, 2-4-6-8-10 the second, and 11-12-13 the last.

Question #1

Describe socio-cultural and religious factors which encourage participation in Sarvodaya projects.

DATA

Religious factors (47):

religious leadership (7), general enthusiasm for religious activities and expression of religious ideas (9), Sarvodaya's attachment to the temple (6), Sarvodaya's following of religious principles-values-virtues-philosophy-and its religious nature (16), no religious differences are shown (1), religion and culture are interrelated (1), its a way to foster the religion (1) encouragement from seeing others develop spiritually (1), seminars by Bhikkus (1), and chance to earn merit (4)

Social solidarity (14):

fear of isolation/ostracism (3), village unity, collectiveness (3), fraternity, equality, social solidarity (4), socio-cultural affinity and harmony of the activities and philosophy (3), birds of a feather flock together (1)

Upholding traditions (9):

desire for cultural preservation (1) honors traditional customs (4), supports traditional virtues (1), and force of traditional activities (3)

Desire for development (24):

village improvement (9), employment opportunity (2), earnings through the collective farm (1), sharing work through Shramadanas (1), to improve children's education (7), everyone benefits from community development (2), promise for a bright future (1), financial gain through collective activity (1)

Service orientation (4):

desire to do social service (3), assistance given by the wealthy (1)

Class struggle (6):

feelings of lower social groups that here is an opportunity to be equal with others (1), prospects for social upliftment (1), social ills can be corrected (1), poor people benefit (1), opportunity for socially remote to develop social relationships (1), poor hope to gain assistance (1)

Others (7):

better educated participate (1), honesty of Sarvodaya Workers (1), food, milk (2), social influence (1), can get a loan (1), proper for a free people (1)

None (4):

NA (27):

cannot say/don't know (7), not asked (10), non-sequitur (9), no answer (1).

Question #3

Briefly set out economic factors which encourage participation in Sarvodaya projects.

DATA

Press of poverty (6):

low income people will participate in anything that helps them (1),
low income people want to raise their economic standards (3), expectation
of dispelling hunger (1), to get milk and food from the nursery (1)

Training (13):

for youth, in crafts (masonry, batik, bamboo, hemp, seed, beedi) (12),
practical training resulting in financial gains (1)

Employment (28):

for the youth (3), in the coir mill, jute industry, trade center,
collective farm (13), through Sarvodaya (5), the people see some being
employed (1), expectation of financial gain or improvement in economic
condition (4), if the village progresses all will get jobs (1),
Sarvodaya Workers receive stipend (1)

Village development (4):

construction projects (1), those of average economic status cooperate and
work together (1), general development (1), uplift economic standards of
the people (1)

Loans (8):

money was given to release paddy fields from mortgages (2), loans, (3),
the rich provide support in hopes of reaping benefits (3)

Other (2):

planting through collective efforts (1), organizers advise on improving
livelihood (1)

None (10):

NA (32):

Question #5

What would you think are the political factors which encourage participation
in Sarvodaya projects?

DATA

Sarvodaya is above politics (11)

Sarvodaya and the Government co-exist (5):

the present government is helpful to Sarvodaya (3), Sarvodaya and the
government are equal (1), politicians sometimes seek votes by organizing
Shramadana campaigns (1)

None (61):

NA (27):

Question #7

What are the other factors of community life in the village which
encourage participation in Sarvodaya projects?

DATA

Experience of community development (5):

people are used to working together in work of common interest (4),
people's readiness to develop the village (1)

Promise of Sarvodaya (10);

Sarvodaya promises betterment for young and old, male and female (1),
people recognize the value of Sarvodaya (1), Sarvodaya is a "public"
institution (1), example of previous Sarvodaya activities creates
interest (2), all join Sarvodaya activities for general village improve-
ment (1), as people cannot get things done through the Rural Develop-
ment Society, they join Sarvodaya activities (1), unity provided by
Sarvodaya overrides caste, political, and personal differences (1),
service and treatment by Sarvodaya volunteers (1), pre-school which teaches
the children the correct path of life influences the cooperation of the elders (1)

Youth involvement (9):

better use of time by youth (1), children no longer roam around after
school (1), unity of the youth (1) youth's understanding of Sarvodaya
promotes interest of elders and parents (1), parents desire for their
children's education (3), youth's organization of temple activities (2)

Results of Sarvodaya activities (16):

Shramadanas (6), general improvement in living conditions, sports
societies, and library services (1), economic assistance (1), loans given
for cultivation (1), organization of small industries (2), health facilities
(2), transportation (1), organization of creche (day nursery) by
Mothers' Group (1), Sarvodaya instruction, propaganda (2)

Social influence among people (7):

example of priest and (a prominent person) (1), invitations from friends (1),

unity of parents (1), people in the community have equality of status (1), class relationships (1), social influence (1), people become interested gradually (1)

None (17):

NA (33):

Question #9

What outside forces act to encourage participation?

DATA

Inside-out (7):

when we are engaged in various activities, on-lookers are so satisfied they give us assistance so that we may continue the activities to successful conclusions (1), outsiders see our example and join us (1), festivals draw large numbers (1), our local societies (Death Aid, RDS, Temple Development) are supportive (4)

Outside-in (9):

the coming of outsiders to the village increases the interest of the villagers (1), island-wide activities undertaken by the mother organization have increased the interest of the general public (1), outsiders help with paddy field work and in making houses (1), the request made by the Sarvodaya organizers (1), advice by the Wewala Society (1), the Sarvodaya organizers went from house to house and asked the people to participate (1), participation by teachers, government officials, and police officials encourages villagers to participate (1), enthusiasm is influenced by what others from other villages engaged in Sarvodaya work say (1), the Sarvodaya Movement can bring us together (1), within

government institutions like the police, there is a special regard for Sarvodaya. If someone is accused of a wrong-doing we can go and influence things in his favor by telling that he is a Sarvodaya Worker. There were such incidents in this village. In such matters there is external support for Sarvodaya Workers (1).

None (42):

NA (43):

Discussion and Interpretation (1-3-5-7-9)

The religious dimensions of Sarvodaya serve to strongly influence participation in and support of Sarvodaya activities. This is the overriding impression made by the 47 mentions of religious influences in question #1. A general desire for development (24 mentions), social solidarity (14), and the force of tradition (9) also serve to influence participation.

Economic factors focus on the desire for employment (28) which yields income, training (13) which leads to employment, or direct financial assistance (8) through loans.

The clearest fact emerging from the question (3) regarding political factors is the rejection of the notion of political influences on participation (61 mentions). It is, of course, unclear as to whether this rejection is based on a general aversion to consider politics or is reflective of a general absence of political influences. The feeling that Sarvodaya is above politics (11 mentions) may suggest a view of politics as a seedy aspect of life.

Factors of community life influencing participation may be seen as "results obtained" (16), the "promise of Sarvodaya" (10), "youth energy" (9), "social influence" (7), and "previous experience in community development" (5).

As with politics, there seems to be a general rejection of a role for outside forces in influencing participation (42). Since Sarvodaya activities are primarily the work of villagers who have become a part of the Sarvodaya Movement, however, these results must be interpreted accordingly.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (1-3-5-7-9)

1. Religious and economic aspects of village life are the dominant influences on human behavior, ameliorated by class, tradition, and opportunity.

2. Inhabitants of rural affiliative societies, wherein collective will and action are vital to efforts at improving the general community environment, verbally reject power politics as counter to community interest. These same inhabitants, nevertheless, play politics when it is necessary to advance their personal interests.

3. Rural village people are likely to reject outside influences over which they feel they have no control. Outside influences which operate in support of the initiative and control of an indigenous majority are likely to be accepted.

Question #2

Describe socio-cultural and religious factors discouraging participation in Sarvodaya projects.

DATA

Social divisiveness (5):

population heterogeneity and differences of opinion resulting from it;
political factionalism; individualism; wealth and caste; non-concern for the
village.

Dislike for some Sarvodaya's actions (7):

bad behavior of the Sarvodaya girls; partiality of Sarvodaya toward a certain section of the village; Sarvodaya favors one faith; personal differences with Sarvodaya Workers; corrupting influence on the religion (2); unkept promises.

Ignorance of Sarvodaya's aims (8):

ignorance toward the Movement (2); lack of understanding of Sarvodaya philosophy; fear of Sarvodaya as a Che Gueverra Movement; false propaganda about religious corruption (2); false allegations; fear a contribution will be exacted.

Concern for livelihood (8):

can see no personal gains; must not neglect our own work (3); poverty (4).

None (51):

NA (23):

not asked (15); don't know, non-sequitur, no answer (8)

Question #4

State economic factors discouraging participation in Sarvodaya projects.

DATA

Press of earning a living (22):

busy with their occupations (4); people must use their time to find their meals; poor people expect to earn money, a profit(5); poverty (2); poverty forces them to spend their time earning a living; people need to earn money by practicing their livelihood (2); those who have an occupation won't participate (6); failure to obtain employment.

Sarvodaya farm (2):

income from the collective farm not equally distributed; failure to obtain profits from the farm.

Recalcitrance of the wealthy (8):

wealth (2); wealthy do not offer encouragement for participation; the rich folks have now come to realize that the people no longer depend on them. The villagers now do not go to them for help. As a result, the rich men are now trying to prevent Sarvodaya activities by spending their wealth; people of high economic status do not participate for fear of losing their status; there are people in the village who make a living by exploiting the poor villagers. Those who live by evil means are badly affected by Sarvodaya; fear of having to spend money on Sarvodaya activities; those who do not realize that the advancement of the village is the foundation for their own advancement may discourage others.

None (41):

NA (27):

Question #6

Briefly state the political factors which discourage participation in Sarvodaya projects.

DATA

Activism of political parties (12):

political parties create disharmony; politics are divisive (3);
political factionalism hinders Sarvodaya work; religious fanatics exist within the political parties;

people from every party work in Sarvodaya; participation in political activities by Sarvodaya workers will reduce the people's participation in Sarvodaya activities. Some had the feeling that because the SLFP party helped Sarvodaya, the UNP party would show offence. The UNP followers called Sarvodaya a Che Gueverra Movement; Sympathizers of leftist parties used to believe that this was a CIA organization. They made the people believe it; Certain politicians and political parties try to prevent Sarvodaya projects because they are unable to achieve their political ends; Many people were alienated because of the priest's sympathy with the SLFP; Some people think that they can accomplish their objectives by following a political line rather than Sarvodaya.

None (59):

NA (24):

Question #8

What factors of community life discourage participation in Sarvodaya projects?

DATA

Social divisiveness (6):

division of the village into two factions; differences of opinion; personal conflicts (2); grudges against Sarvodaya Workers (2).

Sarvodaya as a threat to vested interests (4):

illicit liquor makers would have to give up their activities if they joined the Movement; the people's production of palmyrah (the sap of which is used to produce liquor) for economic gain hinders Sarvodaya projects;

people of high status do not like it. They consider it as a Movement that is trying to get their power; it is the belief of some that the Sarvodaya Center is only for the poorest people and, therefore, they do not participate. These are the people who regard themselves as belonging to the high class of the society.

Other (4):

some people like to do their work alone; poverty; failure of Sarvodaya to fulfill expectations; suspicion of a Sarvodaya Worker's misuse of milk allocated for small children.

None (56):

NA (29):

Question #10

What outside forces act to discourage participation?

DATA

The following is in the form of quotes of what outsiders say (11):

"Some outsiders say that Sarvodaya is a good outward show, but underneath something else is being done."

"Some people expect to gain personal benefit and influential positions within the Movement, but when it does not happen they find fault with our work and begin to spread false rumors against the Movement. This reduces participation."

"Certain people allege that Sarvodaya functions for the benefit of a section of people in the village who are related to one another. They try to prevent the participation of others through these allegations."

"Outside influence results in political problems."

"Some think that this is a Movement bent on power. So they don't participate."

"There are people who don't accept Sarvodaya. They say that the Che Gueverra Movement, too, began in a similar way."

"There are some people in neighboring villages who would not like to see our village improving. They would act against any development activity in our village."

"Some outsiders say that no personal benefits can be gained by participating in Sarvodaya activities, resulting in a waste of time."

"Some tell us to not participate because of the bad behaviour of the girls."

"Some have been made to believe that this Movement is a CIA organization which spies for America."

"The village is divided into two, according to high and low social status."

None (52):

NA (36):

Discussion and Interpretation (2-4-6-8-10)

In response to question #2, social divisiveness (five mentions), a dislike for some Sarvodaya actions (7), an ignorance of Sarvodaya aims (8), and a concern for livelihood (8) are seen as factors discouraging participation in Sarvodaya projects. Basically, however, the 51 "no such factors" indicate, in comparison, that few such factors exist to discourage participation.

The need to earn a living (22 mentions) and the recalcitrance of the wealthy (8) are seen as economic factors discouraging participation. Again, these are slightly offset by the 41 times "no economic factors" was indicated.

Basically, politics are not seen as a vital factor (59 "no such factor" mentions) but the 12 mentions of party activism would seem to suggest considerable involvement of party politics

In general, a few factors of community life or outside forces are seen as discouraging participation.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (2-4-6-8-10)

1. Rural village residents are not likely to accept as suitable reasons for non-participation in community development activities reasons other than those relating to the requirements of earning a living.

Question #11

Could you describe how people regard each other and how they come to an agreement or disagreement in respect to participation in Sarvodaya projects.

DATA

Unity (48):

like brothers and sisters, as members of one family (24); unity (11); with equality and fraternity (3); treat each other well (2); share; cordially, friendly (7).

Never disagree (18);

disregard differences while they work; never disagree (17).

As advised (8):

by elders (3); by the knowledgeable (2); by the priest; according to religious convictions; according to instructions.

Through discussion and cooperation (19):

with a sense of community service; the Gramodaya Center is a place for people to express their views and amicably discuss and resolve debatable points; all are well-informed before the activity; those who have joined have good cooperation while there is no association among non-joiners (2);

mutual reciprocity (2); each person contributes diligently (2); no racial discrimination and no differential treatment (2); behavior, speech, and discipline are good (3); through discussion (5).

Disagreement (3):

there is a tendency on occasions like shramadanas to discriminate against poor people by some groups raising issues like caste, social class, associaties, and officialdom; some don't participate when someone at whom they are angry is also doing the work; those who work a lot for Sarvodaya are given prominence while others are left out. In an alms giving ceremony, they did not allow us to offer alms to the priest, while the outsiders who came from Meth Medura were given the chance to do it.

NA (24):

Question #12

Very generally, all or many of the following persons represent the different socio-economic facets of the village. Describe briefly how you personally relate to them in action.

This question was presented in different ways by different interviewers. Some requested the respondents to indicate those persons with whom they related. Their responses are as follows:

DATA

	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>Mentions</u>		<u>Total</u>
			<u>SW</u>		
Priests	31	12	12		55
Headmasters	3	3	1		7
Teachers	20	6	13		39
Local Physician	10	2	5		17
Dispensers	5	1	--		6
Government officials	12	4	8		24
Local Governmental officials	2	2	3		7
Workers in private establishments	5	4	4		13

<u>DATA</u>	<u>Mentions</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	
Traders	17	4	4	25
Money lenders	4	1	--	5
Land owners	13	5	4	22
Artisans	27	7	7	41
Self-employed (farmers, fisherman)	7	5	6	18
Wealthy	3	1	1	5

Other responses indicated how the respondents related to the types of individuals listed above.

DATA

Responsiveness (21):

except for a few all cooperate when their help is sought (3); they like helping destitute persons and giving advice and instructions (4); when their advice is needed (3); when we need their assistance (5); they cooperate with us (3); join us in Shramadanas; to help find solutions to village problems; volunteer their services until project is completed.

Common bond (27):

work collectively without differences; live cordially because of a sense of belonging to the same village (3); relate cordially with them as they are old acquaintances; a common link between us; work in unity and cooperation (2); in a friendly manner, my friends (4); collectively as neighbors (3); during community and religious activities (2); are my relatives, are related to each other (5); they associate with me as an organizer in Sarvodaya and a village resident; are equal and treat each other alike, as brothers (4).

Respect (7):

as they are mostly elders, we treat them with due respect; as our elders (2); with the clergy on a daily basis; we always discuss matters with them; our leaders communicate with those concerned with our projects; direct dealings with them.

Disrespect for wealth and status (9):

no relationship with these people in affluent circumstances; they have no convictions about the village; they all have good connections; are employed in high posts and are economically sound; they associate according to their education and social status; have a high quality of life economically and socially and keep in close connection with each other; they are selfish; no personal relationship with them; these people are motivated by a desire to enrich their lives and as such there is no benefit to the people from them.

NA (18):

Question #13

Have you any ideas as to what those listed think of you?

DATA

They think of me as (positive) (32):

doing a service, a credible person, one who has served the village, a social worker (4); a reliable person, one who does his work with interest; an honest individual (2); as a good person who does community activities; their own child; as harmless-honest-soft hearted person; a sincere person; a devoted worker; dependable and will do what is expected of me; one who does good work; a good person(0); interested; one belonging to the village; popular and they like me; good in their opinion (3); one who can organize any collective activity in the village successfully and if forced into an activity like that I usually play the major role; understood; one worthy of assistance.

(Neutral) (5):

an average person; in various ways; one whom some like and some dislike; one against whom no one holds a grudge; one they should not discriminate against.

They think of me as (negative) (4):

are jealous of me; think I am wealthy; think that I am poor and should be treated lowly; think that I am not a big man to be praised by other men and so they count me as a bad person.

NA (50):

Discussion and Interpretation (11-13)

The general view of the respondents of how the people relate to each other is very positive, as indicated by the unity (48 mentions), agreement (18), and discussion and cooperation (19) stressed in the responses to question eleven.

The specific others to whom the respondents appear to see themselves relating most effectively are the priests (55 mentions), educators (46), and artisans and craftsmen (41). Government officials (31), traders (25), and land owners (22) are also important others. The wealthy (5) and money lenders are not related to very well.

In terms of how the respondents relate to the specific others listed, the responses indicate a positive and healthy view, emphasizing a common bond (27 mentions), the responsiveness of the significant others (21), and respect (7). A basic disrespect for the wealthy is somewhat evident (9), in contrast.

Respondents demonstrated a positive self-regard (32 mentions) through their responses to question thirteen. However, the number of non-responses (50),

perhaps interpretable as an unwillingness or inability to indicate how others think of them, constrains the meaning of the results obtained.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (11-13)

1. Priests, educators, and craftsmen represent values, knowledge, and skill held in high esteem by rural village people.
2. Villagers are concerned that others see them as contributing to the common good.

In Summary of Theme V

Factors influencing participation in Sarvodaya projects were assessed. Religious and economic factors were found to be important in encouraging participation. Other than the struggle of earning a living, no other factors were seen as significantly discouraging participation. A generally positive state of psychological health was found to exist in the interpersonal relationships within the villages.

The Sarvodaya Movement is seen as being closely tied to the people's religion, as a vehicle for training leading to employment, and as a means of rendering service to the community. It is regarded highly for its effects on the behavior of the youth.

Theme Six

Participation in Sarvodaya Projects:
Determining Projects, Evolving Methods of
Working, and Deciding Upon Roles
That Have To Be Played In the Project Implementation

This theme is divided into two parts. The first part, comprised of questions 1 - 9, focuses on the extent to which villagers, outsiders, and leading personalities within the village (such as priests and headmasters) are perceived as participating in determining projects (content), evolving methods of implementation, and playing instructional roles.

The second part, comprised of question 10 - 12, focuses on descriptions of the actual content, methods, and role players.

In the first part, question 3, 6, and 9 were actually intended as probes for their two preceding questions. They yielded little additional information and are excluded from the table presented below. The first question in each set of two asked, "Do most villagers here participate in..." The second question in each set asked, "Do the villagers expect outsiders and leading personalities to ..."

<u>DATA</u>	<u>V S R</u>			<u>V L</u>			<u>S W</u>			<u>T O T A L</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>NA</u>
1. Villagers ... determining content	33	12	4	14	2	3	23	3	4	70	17	11
2. Outsiders, lead- ing personalities,... determining content	35	10	4	11	3	4	24	3	4	70	16	12
4. Villagers... evolv- ing methods of implementation	32	9	8	12	2	4	25	2	4	69	13	16
5. Outsiders, leading personalities,... evolving methods of implementation	30	15	4	10	5	3	20	6	4	60	26	11

	V S L			V L			S W			T O T A L		
	Yes	No	NA	Yes	No	NA	Yes	No	NA	Yes	No	NA
7. Villagers... playing instructional roles	13	24	12	5	5	8	9	13	9	27	42	29
8. Outsiders, leading personalities,... playing instructional roles	24	15	10	5	4	9	14	8	9	43	27	28

Discussion and Interpretation (1,2,4,5,7,8)

Helping to determine project content or to evolve methods of implementation is seen as appropriate activity for the village people at large. Instructional roles are more frequently seen as being played by outsiders and leading personalities within the village. Unfortunately, no effort was made to distinguish between outsiders and leading personalities in the fielding of responses to questions 2,5, and 8.

VSR's, VL's, and SW's response patterns are basically the same. It is worth noting that questions 7 and 8 yielded considerably more NA responses (don't know, non-sequiturs, no answer) than the previous two sets of questions.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (1-9)

1. Leaders are leaders because they have demonstrated exceptional talent or because they inherit their status by virtue of occupying a respected position (priest, teacher) in the local society. Whether their leadership is achieved or ascribed, earned or conferred, they are seen by their followers as standing above the majority and are expected to provide advice and instruction and, to a lesser extent, to demonstrate their leadership by behavioral example.

2. A rural village population as a whole expects that in terms of instruction, they and their peers will assume roles as followers, relying upon

mutually recognized leaders for direction. The same population expects to play meaningful, contributive roles in determining the content of group activity and evolving methods of implementation.

Question #10

Please describe the content of a Sarvodaya project that was carried out in your village.

<u>DATA</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Construction:</u>				111
Roads	19	7	11	37
Wells	5	1	--	6
Pre-school	20	6	9	35
Temple	3	2	3	8
Houses	7	--	1	8
Canals, dikes	1	1	1	3
Dams	--	1	--	1
Latrines	4	1	--	5
Gramodaya Center	--	1	--	1
Health clinic	3	--	--	3
Fiber mill	1	--	--	1
Trade center	1	--	--	1
Library	--	--	2	2
<u>Social Organization:</u>				36
Children's Group	3	2	7	12
Youth Group	2	--	8	10
Mother's Group	3	2	7	12
Farmer's Group	--	--	2	2
<u>Services Conducted:</u>				26
Community kitchen	1	--	2	3
Loans	--	2	2	4
(Chena) land clearing	1	--	2	3
Paddy cultivation	2	--	3	5
Milk distributed	5	1	--	6
Trees planted	2	--	1	3
Emergency transportation	1	1	--	2
Dispensing medicines	2	--	--	2
Cleaning cemetery	1	--	--	1
Vaccination	2	--	--	2
Temple cleaning	1	--	--	1

<u>DATA</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Industries Formed:</u>				24
Brick	--	--	1	1
Beedi wrapping	--	--	2	2
Fiber, hemp	2	2	3	7
Jute	--	--	3	3
Bamboo	--	--	1	1
Collective farm	7	1	--	8
<u>Training Provided:</u>				16
Masonry	4	1	3	7
Community Workers	--	--	1	1
Handicrafts	2	--	1	3
Batik	2	--	--	2
Beedi wrapping	1	--	--	1
Brick making	1	--	--	1
<u>"Events" Held:</u>				9
Sports contests	1	--	2	3
Festivals	1	3	1	5
Religious ceremonies	--	--	1	1
<u>Other:</u>				8
Nutrition education	1	--	--	1
Health education	--	--	1	1
Garden (vegetable)	4	--	2	6
<u>NA:</u>	5	2	4	11

Question #11

Please describe the methods of implementation of Sarvodaya projects in your village.

<u>DATA</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Shramadanas:</u>	23	8	11	42
- Collective pooling of resources	4	--	3	7
- Cooperative volunteer labor	8	--	--	8

<u>Shramadanas (cont'd)</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
- Villagers and outsiders working together	6	--	2	8
Total	<u>41</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>65</u>
<u>Sarvodaya's Inputs:</u>				
- Food and equipment	1	2	2	5
- Advice, instruction	4	--	--	4
- Leadership, persuasion	4	1	1	6
- Youth initiative	--	1	2	3
- Transportation assistance	--	--	1	1
- Loans	--	1	1	2
- Lecture by Ariyaratne	--	--	1	1
Total	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>21</u>
<u>Priest's Leadership:</u>	1	2	3	6
<u>Fund Raising Through:</u>				
Canvassing houses, staging plays, contests	2	1	7	10
<u>Assistance From:</u>				
- Governmental officials	--	1	1	2
- A Belgium village	--	1	--	1
- Respected others	1	--	1	2
Total	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Meetings, Discussion, Organization:</u>	6	--	1	7
<u>Training:</u>	--	--	5	5
<u>NA:</u>	13	6	5	24

Question #12

Please state what category of people (villagers, leading personalities of the village, government officials from outside, etc.) played instructional roles in Sarvodaya projects in your village.

DATA

Priest	32	Doctor	3
Village Leaders	16	Villagers	3
Sarvodaya Organizers	14	Police	2
Government Officers	13	Parents	1
Gramasevaka	10	Registrar	1
Teacher	8	RDS Officers	1
Elders	7	Instructor	1
Youth	6	Medical Director	1
Traders	3	NA	15

DATA

	<u>Specific Persons Mentioned</u> (Times Mentioned)										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
V.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
V.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
V.3	2	2	1	1	1	1	4	--	--	--	--
V.4	9	2	3	2	1	4	2	1	1	2	0
V.5	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
V.6	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	--
V.7	3	3	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--
V.8	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--
V.9	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	--	--	--	--

Discussion and Interpretation (10-12)

The "content" of Sarvodaya projects (question #10) fell into several categories: construction (111 mentions), social organization (36), services conducted (26), industries formed (24), training provided (16), events held (9), and other (8). Obviously, Sarvodaya projects cover a wide range of activities but the two most popular are the construction of roads (37 mentions) and the construction and opening of pre-schools (35). The organization of groups (36) is

also a standard procedure in Sarvodaya villages.

Sarvodaya Workers tended to emphasize the organization of functional groups much more (24 mentions) than did VSR's (8) or VL's (4). SW's also emphasized non-farm industries that were formed (11 mentions as compared to two by VSR's and two by VL's) whereas VSR's emphasized the collective farm (7 mentions) as compared to no mentions by SW's.

Shramadanas (work camps) represent the prevalent method of implementing Sarvodaya projects (question #11). In essence, the work camp becomes a mechanism for rallying people to a cause, marshalling resources, organizing strategies, and getting the job done. Sarvodaya Workers used the reference "Shramadana" more consistently than the VSR's who frequently referred to "cooperative, volunteer labor" or "villagers and outsiders working together." SW's, having received at least an orientation to Sarvodaya's methods, are probably more familiar with the concept "Shramadana" and see it as a specific strategy for accomplishing the Sarvodaya objective of organizing the people for community development activity.

As to who plays a leading or instructional role, the responses to question #12 provide several interesting results. Again, the importance of the leadership provided by the priest is made clear (32 mentions). Government officers, local village leaders, and Sarvodaya organizers are seen as the next most significant players of instructional roles. The data indicate that some of the respondents interpreted "instructional" role to include "advice giving" and "leadership."

Some specific persons were mentioned by name by the respondents in some of the villages. The data presented in the table provide a visual illustration

of the "spread" of instructional leadership both within each and among the different villages. Two villages in particular stand out as having a diffuse set of instructors and advice givers.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (10-12)

1. A tradition of cooperative effort exists within Asian villages. Projects which emphasize this approach and result in concrete evidence of the value of such collective action are likely to be remembered, supported, and participated in on future occasions.

2. Talented residents of rural villages are recognized for their specific abilities and their services as teachers of others in the village in their area of specialized skill or knowledge are used. Outsiders are often relied upon for advice on the general direction community development activity should take.

In Summary of Theme VI

Sarvodaya village-based activities are at one and the same time a product of the energy of the village population and the inspiration of the Movement. The general population, village leaders, and outsiders all play vital roles in these activities. Villagers supply energy, special skills, and material resources. Village leaders provide instruction, advice, and supervision. Outsiders provide inspiration and advice on organizational strategies.

The results of the analysis of the data in this theme indicate a wide range of activities are carried out under a Sarvodaya label and that a rather diffuse group of actors are involved in getting the job done.

Theme Seven

Benefits of Participation in Determining
Projects, Evolving Working Methods, and
Playing Roles in Implementation

This theme is brief, comprised of four questions, the first three of which yielded quantitative "yes" and "no" responses.

Questions #1-3

<u>DATA</u>	<u>VSR</u>			<u>VL</u>			<u>SW</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Yes	No	NA	Yes	No	NA	Yes	No	NA	Yes	No	NA
1. Do you think that participation has resulted in benefits for you?	35	4	11	12	2	4	26	1	4	73	7	19
2. Do you see any relationship between program relevancy and your later use of it?	39	--	11	13	1	4	25	1	5	77	2	20
3. Do you think that Sarvodaya content will be useful to you in your future?	41	1	8	13	1	4	26	--	5	80	2	17

Question #4

If not useful, what would you suggest for the improvement of the Sarvodaya program?

DATA

Village Sample Respondents

Of 50 VSR's responding, 16 made suggestions for improvement. Twenty-five suggestions fell into nine categories:

Increase participation in and understanding of Sarvodaya (6); introduce small industry or programs for local employment (5); construction projects (5); provide financial aid and equipment (2); arrange transportation service (2); foster village unity; teach small children the ways of correct living; improve maintenance of farm so people will have employment; get government to pay salaries for two or three good teachers.

Village Leaders

Of 18 VL's responding, nine made suggestions for improvement. These suggestions fit into 11 categories:

Introduce small industry or programs for local employment (7); increase participation in and understanding of Sarvodaya (2); construction projects (2); better administration of local participation in the farm; Sarvodaya headquarters officials should visit and see our problems; Sarvodaya should get the people's opinion for every activity; Sarvodaya should get an honest person to be in charge locally; Sarvodaya should request Government health and other services for the village; children's school; organize a mother's group and a youth group; don't allow intoxicating liquor in the community.

Sarvodaya Workers

Of 31 SW's responding, only four SW's made suggestions for improvement, suggesting six separate things:

foster the people's unity; show films; distribute leaflets about what is being taught; the people should speak up; shramadanas; introduce small business or industry for local employment.

Discussion and Interpretation (1-4)

There is little that can be said about the results to questions 1-3 except that they would seem to indicate an almost total acceptance of Sarvodaya and a general feeling that it has been and will prove to be beneficial. The questions were somewhat of a "leading question" nature and might be seen as prompting positive responses were it not for previous response patterns in other themes yielding an appreciable number of negative remarks.

The responses to question #4 point up at least two phenomena: 1) the emphasis of VSR's and VL's on economic activities as compared to SW's emphasis on educational or social organization activities, and 2) the comparative non-response of SW's to the question. SW's may see the Sarvodaya program as not needing improvement or, having received considerable orientation to Sarvodaya philosophy and methodology, they are more prone to see the task as one of educating and organizing the people around Sarvodaya themes.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (1-4)

1. The possessors of a method for solving a range of problems will emphasize the method rather than the seriousness of the individual problems.

In Summary of Theme Seven

The concluding message in this theme is that of a general acceptance and appreciation of Sarvodaya. This overall impression is somewhat conditioned by the realization that the questioning process used may not have been a very appropriate means for eliciting respondent sentiments.

Theme Eight

Characteristics and Activities of Sarvodaya Workers in Promoting Villager Participation in a Sarvodaya Project

Question #1

Thinking about the activities in your village, whom can you identify as the three best facilitators (in order of merit) of the activities?

a) name: In this category, 51 facilitators were identified by the 30 respondents (27 Sarvodaya workers and three village leaders). Three of the villages surveyed generally agreed upon the three best facilitators (Dolapihilla, Kabillawela South, and Tunnana), while four did not develop that kind of consensus (Punkudutheevu, Dehigahalanda, Pitawela, and Kivulekele). Kumbukgollawa had only one respondent. With the exception of Dehigahalanda, the greater the number of respondents in a village, the more agreement there was as to who the best facilitators were.

b) age: Fifty-one facilitators were identified by the 30 respondents. The age range of the facilitators was from nineteen to sixty-two; most of the facilitators were 30 years of age or less. The age range breaks down as follows:

19-25	18
26-30	13
31-35	6
36-40	4
41-45	3
46-50	3
51-55	2
56+	1

NOTE: One facilitator's age was disputed by two respondents and has not been included here.

c) sex: Of the 48 (of 51) who were identified as male or female, 35 facilitators were identified as male and 13 as female.

d) civil status: Forty-three responses were recorded in this category.

They break down in this fashion:

married	17
unmarried	23
non sequitur	3

e) religion: The religious background of 50 of the 51 facilitators was provided.

Buddhist	44
Hindu	5
Roman Catholic	1

f) education level: Forty-four responses were obtained in this category,

with a wide variety of answers:

G.C.E.	19
S.S.C.	9
"average education"	8
Pracheena	3
arts graduate	2
Pirivena	1
Standard 7	1
Sinhala graduate	1

g) principal and secondary occupations: Forty responses were given here, only one of which gave more than one occupation. The breakdown is listed below, with some grouping of occupations when appropriate:

education		monk/priest	3
teacher	2	businessman	1
principal	1	doctor	1
		steamroller driver	1
government employee		carpenter	1
Grama Sevaka officer	1		
government clerk	1	carpenter/farmer	1
cooperative inspector	1	farmer	7
anti-malaria worker	1		
Coconut Board worker	1	unemployed	
Sarvodaya employee			
Sarvodaya worker	7		
pre-school instructor	2		

h) resident/non-resident: Forty-nine responses were recorded in this category. They break down as follows:

resident	47
non-resident	2

i) extent of land owned: Forty responses were given here, with many sub-categories, as seen below:

no land owned	9	"block of land"	1
less than 1 acre	4	"land owner"	2
1-5 acres	15	"average"	2
6 or more acres	6	"much land"	1

j) family status: In this category there were 41 responses, with three distinct types of responses. Facilitators were described as having x number of children (with no indication about a spouse), as living with parents and siblings, or as living with both. Numbers of family members were not always given. So, responses have been divided on the basis of whether or not it could be determined that a facilitator was living with his or her parent or on his or her own, with children of one's own. It is assumed that unmarried facilitators (who were generally younger) probably live with their parents rather than on their own. This is the breakdown for this category:

with parents	20
with children	15
parents & children	1
"average"	5

k) other: Thirty-eight responses were given in this category, mostly in the vein of "dedicated," "sincere," "a village leader," etc.. Beyond that the following more specific titles were noted:

Youth Group Officer	5
Rural Development Society Officer	3
Sarvodaya Organizer	3
Priest/Monk	2
Gramodaya Center Officer	3
Sarvodaya Founder	2

Discussion and Interpretation

Though there were a great number of distinct responses given to this question and its different categories, a composite picture of a 'typical' best facilitator can be put together. That person is a young (under 30), unmarried male. He is a Buddhist (reflecting the religion of the villages surveyed), has at least a G.C.E., and is a resident of the village with which he works. He is slightly more likely to be unemployed than employed; but if he is employed, it is as a farmer (with less than 5 acres of land) or as a Sarvodaya worker. He is somewhat more likely to be living with his parents than with his own children. Finally, he is probably active either as a Sarvodaya organizer or as an officer in a Sarvodaya-related group.

Beyond this, it appears that the best facilitators are readily identifiable in a village society, especially the three monks, for whom there was a higher amount of consensus than other facilitators. The obvious points of high agreement were in the 'male-ness' of the facilitators, their religious affiliation, their being residents, and their standing as leaders. Greater diversity is seen in the number of different facilitators named, their age range, the relative even division of married and unmarried facilitators, the eight different education sub-categories, the fifteen different types of employment,

the variety in amounts of land owned, and the relative closeness in the number of those living with parents and those living with children.

Principles, Concepts and Hypotheses

1. Age is an important factor in leadership in change-oriented activity with younger adults most frequently possessing the energy, idealism, enthusiasm, and open-mindedness basic to performing certain implementation roles and the older adults possessing knowledge, insights, respect, and control (based upon their past life experiences and seniority) basic to activity sanctioning and social support. Both types of roles are important but are of primary consequence at different stages in the life of a typical village project; with the younger segment usually initiating problem inquiry and solution proposal, the older groups then sanctioning (rejecting) and perhaps altering the design and the younger group then carrying out the required tasks. This concept has implications for intervention strategies in terms of which group can be approached for what purpose and also in regard to the need to avoid pitting one group against the other.

2. Proximity and similarity are important variables in determining the effectiveness of change agents primarily because of the frequent requirement of social identification between agent and client.

3. Social, economic, and related psychological changes during the different life stages of an individual (i.e. independence, marriage, supporting a family, becoming a producer and provider rather than just a consumer) have an effect upon the type of leadership role an individual can be expected to play in community development.

Question #2

How are the Sarvodaya workers (facilitators) recruited and trained?

There were 29 respondents for this question, and their answers were quite varied. The most frequent general response given was that participation in Sarvodaya activities was the mechanism for recruitment. (Also see earlier themes discussing the role of friends and respected people in influencing initial participation.) The next in frequency was Youth Group (Youn Haula) membership, followed by simple Sarvodaya membership.

The overall pattern of recruitment that develops from the total set of responses is that an individual either actively seeks Sarvodaya membership or attends Sarvodaya lectures, then participates in Sarvodaya activities (e.g., the Youn Haula, or a Shramadana project), and then is selected for training on the basis of abilities shown in those activities. Who selects people for training is not clear from these responses, with only two identifying that aspect of recruitment (by village elders and by the local Gramodaya Center).

This description of recruitment parallels the process depicted in Sarvodaya literature: Shramadana camps take place, "family gatherings" are part of those camps, and young people are selected for training at the "family gatherings."

The variety of responses to the training aspect of this question also appears to reflect the flexibility of training described in Sarvodaya literature. The short, two-week leadership training was most frequently mentioned, followed closely by training at the local Gramodaya Center. Many aspects of training are mentioned throughout

these responses: three-month training, six-month training, training at Moratuwa, at Panwila, and at Meth Medura, and training by doing (in Shramadana camps).

Question #3

Are you satisfied with the selection criteria for training? If not satisfied, what suggestions do you have to improve it?

There were 27 respondents for this question. Twenty-two answered "Yes," and five answered "No." Nine gave further suggestions for improving training (four "yes's" and all five "no's"), and one elaborated on the "Yes" answer (by saying that two weeks of training was sufficient). The suggestions for improvement were varied, aiming at higher selection standards, primarily, and at more training for all workers.

Question #4

What kind of training do they receive before and after they begin to work in Sarvodaya projects? Describe.

Twenty-eight respondents answered this question, and the distinctive feature of their answers was the lack of specificity in their replies. When there were references to pre-work training, the training is described as having revolved around Sarvodaya ideas/philosophy and/or Shramadana preparation. The "in-service" training replies were similar to the answers to Question #2: two-week and six-month training, Shramadana-related discussions and skill-training, and work at Meth Medura.

The responses to this question emphasize the perceived importance of Sarvodaya philosophy in the training received. One respondent used this question to give a specific recommendation that a number of short training courses, conferences, and Shramadana campaigns were preferable to training given only once.

Question #5

Are you satisfied with the way they are trained? If not, what suggestions do you have to improve training?

Twenty-six Sarvodaya workers responded to this question. Sixteen answered "Yes" and ten answered "No," with six "Yes's" and all ten "No's" giving suggestions for improvement. There were two threads running through these 16 suggestions. Five of the respondents suggested more (lengthier) training (e.g., the three-month training course) and four looked for greater practical training (e.g., problem-solving).

Discussion and Interpretation (2-5)

There are many different forms of, purposes for, and lengths of training in Sarvodaya's overall plan. Some training is provided within the village or nearby (district) Gramodaya Center for initiating or sustaining the development of technical or leadership skills. The providers of this training themselves are frequently ones who have been identified as particularly talented and enthusiastic and are then

given training at one of the regional Development Education Institutes or one of the national technical training centers (Tanamalwila, Meth Medura, etc.). These become the more formally designated Sarvodaya Workers.

The Sarvodaya Movement is still relatively young and can be expected to be experiencing growing pains in its efforts to provide training to so many individuals in a wide range of skill areas for use in a variety of settings for different purposes. The feedback from the four questions above would seem to indicate this. And yet, one of the major strengths of the Sarvodaya Movement may be its provision of an extensive system of training opportunities, a system designed to accommodate a wide variation of skills, purposes, and constraining forces.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses

1. The multi-faceted requirements for training in rural development programs necessitate a dynamic system of training, one which is so structured that it can respond to a diverse set of learning/skill development needs and one which functions so as to provide relatively open points and times of entry and exit for participants. The process of developing social leadership and technical skills must allow for natural and flexible self-selection (in and out) decisions. People's perceptions change as they gain and try out new experiences and knowledge. It is illogical to prepare and provide rural people with training which is time-bound, location-bound, sequence-bound, and subject-bound. Systems of non-formal training are needed which allow for the

perceptual change that accompanies skill development, experimental application, and the gathering of social-psychological support.

Question #6

What successful techniques and processes have you observed them using in their efforts to motivate the people and to simulate their participation?

This question had 28 respondents and a wide scope of successful activities. All of the techniques/processes with more than one mention are ranked below:

Shramadana	11
Children's Education	7
Children's Group†	5
Youth Group	3
Family Gatherings	3
Children's Group**	2
Mason's Class	2
Farmer's Group	2
Community Organization Process	2

* - this is what we would call a pre-school group

** - this group is an older group of children

The remainder of the answers are activities which were only mentioned once among the 28 Sarvodaya workers. They consist of work-activities (e.g., building houses), services provided (e.g., kitchens), educational activities, and more general processes (e.g., getting people of both high and low status working together).

Question #7

What special skills do facilitators bring into Sarvodaya project implementation?

There were 27 respondents for this question, which stand out because of the complete lack of consensus and the number of answers which were either non-sequiturs (5) or so vague as to be meaningless (6). No skill was mentioned more than three times. Those listed more than once are ranked below:

speaking	3
carpentry	3
agriculture	3
art	2
needlework	2

The remainder of the responses were mentioned once each and break down into 3 broad categories: (a) behavioral (e.g., smiles, taking interest, example-setting, good manners, and working according to villagers' ideas; (b) knowledge/skill (i.e., drama, decoration, literature, artisan skills, singing, dancing, batiks, weaving, mechanics, and children's education); and (c) personal qualities (e.g., respect, devotion, and cooperation).

Question #9

Do they have cultural traits such as:

<u>Trait</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes/No**</u>
a) ability to mix	27	-	-
b) good listener	26	-	-
c) authentic	24	1	2
d) democratic	24	2	-
e) non-patronizing	21	1	3
f) direct in dealings	22	-	3
g) evasive in dealings*	5	12	2

* - 3 yes's and 1 no here seemed to contradict the answers of the respondent in the immediately preceding question, indicating a possible problem in understanding the question or in the asking of the question

** - "Yes/No" indicates an in-between response.

The answers to sub-categories a-f are clear: the facilitators are perceived to have the positive qualities asked. Sub-category (g) is less clear, but facilitators are perceived as not being evasive by a strong majority. Problems with this and similar questions will be discussed later.

Discussion and Interpretation (6,7,9)

The failure to elicit responses to questions six and seven focusing on such process skills as needs/resource identification, group discussion leadership, or planning may be a result of the phrasing of the question or the lack of possession or awareness of the importance of such skills. Three responses to question six emphasized "family gatherings," two responses stressed "community organization process," and eleven pointed to the Shramadana camps. Whereas these may be seen as vehicles for accomplishing objectives; nevertheless, there is no indication that there is any awareness of the more specific skills probably needed to make these effective vehicles. This does not mean, however, that those skills are not present as they simply may not be consciously identifiable by the respondents, i.e., they may be taken for granted. The responses to question seven also seem to refer to rather abstract qualities with the exception of "speaking," technical mastery in the areas mentioned, and perhaps example-setting. Process skills are not emphasized.

Principles, Concepts and Hypotheses (6,7,9)

1. The skills and understanding basic to one's playing a role as an objective facilitator of the efforts of a group of others to solve their problems are best acquired in settings and situations other

than the affairs of that group. Process skills have to be extracted from their natural milieu and "scrutinized under a microscope" by the hopeful apprentice in order to understand them in their own right and, then, their reapplication to real life situations. Simulation training is indispensable to the preparation of effective rural development workers.

Question #8

Do you think that facilitators use their position as a vehicle for obtaining their own ends? Explain?

This question was perceived in a unique fashion by the 28 respondents. Aside from the 7 whose answers were either unclear, expressed ignorance, or were non-sequiturs, 19 of the remaining 21 responses were positive whether they answered yes or no. Specifically, this was the breakdown:

Positive Yes	8
Positive No	11
Negative Yes	2
Unclear, etc.	7

Discussion and Interpretation

Three "No's" elaborate one positive way of looking at this question: facilitators don't use their positions selfishly because they work on self-help projects as if it is their own personal work and they have "common objectives" with village people. The positive "Yes's" interpreted the facilitators ends as being the ends of the Sarvodaya Movement. So, when facilitators use their positions for

their own ends, they do it for their cooperative farm or to use their abilities or for "development," as one respondent put it. There were only two answers that indicated any manipulation by facilitators.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses

1. "Inside" change agents whose objectives converge with those of the target group for their efforts will not be seen as manipulative by that group.

2. Facilitators must help maintain group focus at levels where consensus can occur or at least strike a positive balance between group maintenance tasks and tasks designed to meet the immediate needs of specific members.

In Summary of Theme 8

This theme contains rich information about the perceived characteristics of facilitators and the activities which are reported as valuable in Sarvodaya village development projects. From the data in this theme, the facilitators are depicted as relatively similar to the people with whom they work, especially in relation to religion, age, civil status, employment, residence, land owned, and (perhaps) education. They are described as having cultural traits deemed to be productive in development work, and they appear to use their positions unselfishly.

In relation to techniques, processes, and skills, a wide range is described here for facilitators. However, Shramadana camps are perceived to be central to facilitator activities. They, plus children's activities, are seen to be more successful than others. Although there

is overall satisfaction with recruiting and training, there is definite data indicating the need for more training, especially practical training beyond the initial training at a Sarvodaya Center.

The training feedback comes from the people involved most vitally with improvements in training, so the data is relatively stable. But questions 6 through 9 may be a trifle suspect in that the answers may be self-serving. What is needed is directing similar questions at Sarvodaya participants, to see if the Sarvodaya workers' perceptions are corroborated. It was initially intended that this would happen but a decision was made in the field to raise these questions only to the Sarvodaya workers. This has resulted in the obvious loss of a comparative perspective on villager-Sarvodaya worker views of the nature of the work of the Sarvodaya worker.

Theme Nine

Nature and Duration of Relationship Between Facilitators and Client Community

Question #1

How would you, in your own terms, describe this relationship, in general?

There were 29 respondents for this question. With the exception of one negative response (that high status people were jealous), one "in between" response (cooperation limited to one section of the village), and one non-sequitur, the responses were overwhelmingly positive.

Data

<u>Descriptive</u>		<u>Active</u>	
cooperation/unity	7	help given when needed	2
kinship/family	4	visiting the poor	2
friendship	4	meetings/discussions	1
equality	2	villagers seek	
intimate	2	Sarvodaya aid	1
understanding	1	worker treated as	
good will via Shramadana	1	"respected elder"	1
harmonious	1		
successful	1		
better than among villagers	1		
"good connection"	1		

As can be seen, the description of this relationship is filled with warmly positive adjectives and words (drawn out of all the respondents). The actions above were illustrations in the positive descriptions.

Question #2

Please describe an example of a good relationship with which you are familiar.

Data

<u>Sarvodaya process activities</u> (12)		<u>Qualities of participants and their interaction</u>	(5)
Shramadana	6		
"family gatherings"	1	unselfishness	1
general community development process	2	well-mannered behavior	1
		"family relationship"	1
home visits	1	people called "Brother from Sarvodaya"	1
home visits by mothers in Children's Group	1	"working with agreement"	1
annual parent-school collaboration	1		
		<u>Other (results)</u>	
<u>Project activities</u> (6)		the "frowned upon" changed their ways	2
road-widening	2	trust through "Bana"	
cleaning wells	1	sermons	1
clearing "chamas"	1	mothers' and children's welfare	1
emergency transportation	1		
catching thieves	1		

As with the other open-ended questions, there is a wide range of answers here. Again, the Shramadana camps are the most common responses as positive in the Sarvodaya activities. The remainder of the answers are varied, with about an even split between concrete activities and less specific responses (e.g., well-mannered behavior).

Question #3

Describe one which you consider bad.

Bad	(8)	"No such thing"	(11)
"exists in some"	2	"No"	(1)
elitism/caste	4		
leadership desires	1	Non-sequitur/unclear answer	(6)
lack of participation	1	"Cannot be explained"	(1)
"In Between"	(1)		

The responses here split among those which cite bad relationships, those which deny them (the plurality), and those which do not deal with the question. It would appear, on the face of it, that bad relationships are not frequent (especially since three elitism/caste responses come from a single village). Yet there is a concern that these answers are self-serving and need to be supplemented by villagers' responses.

Discussion and Interpretation (1-3)

Again, as in other themes, the primacy of intimate social relationships and the personal social qualities of individuals in the minds of the respondents is clear. Beyond that, an ability to outwardly display a concern for the welfare of others is emphasized. Finally, actual involvement in projects the community accepts as worthwhile is stressed as important. Client-facilitator relationships would seem to be predicated upon such factors as these, at least in the minds of the respondent-facilitators.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses (1-3)

1. Facilitators will emphasize "social know-how" as most important in determining enduring positive relationships with the client community. The client community will emphasize the facilitator's ability to help solve problems as being the most important factor.

Question #4

Do you think that the people here may sometimes come to depend too much upon a facilitator? Yes _____. No _____. If yes, why does this happen?

Data

Yes

10

No

9

why

cheap clothes expected
unemployment
'vihara'
expect everything to be done
Sarvodaya philosophy and practice
road maintenance
workers looked up to
success

why

only village development
expected
only expect what can be
done

Non-sequiturs/noncommittal
answers

8

As with the previous question, the responses divide up three ways. The "Yes" response has a slight plurality, with dependence growing out of concrete needs, Sarvodaya activities, and the consequences of success. Yet the "No" responses are almost as great, but with an emphasis upon villagers being realistic in terms of what can be done. The third category may indicate an avoidance of answers which might be distasteful to respondents (as in the previous question). An obvious divergence of opinion exists.

Question #5

Do facilitators sometimes do things which result in their creating too much dependence upon them by the people. Yes _____. No _____. If yes, what are these things which they do?

Data

<u>Yes</u>	7	<u>No</u>	13
<u>why</u>		<u>why</u>	
encouragement		workers do only what's necessary	
helping with harvests		workers give hints on solutions	
Shramadana camps		training	
injections			
"service"		<u>"Cannot say"</u>	1
"Quite natural that these hopes should spring up."		<u>Non-sequitur</u>	3
		<u>Wrong question</u>	1

The majority of respondents here felt that facilitators did not do anything to encourage dependence among villagers, as part of their training and activities. Yet the activities described in the "Yes" answers also depict Sarvodaya workers' typical activities. So, it would appear from this answer alone that dependence flows from project activities and is indeed "quite natural." It is important to remember that Sarvodaya workers are mostly residents of the villages in which they work and, although one of their stated objectives is to help others "awake" and get involved in the development process, it may well happen that these workers must fill leadership vacuums in the early stages.

Question #6

In what ways do people become dependent upon a facilitator?

Data

Expectations of: needs being met
community building
labor and money for individual work
a job
village awakening (2)
improvement

Expectations of: labor
(Cont.) houses, latrines, money
Shramadana camps and economic help (2)
vaccinations
"words and action"

"High hopes" (2)

Faith

Shared work and shared food

No (3)

Non-sequitur (2)

Except for the final five answers listed, the 'ways' of dependence grow out of expectations, faith, and hopes - for a variety of concrete services, all of which fall under the rubric of Sarvodaya development activities. As with the last question, dependence may flow from daily Sarvodaya work, i.e. as projects unfold, those who take the initiative may become depended upon by others.

Question #7

Do facilitators retire from the carrying out of local (village) projects without damaging or reducing the chances of success of the projects?

Please comment.

Data

Yes	2	Non-committal	1
No (they stand aside - they left in a friendly manner)	6	"Haven't left"	6
Non-sequitur	9		

Only eight answers respond directly to the question asked. For 16 respondents, the answers defused the question. The reasons for this pattern are obvious. The question could have been resisted; it could have been misunderstood by respondents; it may be badly phrased; or it may not be applicable, given the fact that a vast majority of the facilitators were identified (in Theme 8) as village residents who cannot "retire" from projects.

Question #8

Do the people ever initiate or carry out projects on their own without the assistance or suggestions of "outside" facilitators? Yes ____.

No _____. If yes, how so.

Data

<u>Yes</u>	16	<u>No</u>	11
<u>how</u>		<u>why</u>	
"They're getting used to it." via Rural Dev. Society/Ladies Soc. aid for funerals via village custom via village organization farming/gardening Sarvodaya workers with outside help getting medical aid via school/temple Shramadana 'Kantha Samithie'		cannot do it alone need assistance no unity Sarvodaya help needed	
		<u>Non-sequitur</u>	2

There is a definite split here. The "Yes's" point out various village structures that carry out self-help projects. Two "Yes" answers also point to the use of outside Sarvodaya help in projects.

Discussion and Interpretation (4-8)

Sarvodaya workers are "inside" change agents, residents of the community in which they work but trained, guided, and supported by a national organization. They are villagers themselves who have received special training, the results of which are supposed to have a multiplying or spread effect within the village. This can only happen if the inside agent is able to assume an objective stance regarding the other citizens of his community and do what is necessary to influence their positive involvement in the social action process for community improvement. The responses to the above questions would seem to indicate that Sarvodaya workers experience considerable difficulty in assuming roles of catalyst, encourager, and counselor and more frequently end up being doers, organizers, and gatekeepers.

Sarvodaya is one of several vehicles within the villages for accomplishing community development objectives. It is not clear from the data what the nature of the relationship with these other vehicles might be.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses (4-8)

1. The roles of broker, mediator and facilitator require keen senses of judgement, timing, sequence, and priority as well as empathic ability among other qualities. Whereas an "inside" change agent may possess these qualities, it will be comparatively more difficult for him than for an outside agent to exercise these qualities in efforts to bring about wide participation by others in his community because of the demands and constraints imposed by familiarity and social intimacy.

2. Conversely, to number one above, an "inside" change agent has the potential to do more continuous good in his community than an outside agent. To actualize this potential, (s)he must overcome the obvious constraining forces mentioned. "He must care, but he must remain objective."

Question #9

How do facilitators generally treat the people here in "this" village?

Data

Sarvodaya services (54):

Shramadana-6, pre-school-6, latrines-4, health services-4, roads-3, jobs-3, "everything possible"-2, 'chevas'-2, temple-2, vaccinations-2, medicine-2, wells-2, schools-2, library-2, transportation-1, emergencies-1, cooperative farm-1, festivals-1, roofs-1, houses-1, work-1, money-1, training-1, education-1, recreation-1, home visits-1.

Qualitative responses (4):

"very well"-2, "like children of one mother"-1, respect-1.

Non-sequitur (3)

The answers were overwhelmingly concrete, i.e. descriptive of specific activities and services. This could reflect either a concrete orientation of the respondents or a mis-reading of the question, i.e. treat = "to do for."

Question #10

<u>Data</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
- Are the facilitators over-protective?	21	-
- Do the facilitators allow participants to keep on making mistakes?	25	2
- Are the facilitators patronizing only?	4	20
- Are the facilitators directive or bossy?	1	24
- Do they accept the ideas and suggestions of the people?*	20	1

*6 responses here were of a "yes and no" type, i.e., "accept the good, reject the bad" - or, a "majority" do so.

The obvious discrepancy between the first two sets of responses is probably due to a reading of "over-protective" as being a positive quality, with the respondent not understanding the less-than-desirable effects this may often have in creating dependency relationships.

Question #11

How do the people treat facilitators?

<u>Data</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes-No</u>	<u>Unclear, Wrong?</u>
- obsequious?	20	-	-	4
- overly warm?	23	2	2	-
- lip-service only?	-	22	3	-
- hostile?	1	23	4	-
- evasive?	1	23	2	3
- indifferent (non-committal)?	-	-	-	-

The people are described as obsequious and overly warm to facilitators, yet they seem not to give only lip-service to them, nor are they perceived to be hostile or evasive.

Question #12

Perhaps the people treat different facilitators differently, depending upon certain background characteristics of the facilitators. Are the people more likely to treat a facilitator better on the basis of whether or not:

<u>Data</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes-No</u>	<u>Unclear</u>	<u>Wrong?</u>
a) he has the ability to converse with them, in a convincing manner?	23	1	1	-	1
b) he is of the same village?	17	5	-	-	3
c) he is of the same community?	15	9	-	-	2
d) he is of the same social class?	12	11	-	1	3
e) he is of the same religion?	11	12	-	1	3
f) he has similar values and beliefs?	13	7	-	-	2
g) he has similar experience?	15	6	-	1	3

With the exception of (e), respondents here in this overall question indicated that these factors do affect good treatment of facilitators, from the bare majority in (d) to the near unanimity in (a). In rank order, conversing ability was deemed to have the greatest effect on how a facilitator was treated, followed by being of the same village, being of similar experience, being of the same community, being

of similar values and beliefs, and (barely) being of the same social class. And religion had a slim majority of one in being not a difference, though it obviously does make a difference to almost half of respondents in (e) (and may not be an issue in the villages surveyed, with the marked religious delineations in Sri Lankan society). It is clear that these characteristics do have a perceived influence in the treatment of community development facilitators.

Discussion and Interpretation (9-12)

Sarvodaya workers see themselves as doing good and specific things for the people. They tend to see themselves as open, caring, helpful, and tolerant of mistakes. They see themselves as being liked and appreciated by the people. And yet they also feel that the factors of social ability, residence, class, religion, values, and experiences are of some consequences in affecting villager attitudes toward them.

Principles, Concepts, and Hypotheses (9-12)

1. Social identity is no doubt an important variable in human relationships. It may oftentimes be a positive force in facilitating an exchange of opinions among individuals by guaranteeing an audience. It may sometimes be a negative force on social change however, because of the force of group pressure on members to conform to group norms, thereby hindering individual innovation that might stand to benefit the total group later. "Inside" change agents will find it difficult to walk the thin line between group expectations and the opportunities of introducing new ideas.

2. In highly "affiliative" rural village communities, ways and means must be found to induce social change through "group innovation" processes.

In Summary of Theme 9

The perceptions of the client-facilitator relationship here provide both vivid data and raise questions which can only be answered with further research. In this theme, as in the last, the relationship of villagers and Sarvodaya workers is perceived as warm. This relationship is seen to flow out of concrete actions by Sarvodaya workers, actions which are integral to Sarvodaya's work and philosophy, but actions which may also lead to a "natural" dependence. That dependence could come from the normal process of Sarvodaya projects: a need is raised in a village, the need is met (via a Shramadana campaign), and the meeting of the need raises the expectations of villagers, who then rely upon Sarvodaya workers for further help.

Yet the "warning" stated in the previous theme and earlier in this one applies here also: similar questions must be asked of villagers, too, so that we can flesh out the composite of the relationship in question. That would help resolve the issues of how self-serving the responses here might be, how over-protective facilitators might be, and how villagers perceive their response to facilitators. Asking the villagers would also help clarify whether dependence is a normal product in development projects and whether it diminishes over time.

The Sarvodaya worker is a potential bridge between indigenous and world culture, between a community of which (s)he is a part and a set

of larger forces for change (in this case represented by the Sarvodaya Movement). (S)he is the potential key to a better future for many of Sri Lanka's villages. The strengthening of the capabilities of these workers is one of the most important challenges facing the Movement.

Theme Ten

Nature of Participation in Sanctioning and Legitimizing Sarvodaya Activities: Roles People Play in Determining What Will Take Place in the Village

Village Sample Respondents and Village Leaders, with a few exceptions, were not administered theme ten (and eleven). This decision was made in the field by the interviewers following some discussion amongst themselves. The general feeling was that themes 8 and 9 were not appropriate for VSR's and VL's, and that SW's could provide the information needed. Unfortunately, the interviewers had not been made conscious of the need to obtain perceptual data from players of different roles, and especially from VSR's and VL's regarding SW role performance. Themes 10 and 11 simply became an add-on aspect of the decision to drop 8 and 9.

In essence, theme 10 focuses on the village legitimizers of Sarvodaya activities, those having a negative influence on legitimation efforts, reasons for legitimizing or not legitimizing the activities, and the decision-making process whereby activities are or are not legitimized. The data which follows here, then, is from Sarvodaya Workers only.

Question #1

In your view which persons in the village are important in giving legitimacy to Sarvodaya activities?

DATA

Priest	17
Teacher	9
Mudalali	8
Ayurvedic Physician	6
Elders	5
Sarvodaya/Gramodaya Off.	5
Village Leaders	4
Gramasevaka	4
All the villagers	3
RDS President	3
Coconut Board Member	3
Government Officials	2
NA	3

Single mentions (20):
Northern Province Director;
V.C. Members; Death Aid Society
Members; Temple Society Members;
Cooperatives Workers; Carpenter;
Clerk; the educated; those with
socio-economic status; any good
person; by name (8); Mahatma
Ghandi; Vinoba Bhave.

Question #2

Whose association would negatively affect the gaining of legitimation?

DATA

No such people	12	Illiterate	1
Social deviants	3	Poor	1
Irreligious	1	Teachers who do not like social service	1
Alcoholics		Officers of other village groups who feel threatened	1
Politically alienated	1	Tradition-bound elders	1
Exploiters	1	By name	2
Disappointed, ambitious leaders	1	NA	7
Local politicians	1		

Question #3

Do you know what the reasons are for these people to give or not give legitimacy to Sarvodaya activities? Describe.

DATA

Reasons for giving legitimacy (19):

Past performance and benefits derived; service rendered to the village (2); social services rendered by noble people like teachers; because the leaders are knowledgeable people; priest and elders understand the village's conditions and the people accept what they say; if the leadership is given

to recognized village leaders; cooperation among the leaders; existence of organizational ability; mediation of the priest and advice of the teacher and native physician; Sarvodaya Workers have the ability to convince the people; SW's are respectable villagers; concern of the SW's for the village; general reception of Sarvodaya (2); persons involved have a community concern; activities and fellow villagers' well-being; cooperative action; people's belief in Sarvodaya's honesty.

Reasons for not giving legitimacy (11):

Political involvements (3); differences of opinion; ethic and caste discrimination; villagers' fear of exploiters; desires for personal gain; selfishness; persons involved have a selfish concern; the intelligent and educated are selfish, unsocial, and do not participate; ignorance of the Movement.

NA (9):

Question #4

Describe how the people of the village go about determining whether or not a Sarvodaya project is appropriate for the village.

DATA

Responses (18):

If it is for the benefit of all (3); according to the merits and potential rewards of the project; the popular reception of the projects (2); because of the support of the people; service rendered to the village; financial assistance to be received; desire for development; improvements in the village; religious activities conducted; no caste or class differences involved; because the youth behave well; leaflets, magazines, and films

help the people understand Sarvodaya; by listening to the ideas expressed; negative remarks from non-participants.

NA (14):

Discussion and Interpretation (1-4)

A range of types serve as legitimizers of Sarvodaya activities within the village. Village-by-village comparisons (through not illustrated here) indicate that these legitimizers are not always the same people. In general, the priest stands out.

The respondents seemed inclined to reject the notion that anyone would seriously negatively affect efforts to obtain, legitimization of Sarvodaya activities (question #2, "no such people" = 12). However, it must be remembered that all of the respondents in this case were Sarvodaya Workers. Those "anti-legitimizers" identified were pictured as basically socially undesirable types.

Reasons for giving legitimation of Sarvodaya activities were seen as being based upon expected benefits, the quality of leadership, and the general receptiveness toward Sarvodaya. Reasons for not giving legitimacy were seen as resulting from social differences, personal selfishness, and ignorance of Sarvodaya.

The responses to question #4 indicate a misinterpretation of the intended meaning of the question. The intention was to elicit information regarding the decision-making process people go through to reach conclusions for accepting or rejecting an activity. The responses instead somewhat mirror the responses (related to reasons for giving legitimacy) in the previous question.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (1-4)

1. Advocates of a cause are not objective in their views of why others may not be receptive to that cause.

In Summary of Theme X

Sarvodaya invokes a wide range of positional and status types as legitimizers of the activities which unfold in the village. Anti-legitimizers are seen as socially deficient whereas legitimizers are pictured as seeing the value of Sarvodaya.

Because of the failure to obtain data on this theme from VSR's and VL's there is no means for cross-referencing the responses from SW's.

Theme Eleven

Functional Outcomes Of Participation In Development Projects: General Changes That Are Perceived As Having Taken Place In Participants And Which Are Felt To Be A Direct Result Of Their Participation

As with theme ten, this theme was administered to all Sarvodaya Workers and to only a few VSR's and VL's. VSR and VL responses are, therefore, not included in the analysis.

Essentially, this theme focuses on behavioral changes perceived as occurring as a result of Sarvodaya activities, respondent identification of underlying principles, perceived relationships between participation and the sustaining and spread of project effects, the effects of participation on motivation to participate in future projects, and potential barriers to motivation to participate.

Question #1

Can you provide me with a few specific examples of changes that have occurred in those who have participated? Please describe.

DATA

Responses (24) (Written in a continuous narrative format.)

There is change. Our culture was degenerating. Even the visit to the temple was becoming a thing of the past. Since the Sarvodaya started its activities there has been a revival of our old customs. People want to carry out new activities, but in accordance with religion and culture. Non-

participants in religious activities now participate. Even the young people were reluctant to work in the farms. As a result of these activities they have been tempted to do that kind of work.

The people no longer take liquor or indulge in gambling. There is less disorderliness. They have taken steps to improve themselves. They dress more simply and neatly. They emulate the qualities of persons of exemplary status. They have changed their attitudes and acquired better moral principles.

We have provided opportunity to persons, who used to just waste their time shouting and doing meaningless things in the village, to now act according to their individual capabilities. People now live in harmony, in closer relationship to each other. They have given up their personal differences and are friendlier.

The school children's behavior has improved. They have better conduct and more pleasant speech and now hold their parents in high esteem. They speak with everyone today. The parents have tried to teach their children the Sarvodaya path. All youth now participate in the youth groups. The girls are no longer idle. They now earn income through hempcraft. The children have learned to live together. The people no longer feel that it is bad for boys and girls to do things together.

The people now participate and work together in unity and friendliness. They continue the earlier work with a greater enthusiasm and sense of responsibility. Many differences and misunderstandings in the village have disappeared. Although some political differences still exist, the people disregard them, cooperate in spite of their jealousies, and work in harmony. Racial differences have been overcome. There is greater equanimity. Even the rich now participate.

The people now participate more freely and with greater interest in common activities. There has been a general improvement in beliefs and feelings. The people have lost their shyness. There is more speaking up and participating in "family gathering" activities. Even the elders contribute recitations and songs. There is more participation in classes and groups. Mother's group members now help each other in many activities. And then there is the learning of the children. (Only people have changed. The reference to a change is made about people. People did not know anything good. They behaved in an unsatisfactory manner. They did not know to bring up a child well. These caste differences. They did not know to say that caste discrimination was bad. Only old people observed sil. Now it is not so. After this Sarvodaya center was established even a small child who can just walk, is sent to observe sil. Flowers are offered. There are small pictures and images of the Buddha in every house. The village has been cleaned and has been brought to a good level during this period.) This last enclosed statement is a VSR response.

Question #2

What can you surmise from this? Is there some general principle you can see here between participation and behavioral change? Please explain.

DATA

Responses (22) - (Written in a continuous narrative format.)

Participation brings changes. It influences a desire to do social service. It influences social isolates to lose their disinterestedness and ignorance and join together with others in activities. They become more enthusiastic and their behavior more refined. The people behave as mentioned after learning about Sarvodaya.

The people now have an idea of how to live in the village as a good citizen. They no longer hold certain false beliefs. There is a general knowledge and acceptance of Sarvodaya principles. The people now have the conviction that they must cooperate in community activities like Shramadanas. They now understand the difference between conducting one's own affairs and doing it with the participation of others.

The training received through Shramadanas helps people now come forward without stage fright at group meetings and "family gatherings." The people are more educated now. There now exists a means to overcome personal differences. Religious values and social equality have been influenced by Sarvodaya.

A pre-school was formed. Parents have greater faith in the youth now. A jute industry was established. Financial assistance has been given to the very poor people. Time-wasters, given a place in occasions such as cultural and New Year festivals, now join in and work with others. There is much satisfaction from past projects.

After seeing people from outside villages giving assistance through Shramadana camps, the people who had not been involved before have subsequently participated. (Earlier, only a few people joined in Shramadanas. On the day they made the road, the other people hooted and jeered at them. But they worked silently, without taking any care. Later, those who hooted at them also came and joined. There were some people who did not allow them to walk through their fields. But when they saw the road being built, they also joined.) A VSR response,

Question #3

Do you see any relationship between the type and extent of village partici-

pation, on the one hand, and the ability of a development project to sustain itself? Please explain.

DATA

Yes	7	NA	6
No	7	Improper question	11

Comments

"Only through people's participation can success be attained."

"Gathering to attend to community work with great enthusiasm and interest as if the activity was a personal matter."

"There were many problems in the village that would not be solved. There was a road across the paddy fields which could not be used. We collectively attended to it and put it right."

"A close relationship could be seen due to the assessibility of such projects as common activities."

"The Sarvodaya Movement helped in the activities of the Village Development Society and vice versa."

Question #4

Is there any relationship between participation and the ability of a project or learning activity to have a spread effect? Please explain.

DATA

Yes	16	NA	4
No	--	Improper question	5

Comments

"After successful participation, there is a tendency for it to spread."

"Through participation the project was a success."

"They were able to gain something as a result of their participation in the training courses we held here."

"Spiritual qualities are cultivated through Sarvodaya educational courses. Through their disciplinary activities, participation results."

"It is not only a theoretical knowledge. Practical knowledge can be gained by participating. Comprehensive knowledge can be obtained."

"When development activities are done in the village, then there is participation."

"Showing their love of community work by working together with a feeling of brotherhood."

"Even before the introduction of Sarvodaya to the village there were collective activities. The incidence of such activities increased after the establishment of Sarvodaya. We came to understand that a large amount of work could be done by collective action."

"A training in co-habitation and collective activities is given by participation and educational programs."

"The main reason could be the politeness seen in the Sarvodaya workers."

"After giving a training to brothers and sisters on educational levels, they will go to their own villages and start Shramadana campaigns and other activities which no one could do in that village before, and also they managed to collect people for these activities."

"When we consider the training courses, we can direct them to some development activity. It is possible to say that the practical training is useful to give them an education."

Question #5

Do you say that the people are adequately motivated after taking part in Sarvodaya projects to participate in future projects?

<u>DATA</u>	<u>VSR</u>	<u>VL</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	10	3	27	40
No	1	--	1	2
NA	40	15	3	58

Twenty-seven Sarvodaya workers responded with a "yes" to question #5. Of these 27, only one gave no reason for his position. Of the remaining 26, twenty-two of the workers identified economic factors as being one of the reasons for people participating in Sarvodaya projects both presently and in the future.

Political factors were said to have nothing to do with participation in future Sarvodaya projects by 12 of the Sarvodaya workers, and three Sarvodaya workers felt these political factors would have a potential negative influence on such participation. Only one worker felt that political factors might have a positive influence on participation.

Personality factors were seen by seven Sarvodaya workers as having no influence on future project participation. Three workers felt that personality factors might have a negative influence on such participation, and one Sarvodaya worker felt that personality factors would have a positive influence on participation in future projects.

Question #5

If no to #5 above, what factors can you identify which hinder motivation to participate?

DATA

"If Sarvodaya joins in party politics, those who take a lead in such activities will join one party and will work in close association with it. In the future, there is the possibility not to join in such activities."

"No. The reasons for this are: its being not so useful or profitable as expected, as the people have not been provided with public buildings as expected at the beginning, and not keeping the promises made to them at the start.

Not distributing the profits of the farm, and not providing them with any up-to-date information regarding it."

"Some people may try to obstruct the activities of the Movement if they feel that they are prejudiced. If the functions of the Movement are run smoothly, they will not have an opportunity to create any obstruction."

("That is, when Sarvodaya does work some people say, 'We are wasting our time. It is better to do politics. Through politics we can get our things done. It is better to do politics than to work at Sarvodaya.' "...Some people say that unlike at the beginning Sarvodaya itself does not continue its development work now as in the past. Those who wanted jobs, found jobs. After building the road, they did nothing. Now there is nothing... Some of the people do not like to rely on Sarvodaya... That does not mean that the people do not like it. But they say they do not continue their development work as in the past. If they do something to develop the village, we also will support them. Now those people have found jobs. So, the progress which was there (earlier) cannot be seen now.") A VSR response.

Discussion and Interpretation (1-6)

Behavioral changes among participants in Sarvodaya activities, as perceived by SW's, emphasize a revitalization of traditional religious and cultural values, improvements in personal conduct as reflected in speech and dress, greater social cohesion and affinity, more concern for and involvement in community activity, and less shyness and reticence to participate.

Perceived principles underlying these changes emphasize the people now having ideals to live by, their realization of the value of group work, the social training received through shramadana experiences, the ready incorporation of the talents of even the disruptive and recalcitrant members of the village, and the learning from the examples set by others.

It is not clear whether the respondents understood question #3 and 4 or not. Question #3 was also improperly posed eleven times and question #4 was improperly posed five times. Usually each question represents such a complex concept that it is probably not possible to elicit the desired information with a single question.

For question #5, Sarvodaya Workers suggested that economic factors could strongly influence participation in future projects. Political and personality factors were seen as having no or negative impact on participation. The responses to question #6 were few but tended to emphasize either the threat of political contamination or the failure of Sarvodaya to achieve certain expected results.

Principles, Concepts, Hypotheses (1-6)

1. Pro-social behavior is not developed in a vacuum. It must be planted as a 'seedling' of an ideal, given freedom for experimentation in experiential

learning, and nurtured through human concern for others and the wise counsel of those who have previously ventured the paths to be taken. Most importantly, it is influenced by example.

2. Development efforts, guided by a rigid ethic and inflexible doctrine, crack like glass under the weight of resistance and exception. Organizational and process structures of social movements must incorporate the possibility for deviation and absorption in order to remain vibrant and effective in marshalling human energy for problem encounter.

In Summary of Theme XI

This theme suggests that Sarvodaya does influence behavioral change in a very specific and positive direction. The medium of collective action socializes participants while assuring a critical mass of energy and resources to tackle the problems at hand. Whether or not projects pay an economic dividend seemingly becomes a final yardstick for the measurement of the continuing motivation of impoverished people to participate in development activity.

On-Going Research:

A Plan

A Final Summary: In Retrospect

Participative education programming, as manifested through the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, must be seen in the large context of:

1. a national movement which covers more than 3000 villages,
2. the number of people involved within the villages and training centers,
3. the range of activities and accomplishments to date,
4. the cultural, religious, and communal footings of the Movement,
5. the short history of the Movement,
6. the present support of the Movement expressed publicly by the present government, and
7. the fundamental character of the Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya vis a viz village realities, possibilities, economy, and participatory programming.

On-Going Research: A Plan

PEP Stage II: Action Research

PEP, State I, represents a precursory effort to identify relevant concepts and principles basic to the promotion of popular participation in educational programming. As such, the methodology used was that of an inductive nature, using thematic questionnaires to collect data. The data under study is to result in the identification of the principles, concepts, and hypotheses for PEP, Stage II.

PEP, Stage II, would represent an effort to field test, through a carefully monitored and evaluated action research project, conceptual foundations previously established. The idea here is to monitor what happens as it happens in order to learn from the deductive treatment of our assumptions and notions about what is necessary to promote rural community development and mass participation in it.

The following is to suggest steps that need to be taken in order to actualize the above objectives.

1. A Collaborative Mode

- a. Sarvodaya would obtain a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development for the support of PEP, Stage II.
- b. Sarvodaya would contract with a U.S. institution (university or private organization) for consultative inputs into the design and implementation of PEP II.

2. The Design Process and Plan

- a. Following careful efforts to delineate clearly the basic concepts and principles of PEP, Sarvodaya would design action projects to be conducted in three separate districts for the purpose of researching and evaluating PEP II.
- b. That PEP II be conducted in the three sites under varied conditions, but under the same framework.

3. Preparatory Training: Training would be a major component in PEP II, with the following considerations:

- a. such training should draw and build on existing local information and understanding.
- b. Schemes for organizing local people and leaders for training purposes need to be designed.
- c. An understanding of the types of social organizational and physical facilities needed to support such training would be sought.
- d. Outside resource specialists should be helped to learn how to work with local people.
- e. Local people need to be helped to learn how to mobilize and utilize local resources and interact effectively with outside resources.
- f. Persons trained should become "trainers of others", by participating in programs where an emphasis is placed on inter-personal and communication skills to accompany the imparting of substantive knowledge.

4. Monitoring the Field Experiment.

That the results of this effort be collected, studied, and put into a form suitable for the training of others from other countries in PEP.

5. Formative and Summative Evaluation: that a careful effort be made to design and test evaluation methods and instruments themselves, as the field effort unfolds and at its conclusion (hypothetical).

PEP Stage III: Dissemination

Following the field testing of the principles, concepts, and hypotheses identified thus far plus others that would result from the collaborative design process, an effort should be made to capitalize upon the lessons

learned in a manner yielding benefits to others in the Asian region. It is, therefore, proposed that Sarvodaya, subsequently, obtain a grant for PEP III, having the following features:

1. an international workshop/training conference/ field intership to introduce a carefully selected group of individuals from various countries in South and Southeast Asia to PEP.
2. That these individuals design for implementation in their home country small-scale PEP-type projects, all to be carefully monitored and evaluated using the same general PEP framework but with each project adapted to or based upon culturally-specific phenomena.

PEP Stage IV: Networking

1. An international conference be held for cross-cultural transfer of knowledge acquired from the country projects, individually and collectively.
2. That a Regional (Asian) international network of PEP scholars be established for the purpose of promoting a continuing development and understanding of the principles of PEP among Asian scholars and practitioners.

A Parallel Development

It would seem to be highly important to the Sarvodaya Movement as a whole that there exists sufficient capability to do the basic foundational research needed by the Movement and to evaluate the direction and effectiveness of what the Movement hopes to have happen as it happens.

Because of the nature of the socio-cultural milieu within which the Movement works and because of the unique strategies being employed by the Movement, there also exist invaluable opportunities to advance knowledge related to development, both for the good of the Movement and for those involved in development work elsewhere.

As the Movement grows and becomes more complex, there will also be an increasing need to evaluate various activities. Such evaluation will provide necessary feedback for re-assessing and re-charting the direction of the Movement's activities, as well as provide the basic data for Movement related literature.

In response to the above assumptions, I would like to suggest that the Movement be helped to undertake the task of strengthening the Research Center by the following means.

1. Apply for a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development.
2. Using the support provided by such a grant, contract with a U.S. university for professional inputs into the Research Center development.
3. Arrange with that U.S. institution to send selected members of the Research Center staff there for professional training in research and evaluation methodology, some training to be short-term in nature and some to be degree-related.
4. Arrange for the accommodation of advanced graduate students and faculty from the U.S. institution to participate in Sarvodaya Research and evaluation activities.
5. Develop a comprehensive and long-range plan for research and evaluation activities, identifying and putting in priority the important needs of the Movement.
6. Establish relevant aspects of an extensive 'social laboratory' in the field, developing the capability of the Sarvodaya staff at the Gramodaya and Regional Educational Development Institute levels for participating in the research and evaluation activities.
7. That ultimately, the Movement aim to establish a monitoring and evaluation system for its work in Sri Lanka, as well as in other countries.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Voices from the Village

Response of Villager from Dolapihilla

Question:....You seem to be an ardent believer in Ghandian philosophy. Have you got anything more to say?

Answer:

In every epoch, when the world was seeped in sorrow, there have come great men bringing salvation. They are like Buddha, Jesus Christ and Ghandi. But in our age, Sarvodaya functions having as its ideal the oneness and unity of Humanity. It will no doubt bring in the Kingdom of Goodness and Charity like the Kingdom of Rama. I may well call Mr. Ariyaratne, the driving force of this movement, as a little King Asoke. By dint of his wisdom he spreads this movement throughout this country. It will dispel ignorance, poverty and sorrow.

Theme III:

1. How did the Sarvodaya Movement get started in the village? Describe.

Village #1

Village Leaders (VL)

"The Sarvodaya Movement was introduced into this village about seven or eight years ago. But before this movement was introduced, the elders in the village had been spreading the policies and concepts of this movement. Out of those who were engaged in this in those days, Mr. I. was the most notable personality."

"It started two or three years ago."

Sarvodaya Workers (SW)

"It has been functioning since 1973."

"I have been associated with Sarvodaya since I was ten years old. It was institutionalized in this village only about six years ago. That was in 1972."

Village #2

Village Leaders

"About two or three years back a young girl came to our village and went about for four or five days. When we asked her what she wanted she said that she wanted to introduce Sarvodaya into this village. But she never explained to us what Sarvodaya was, and as a result we did not like that and we did not cooperate with her."

Village #3

Village Sample Respondents

"The Sarvodaya Movement first started at the temple. It was organized on a small scale by the Buddhist priest and a few youngsters."

Village #3 (cont'd)

We never thought that this would be a successful organization. At the time there was a rumor that these activities were the work of insurgents and this was published everywhere. Therefore, we never took any interest in it. Then later our youngsters joined and began to work to inform us about it. After this there was a large improvement."

"First they organized carpentry work. Then there was a training course to train masons by Sarvodaya. In those days there was a lack of proper understanding among us about this. During our attendance at the temple we came to know about these activities. Now we are more anxious to be involved, even day-to-day."

"First, a class in masonry was started in the village. About ten persons were trained. Many came to see what it was about. It was conducted on the temple premises. We were impressed that it was going to be beneficial to the village so we extended our cooperation."

"Sarvodaya was introduced to the village by our reverend priest of the temple. We assembled at the temple and he explained to us the Sarvodaya philosophy, its principles, its objectives, etc. After that Sarvodaya services were inaugurated in the village. Then the kiddies group and the youth group were established."

"It began with the starting of a pre-school center. Before that we had our Rural Development Society. After this society was registered, there was a Rural Development Women's Society, that started a school for small children. Before that the children learned masonry and rush work. The inauguration was made with the assistance of the priest of our temple. Thereafter all the people in the village

Village #3 (cont'd)

participated in it. Members of the Mahila Samithiya met and made a decision to join the Movement and informed the priest accordingly."

Village Leaders

"It was started on someone's advice, and after the forming of a society. After it was started, I thought that this is something bad and that we should somehow or other do something to eradicate this Sarvodaya from the country. I told a few persons that this was an insurgent movement. When the priest heard about this, he sent for me, and explained everything to me. So I stepped aside and looked so as to see what its outcome would be. Now I can say that this is a very noble movement and very appropriate to a country like Sri Lanka. I feel that development activities should be done to protect our ancient heritage."

"The villagers were gathered and on the advice of the priest of the village temple it was inaugurated."

Saravodaya Workers

"When we came to know that there was a youth club run by Sarvodaya, we joined it and worked as members. Of course we were students then. It was the priest who introduced the Sarvodaya Movement to the village. After he had heard about it and seen how it functioned at Panwila, he started it here."

"The Buddhist priest attached to our temple had been trained at the Pathakada Bhikku Training Center (Panwila), in Sarvodaya activities. After his arrival (back in our village) he invited us to the temple and explained all Sarvodaya activities to the people of the village. After we understood all the facts about these activities, we joined it and began to work."

Village #3 (cont'd)

"According to what I remember, a Sarvodaya field organizer came sometime about 1975 and explained to us what Sarvodaya is. Then the priest said 'let us open a pre-school.' There had been a pre-school in the past, but it was not functioning at the time. We started the pre-school. The priest went to the Bhikku Training Center at Pathakada, and returned to organize Sarvodaya activities here. A training class was started and then four of us underwent training in community development. We came back and commenced to extend the Sarvodaya services from the village."

"The initiative was taken by the priest. He called a meeting and explained the aims and philosophy of the Sarvodaya Movement. This was followed by the inception of the movement in this village."

"It was here in 1975. The priest of the village temple made inquiries regarding the movement and discussed matters with the elders of the village. After the priest joined the Sarvodaya Movement, the people of the village got together and established a branch of Sarvodaya in the village in 1975. There were frequent meetings. The Panwila Sarvodaya village worker made constant visits to the village. Several lectures were delivered. The youth group, mother's group, kiddies' group and the farmers' group were established. The activities became successful after 1976.

"With the leadership of the village priest, they established the Sarvodaya Movement in this village. The villagers were called and lectures were given on the philosophy of Sarvodaya. Then with the help of their cooperation, it was extended all over the village. A new program in masonry was inaugurated for the benefit of unemployed youth.

Village #4

Village Sample Respondents

"At first our priest informed us about Sarvodaya and requested us to organize one. People of the three villages of village #4 (two others mentioned) gathered at the preaching hall where a Sarvodaya worker was present. Then the society was inaugurated. It was from this day that Sarvodaya was started in village #4. The other two villages were not interested. It is working in our village and very effectively."

"The priest was the first to establish it. There was another person called Mr. X who came here, walked everywhere and held a meeting. After starting they built a road. They also started a Montessori School."

"First there was a meeting. We were told that Sarvodaya would help us to do our work, so we agreed to establish it. After that they started to build houses for the poor people, to dig wells, and to make roads."

"The monk was the first to establish Sarvodaya in this village. He called a meeting and explained Sarvodaya's activities. After that a person called Mr. X came and gathered young people and established a Sarvodaya Movement here. They got together and worked in Shramadanas. They built roads, dug wells, and did a lot of things for the benefit of the villagers."

"A person who was trained at the Sarvodaya Center came to our temple one day. He said that this village could be developed through the Sarvodaya approach and suggested we establish a branch here, too. The economic situation of this village was very low in those days. Mr. X and the monk got together to establish it. Mr. Y also helped them."

Village #4 (cont'd)

"Under the leadership of (the priest), it became known that there was a movement called Sarvodaya. Thinking that some improvement could be made in the village through it, it was inaugurated, first by cutting a road, organizing a toddler's group and a youth group."

"It was (the priest) who at the very inception wanted to inaugurate a branch of Sarvodaya and took steps to introduce it. He took a lot of trouble to write letters to Sarvodaya and to establish a branch in our village. He did so along with a gentleman called Mr. X. It was (the priest) who invited down Mr. X. Both (the priest) and Mr. X spared no pains to organize the toddler group and a number of other groups. These are the two people who took steps to improve things."

Saravodaya Workers

"In 1973 a society was formed for this village as well as the villages of (G and R). One of the organizers was present on that day. Thereafter this was the main joint society of these three villages. After it was established, the only one that remained active was the section of our village."

"When our priest went for treatment at the temple at Kiribathdeniya, he came to know about the Sarvodaya Movement and its programs. After coming back, he held a meeting and explained Sarvodaya programs to the villagers. Later people from village #4 (three other villages mentioned here also) got together and started Sarvodaya activities. There were seven to start it."

"The junior Buddhist monk went to Kiriwandeniya temple to receive treatment for his hand. He met a Kiriwandeniya brother there and came to know about it (Sarvodaya) from him. He then came back to the village and inaugurated it. At the start he organized a youth group consisting of ten.

Village #5

Village Sample Respondents

"I think Sarvodaya came in 1969. At that time we were studying in this school. The Brother A and others came and collected the people of Mahila Samithiya and gave them another date and went away. After this the village people met and the people from Sarvodaya came and explained and work was started. This is how these buildings were constructed.

"I remember that Mr. Ariyaratne came and organized a Shramadana camp. He explained to the people what Sarvodaya is. The camp continued for four days. A large number of youth joined in the activities. Again, later Mr. Ariyaratne, Mr. A, and several others came and conducted another Shamandana camp. They put up a small building. Later on this Center was constructed."

"It was in 1969. It began with the arrival of Mr. A in the village. At that time I was the president of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Youth League. I was the president of the Buddhist Society, too. Mr. A told us of the Movement, and of the necessity for establishing a branch in the village. It caught our interest and we worked with much dedication. I dissolved both the Youth League and the Buddhist League and established a youths' group in which I was the organizer president."

"We did not know what Sarvodaya was. First Mr. A came and then Mr. B. and explained what Sarvodaya is to us. After that we continued with it, but only now have we gotten benefits and loans for cultivation."

(Our situation was poor.) "The schoolmaster told us that we could live like this forever. He said he was prepared to help us improve our life. He said there was a Mr. Ariyaratne of Sarvodaya

Village #5 (cont'd)

at Moratuwa, and he would speak to him about starting Sarvodaya activities in this village also. At that time there were two Mahila Samithiya in this village. We brought both Samithies together and brought Sarvodaya officers to this village and explained our difficulties to them. After this their officers came and conducted a Shramadana camp, and constructed a road and a building within seven days. They provided all meals and other requirements for those seven days. During another seven days we participated in the construction of a building. All this work was done by Sarvodaya. This is how they trained our people for this work. Our people are now having good feelings about this. They have trained the children at Tanamalwila to do cultivation and other work. They are now getting nearly 75 rupees as salary."

"I can remember that first Mr. Ariyaratne came from Sarvodaya and conducted a camp and explained to the people about Sarvodaya. After that I think there was a large camp for about four to five days. Actual improvement came to the village from Sarvodaya. Most of the youngsters joined it. After that Mr. Ariyaratne and Mr. A came, conducted a Shramadana campaign, built a room, and established a center."

Villagers Leaders

"I have no knowledge about it. This means that I don't know the history of it. They say that it was about 1968 that Sarvodaya came here. When Sarvodaya first came here only a very few girls and boys were involved. Once they started work they soon had to give it up because of Gueverrist troubles. People thought Sarvodaya people were some sort of revolutionaries. Only later did people come to understand the difference. Some village leaders, even

Village #5 (cont'd)

became police informers and worked against Sarvodaya at this time. But even under these difficult circumstances, some youngsters, through their labor, constructed this building."

"It is Mr. J. who introduced the movement to our village. He advised us on how to live an independent life, one not under oppression. He is the one who got our village into the Sarvodaya Movement."

"I don't know all the particulars regarding it, since I have been in this village only four years, and Sarvodaya had reached the village before that. It is through this society that Sarvodaya was introduced."

Sarvodaya Workers

"I shall tell you what I know. I was not in the village during the early period of Sarvodaya services. Sarvodaya was introduced in 1969. During the early period, it was the youth of the village (both male and female) who took a keen interest in its activities. The elders participated in its work only later on."

"It was initiated in 1969. Mr. A and others came to the school and inaugurated a family gathering. Elders of the village and the youth (both male and female) gathered there and a Shramadana camp was held, sponsored by the elders of the village and the youth."

Village #6

Village Sample Respondents

"Sarvodaya was introduced in this village by the Buddhist priest. The priest informed the villagers about Sarvodaya. He was responsible for getting Sarvodaya to come down and establish it. As land was

Village #6 (cont'd)

required for this purpose, a twenty acre block of land was obtained."

"The Buddhist priest, who spent the Vas season in the temple that was built, seeing the backward nature of the village, informed the dayakayas about the Sarvodaya Movement. He wished that it be introduced in the village and upliftment work done. Thereafter he himself invited Sarvodaya. After a short while the Sarvodaya representatives put up a building for this purpose, while residing in the temple, and Sarvodaya was established."

"I know nothing of the inauguration. I came to live here in 1974."

"I don't know any information of how Sarvodaya was inaugurated in the village. I have never participated."

"Unable to do so as I am not connected."

"The priest who came to spend the Vas season after the village temple was built knew about the Sarvodaya Movement. He informed the villagers about this. Subsequently, Mr. C, the chief dayaka, and others like the secretary and president of the society, having had discussions, introduced Sarvodaya to the village with the help and guidance of the priest. It was started in the temple. However, after about a year, the workers arrived and directed a building in the village itself and moved to this village."

Village Leaders

"After the village temple was built, a monk was brought down from Colombo to spend the season of Vas (the season of difficulties such as contagious diseases, droughts, etc.) at the temple. It was this monk who explained to us the existence of Sarvodaya and how its

Village #6 (cont'd)

help could be obtained for the development of the village. We decided to act on his advice, and several of us leaders prepared the necessary documents to inform the Sarvodaya Movement of our difficulties and to request their help. Three gentlemen came from Colombo to carry out a survey of the village, and recommended the establishment of a Sarvodaya Center in the village. A Shramadana was conducted on a very grand scale and all of the villagers participated in the establishment of a mother's group, a pre-school, and a children's group in the Center which is situated on a thirty acre piece of land."

"In 1972 the temple was built in the village. The priest who came to reside at the temple told us that there is a Movement called Sarvodaya and we should get the Sarvodaya to help us to develop our village. A letter was written to the Sarvodaya and a gentleman arrived in the village. He formed a society and got us to sign some papers and went away. The Sarvodaya organized a Shramadana camp. There was a piece of land granted by the government agent for cultivation. It was proposed to start a farm on this land on the advice of the DRO, (District Revenue Officer). On the advice of the DRO it was handed over to Sarvodaya. Ten young men from the village were selected to start the farm. It was I who wrote to get Mr. K here."

Village #7

Village Sample Respondents

"The young people who went to Meth Medura gave wide publicity about it. Others joined the movement after listening to talks made by the priest at the temple."

Village #7 (cont'd)

"It was the head priest of the temple who was responsible for it. People were told of the philosophy of Sarvodaya when they came to the temple for religious ceremonies. This publicity was what paved the way for a Shramadana in this village."

"The priest has been involved in this work in the past. It was he who said that Sarvodaya was a good movement and who introduced it to the village."

"Sarvodaya began its activities through Shramadanas such as cutting roads."

"Mr. A. T. Ariyaratne (leader of SSM) presided over a meeting held at the temple. All the villagers were invited to this meeting where several speeches describing the philosophy of Sarvodaya were made. After that a plan to discover the shortcomings of the houses in the village and to assist the people to overcome their difficulties through Shramadanas was formulated. Squatting plates for laboratories were supplied to the poor people who were not in a position to buy them as part of this scheme.

Village Leaders

"At a time when the village was in very poor condition the head priest participated in several Shramadanas organized by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement that were held at various points on the island, taking with him several youth from the village. Later it was decided to establish the movement in this village. The interest of the villagers toward the movement was increased by several successful Shramadanas."

"I am a founder-member of Sarvodaya which was then called the Society for Social Services. I took with me young men from the village

Village #7 (cont'd)

to participate in Shramadanas held in other places of the country. This brought about interest toward Sarvodaya among the young people of the village. Later a youth group was established and it was connected with the Sarvodaya headquarters. This is how Sarvodaya was established in the village."

Sarvodaya Workers

"At the time of the floods at Anuradhapura, (the priest) collected food and clothes to be sent to the refugees. But there was no means to send these items to Anuradhapura. At this time the Social Service Society of Nalanda College, Colombo, had advertised in the press for such supplies and for which they would undertake the responsibility of transportation. (The priest) wrote to this organization, indicating the willingness to hand over the collected items to be transported to the flooded areas. The president of the above mentioned society, Mr. A. T. Ariyaratne, came to village #7 and took charge of the items and invited the priest to take part in this Shramadana. The priest accepted. After that occasion (the priest) constantly participated in various Shramadana activities. After the inception of the Sarvodaya Movement, (the priest) took villagers with him to take part in Shramadanas held at various places. These people came to understand the value of the Movement and invited the priest to establish a branch of the Sarvodaya Movement in the village. A youth camp was established which marked the establishment of Sarvodaya in (village #7).

"The chief incumbent of (village #7) temple (the priest) had affiliations with the Sarvodaya Movement in the distant past and had participated in many activities all over the island. He sometimes took young men with him to participate in these Shramadanas

Village #7 (cont'd)

and this brought about an understanding about Sarvodaya among the villagers. Later, Sarvodaya was established in the village through a Shramadana.

"(The priest) of (village #7) temple had affiliations with the Sarvodaya Movement from the days of its establishment in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He had participated in Shramadana camps held at various points of the island with young men of the village. Later, with the cooperation of these young men, a youth group was established which started conducting Shramadanas in the village and this marked the establishment of the SSM in the village."

"I know that the road to Mahakanda was built by a Shramadana. I do not know much about it."

"It was the head priest of the village temple who introduced the Sarvodaya Movement to the village. He had been involved in its activities for the past six years. He is the founder-member of Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya in the village. The priest participated in Shramadanas in various parts of the country along with people from the village. This brought about an understanding of the Sarvodaya Movement."

Village #8

Village Sample Respondents

"Schoolmaster (Mr. D.) is the one who did everything to bring the Sarvodaya Movement to this village. At the beginning I can remember the gathering of everyone of the village and the conducting of Shramadana work. The children were collected and a meeting was held at the Pirivena Hall."

Village #8 (cont'd)

"With the introduction of Sarvodaya a Shramadana camp was held. This was followed by a series of Shramadana camps. Many persons came from Moratuwa for these activities, too. Mr. D. inaugurated a number of Sarvodaya services. Then a building was constructed at the Pirivena and after that, the children's group, the Youth group and the mothers' groups were established. Then the pre-school was opened. During this several seminars were conducted."

"I can tell you that Sarvodaya first started through the organization of the children and youngsters. In the first instance the headmaster introduced it to the village. I can remember there were a number of meetings held in the school and temple, and an exhibition held at the time of the arrival of Mr. Ariyaratne. They had several occasions to explain about Sarvodaya's activities. Also, training was provided through a number of Shramadana work camps."

"It was Mr. D. who introduced the Sarvodaya Movement to the village. I can't say who else cooperated with him. A hall was constructed on a piece of land within the temple premises. The little children are taught there, and all these community activities are done there."

Village Leaders

"It was under the leadership of Mr. D. that Sarvodaya was introduced to the village. At that time no one appeared to take an interest in the Movement. We don't know how it was done, but Mr. D. got the kiddies together, and opened these activities. We are happy regarding the honest service that Mr. D. has rendered. We noticed the children taking an active interest in their activities and came to the conclusion that this movement was going to develop the village.

Village #8 (cont'd)

So we asked Mr. D about the movement and he gave us a clear description. After this we visited several group meetings. Then we realized that this movement could not only develop the village but also the whole country. Thus we also participated in its activities."

"It was Mr. D. who had close association with Mr. Ariyaratne who took steps to introduce Sarvodaya to the village. He started by organizing Shramadana activities. Next they wanted to open a pre-school, and as there was no suitable place, I gave them a part of the temple building for its use. Later on, a separate building was put up and the pre-school was shifted there. Now they have established a Gramodaya Center in this village."

Sarvodaya Workers

"At the outset, a meeting was held at the village school. Mr. D invited persons from the headquarters, including a Sarvodaya worker and Mr. Ariyaratne. An explanation about the objectives of Sarvodaya was presented to the village by the means of lectures. Discussions were held with the priest, and a building was erected on a piece of land obtained for the purpose. Then the elders group, farmers group, and the toddlers group."

"We organized Sarvodaya activities in the village from the first instance to start a library for the school. I had requested Mr. Ariyaratne to help me with this matter. Then he inquired of me whether we will include this village in Sarvodaya. Following through on this, we had an inaugural meeting and helped. I thought of leaving at that time because of my heavy work. But I could not do it because of Mr. Ariyaratne's request. After this I devoted all of my time after one o'clock p.m. to the organization of Sarvodaya in the

Village #8 (cont'd)

village. After the first meeting, we organized Shramadana campaigns, and started a Youn Haula and we also did several Shramadanas."

"I think it was in 1972. I am not certain of the date, because I was attending school. Mr. D organized a Shramadana activity to prepare a playground for the village #8 school. During this Shramadana campaign, Mr. Ariyaratne and a (Sarvodaya worker) brought the message of Sarvodaya to the village, and explained to the people about its philosophy, aims and significance. It was from this occasion, I think, that Sarvodaya services were started in this village under the leadership of Mr. D. Today Mr. D is the chief organizer. Ever since then, Sarvodaya has been extending its services. Today village #8 is the Gramodaya Center for (Province)."

"It was started under the leadership of Mr. D. At the outset, meetings were held. Mr. Ariyaratne was invited and lectures were given. A good background knowledge was provided to the village people at the start.

Village #9

Village Sample Respondents

"Dr. E from (district) contacted the secretary of the Rural Development Society, Mr. F, (who is principal of the school) and proposed to him to start it at the village development level. Thereafter, Mr. F with the help of some others started it as his own private affair, but with the label of the Rural Development Society. Mrs. G who is the wife of the inspector of the (district) police station started the same thing in the (district) area. There was competition among these parties. So it began as a private enterprise of Mr. F, Dr. E, and the police inspector's wife."

Village #9 (cont'd)

"There was a pre-school in our village before the establishment of Sarvodaya. A certain gentleman who came to the village was said to have suggested that if the pre-school was taken over by the Sarvodaya Movement it would be beneficial to the village. I suppose this gentleman was a doctor from (district), but I am not sure. This was followed by the inauguration of the Sarvodaya Movement in the form of a society which was conducted at the building of the Rural Development Society. Mr. F (the schoolteacher) gave some help with these activities. After some time there were some differences of opinion among office bearers of the society and it became like a struggle between political parties. There was a tug of war between the girls who taught at the pre-school which resulted in the resignation of one teacher. The parents who sent their children to the preschool became disheartened with the happenings. Some did not approve of Mr. F.

"The inauguration was sponsored by a gentleman called Inspector H of the (district) police. He opened the preschool in a room of the stores of the Coir Industries. As this was too far, a house was then built to accommodate the children."

"It was initiated at a gathering of the people. The aims and the principles of the Movement were explained to the people at this gathering. The people became rather curious to know about this movement. They wanted to know whether it was political. So when we meet people in the village or on a bus, we would explain to them what Sarvodaya is, how it could improve our village. Sometimes we held meetings and gave them much information regarding the movement. The celebration we held and the variety of entertainment and the pre-school helped a great deal to propagate the movement in the village. The former OIC of the

Village #9 (cont'd)

police (Mr. H) and his wife participated in every activity, both day and night. They gave every assistance to the development work.

"The idea was not mine. We had a pre-school here before Sarvodaya came. The instructress was sent to Meth Medura, the Sarvodaya Headquarters at Moratuwa, and the Sarvodaya pre-school was inaugurated. We then explained to the parents of the children what Sarvodaya is. We told the benefits of a Sarvodaya pre-school and how other activities beneficial to the village could be made through it. After creating the correct attitudes and interests, the preschool was started."

"My elder sister had opened a pre-school in our house. There was a teacher in the society which provides assistance at funerals. She said that the children would become dull-witted if they were taught at the house. She suggested sending my sister to the Sarvodaya, and so she was sent with another girl. My sister underwent training for five months. The other girl was trained for community kitchen activities and she started a community kitchen."

"It was inaugurated at village #9 in 1975. A large number participated. Children were sent to the school. Many participated in Shramadana work. Shramadana work was done in the temple. The garden where the school was started was cleared through Shramadana. Then the school was opened. There was a gentleman called Mr. F who teaches in village #9. Two girls were sent to Meth Medura for pre-school training. After they came back the pre-school was opened. They were then sent to Moratuwa again to give them a more full training. After that they carried on the activities at the pre-school. The children were given a meal and the people of the village supplied rice, coconut, etc. The noonday meal was given to the children daily."

"Dehigahalanda's RDS is an old society. This was run by chairmen and secretaries. After a while this society went down, and the villagers appointed me to run this society. The new secretary worked to improve the society and the village and did some generally good work. At one time we were required to inoculate the dogs of this village and we made a request to the veterinary surgeon at (district), Mr. E. He came and requested us to start a Sarvodaya singithi school, as it would be more useful for the village. Then the secretary came and submitted a proposal at a meeting of the society. All of us accepted it. We spent nearly RS300 and repaired the society building and started the pre-school. After this we organized two societies named Maw samithiya and Youn samithiya. Then came a request to appoint two ladies to teach in the school. The secretary called one girl, and the chief organizer, Dr. E called one girl. There was a small dispute about this, and I came to know it and went to investigate it with the president and settle it. Then we appointed the wife of the Inspector at (district) and she organized the school, the school functioning at the temple. Then this went to the people, and the people turned against the teacher. On account of this he lost his interest in these activities. Otherwise he did a lot of work and spent money. I arranged to charge them five rupees per child to pay the girl who is teaching in the school. These questions are the reason for the break in the organization. Then the secretary had some dispute with the president of the youngsters association and he took full power in his hands and ordered that Sarvodaya classes should not be kept in the RDS building. In my thinking the secretary made a wrong decision. The president of the youngsters association came and told me about the secretary's actions. I told him that the secretary could

Village #9 (cont'd)

not stop them and asked them to hold their classes in the building. They never carried out my instructions, and I came to know that they held classes in the president's house. I think they are afraid of the secretary. I was against this and requested them to have classes in the building. The secretary had no right to order them like that."

Sarvodaya Workers

"People gathered at the temple and several discussions took place as to what Sarvodaya is and all that. Matters like the construction of a road to the village through a Shramadana were discussed. The people consented to participate in Shramadara activities."

"First, a pre-school was opened. Then a mother's group was formed. A youth group, too, was formed. The mother's group was expected to assist and look after the pre-school. These two groups participated in Shramadana work."

"We undertook training in Sarvodaya, formed a society, and explained to the people here what Sarvodaya is. Officials from the Sarvodaya came forward and addressed the people and explained to them what Sarvodaya is. Then the people consented and extended their cooperation to us."

"Sarvodaya was first introduced by a veterinary doctor of (district). It was he who fixed the date and asked us to gather to explain the Sarvodaya Movement. Only four or five persons came and he explained to us what Sarvodaya was and the way services could be rendered to the village. It was after this that it was propagated in the village."

III. 2. How and why did you get drawn into the Sarvodaya Movement?

Village #1

Villager Leaders

"Sarvodaya is a lofty and noble movement and it was started by great Indian leaders. I always considered this Movement to be very essential for our village. Because of the high regard I had for the Movement, I joined it."

Sarvodaya Workers

"Because its programs are beneficial to the people, and its services are available to all irrespective of caste, race, or religion. Because it is based on the teachings of great men like Mahatma Ghandi. ... and because it is based on ahimsa and righteousness."

"One day Sarvodaya conducted a Shramadana campaign in our village. I participated in it. Then, with the march of time, I became a member."

Village #3

Village Sample Respondents

"Every day our youngsters are reminding us about Sarvodaya. And they will come to help with anything. We can now see that there is a large improvement in our life. They are well-behaved. Before Sarvodaya came to this village, our youngsters were wasting their time near boutiques and at the road junction. They also had bad habits. They never cared for the elderly people, and they never participated in the religious activities. But after Sarvodaya came, they are attending to all religious and other matters. Therefore, I have joined because of this."

Sarvodaya Workers

"I joined Sarvodaya after all the facts and particulars were explained by the Buddhist priest. I came to understand all the good work being done by Sarvodaya. That is why we joined it. I attended the meetings and other activities."

Village #3 (cont'd)

"After I heard about the Sarvodaya, I read a few pamphlets regarding it and felt that it was a good Movement."

"Because the Sarvodaya philosophy is a positive one. I joined the Youth Club first and then took a course in handicrafts."

"I first joined the youth group and then took a training course in masonry. I now participate in all the activities because of a conviction that Sarvodaya can bring about the salvation of the village."

"I went to a Youth Club meeting one day and joined it, and after holding membership, I joined the Sarvodaya Movement. This society has a special place among the other societies. We have gained quite a lot by joining it."

Village #4

Village Sample Respondents

"I felt like joining because of the confidence I had in our priest. The priest said that this was not something that would be criticized, that it was something with strings attached, that it was something that was beneficial to the area and that we should take part in it because of these reasons. I joined and worked for it because of these."

Sarvodaya Workers

"The priest sent me a letter. I joined in 1974 because I have a great trust in the priest."

"When the Buddhist monk told me I joined as a member of the youth group, because I had confidence that the monk had proposed a good thing."

Village #5

Village Sample Respondents

"I joined Sarvodaya because we could get loans from it. We are hard pressed financially. They helped us to release our paddy fields

Village #5 (cont'd)

from mortgages this year. We now have a chance again to cultivate our paddy fields. There has been no question from the government. When we would go to get a loan from the government, we had to go several times to several offices. And we also had to spend a number of days to make this loan. This organization is much easier. When we said that we were going to cultivate for three acres, we could get money for that without any difficulty. Then we could do our cultivation work on time."

"I never joined the Sarvodaya in the beginning. It is not necessary to tell lies. Mr. Ariyaratne and (a Sarvodaya official) and a few others came here and explained to the people about Sarvodaya. I then thought I would try to find out whether it was good or bad according to my own understanding. It took me about three years to find that out. I went to the Sarvodaya Center to observe things. During that time there was a Buddhist priest who scolded me, asking why I was not participating in these activities. After that, I got some understanding of these activities and joined, thinking to improve the same."

Village Leaders

"I didn't study any Sarvodaya courses. The Sarvodaya headquarters of Anuradhapura at that time was at Sangaramaya near Kadapanaha. We associate with the priest of that temple very closely. There I met Brother X who is now working in Vavuniya as a field officer. He informed me about a place where even when a person dies they bury them just like dogs and cats and have no religious environment at all. He described the religious knowledge and the educational level of the children.

Village #5 (cont'd)

The place he described was this village. He asked me to come here and work as a favor to him. After discussing this with the chief priest, we built this temple and came to work here with the feeling that we are doing a service."

"I noticed that there was no religious discrimination in the Movement. People of all faiths were treated alike. They addressed each other as Elder Brother, Younger Brother, Elder Sister, and Younger Sister. They indulged in pleasant speech. I got the impression that this Movement could render a service to the country."

Sarvodaya Worker

"When I returned from school in 1976, I was at home idling. I thought it was meaningless staying at home, doing nothing, so I decided to do some social service for my village."

Village #7

Village Sample Respondents

"I support it because I believe this movement is for our good. I scolded my son when I found out that he had joined this Movement, but when he explained the meanings and the aims of this, I realized my mistake and went so far as to participate actively in the activities of the Movement."

"A Shramadana was held to dig a well, and clear the land of Tunnana temple. My elder sister who was a participant in this Shramdana, took me along with her. Although I was attending school, I participated in almost every Shramandana that followed. I joined the Health Service section of Sarvodaya after I left school. I joined because I had a high regard for its philosophy."

Village #7 (cont'd)

"My daughter was sent to the pre-school at Tunnana temple and I have had the opportunity to assist in many activities there. Once a month I supply a meal to the children who come to the pre-school. This is how I became affiliated with the Sarvodaya Movement."

Sarvodaya Workers

"I joined the Movement after taking part in a Shramadana to cut a road leading to Mahakanda. Because of my liking to take part in social service activities, this was the major factor in my becoming a member of the Sarvodaya Movement."

"I have participated in Shramadana activities, such as cutting roads, building houses, etc., since my student days. Soon after I left school I was selected to follow a training course in batik craft. My relationship with the temple was the reason for my selection."

"I became associated by participating in Shramadanas held outside the village with the head priest. I came to understand the value of Shramadanas which were conducted without selfishness and for communal benefit and joined the Movement."

"I participated in a Shramadana with a friend of mind who was a member of the Youth Group. Later I went with him to several Shramadanas and became a member of the group."

"My friends who participated in Shramadanas invited me to go with them. During the participation, I learned a lot about the Movement, and this resulted in my becoming a member."

"My brother also participated in those Shramadanas which the head priest visited. I participated in Shramadanas held in the village. A girl in the neighborhood conducted a pre-school in which I assisted. It was while assisting with my friend's work that I got an opportunity to follow the pre-school training course which was held at Meth Medura

Village #7 (cont'd)

where I obtained a broad knowledge about the philosophy of Sarvodaya. I participated in Sarvodaya activities because of my brothers who participated in Shramadanas and the advisory sermons made by the head priest of the temple."

Village #8

Village Sample Respondents

"Once there was a Shramadana in the village where even many outsiders participated. On that occasion I also went to the temple to help build the road. After that I joined. When almost all the young boys and girls of this village get together with good unity and work for the welfare of the village, I was very much taken up with this and thought of joining."

"I have talked with Mr. Ariyaratne who is the leader of the Sarvodaya Movement and I am acquainted with the organizers of the Movement. I knew everything about the Movement from its inception, so I like it."

Sarvodaya Workers

"My older brother had joined Sarvodaya in 1972. He explained things to me. Thereafter, (the schoolteacher) explained things to me. Subsequently, I followed a training course in 1978. At present I am employed as a Sarvodaya Worker. I joined with the objective of rendering a service to the country and the society."

"To start a library for the school."

"To participate in a pre-school training program."

"I joined because of (the schoolteacher). He conducted a large number of Shramadana camps in this village. I participated in all of these camps. After this participation, I followed a training course

Village #8 (cont'd)

in agriculture at Moratuwa in 1973. It was a three-month course. After completion of this training course, I returned home and organized youth groups. I served as the secretary of this youth group for one year. And this is the manner in which I joined Sarvodaya. I joined with the objective of doing some service to society."

Village #9

Village Sample Respondents

"I have a sister who wanted to establish a pre-school in Badagama. She has completed a training course in this connection. She wanted to conduct a pre-school on her own, but I advised her that her pre-school, too, would be taken over by the Sarvodaya Movement as it happened in our village."

"I joined the Movement through conviction. I have read about it in pamphlets and newspapers. (A priest) is from our village and he is closely connected to this Movement. I read every article written by this priest, and have a high regard for him. The Pathakada monastery is close to my home, and I often go there. Whenever there is a meeting at which this priest is present, I never miss it. From the knowledge I have so far gathered, I feel that our country could be developed through this Movement. This Movement is free from politics and caste. This is important in development activities, as it results in unity and healthy relationships among all."

Sarvodaya Workers

"I joined the Movement after it was inaugurated in the village. I was asked to go for pre-school training if I wished to conduct the pre-school. So I agreed to go. I went to Moratuwa for training and came back and worked as the instructress of the preschool. That is how I joined the Sarvodaya."

Village #9 (cont'd)

"A pre-school was opened here. I was asked to go to Tanamawila if I liked. I had sent my baby to the pre-school."

"There is a Sarvodaya organizer in the village. He told us about pre-schools and children's education. He asked us to undergo training in pre-school teaching. So we were sent for training through him."

"I was convinced at a meeting that the Sarvodaya Movement could develop the village. Therefore, I liked the Movement. When the youth group was formed, I was made its president by its members."

III. 9-b

Which would you like, the organization of activities in your village by you and the other villagers themselves, or by outsiders? Please give reasons in support of your views.

Village Sample Respondents

"We have not yet acquired sufficient knowledge and ability to organize the activities by ourselves, hence we wish to have these organized by others."

"If the project are good, we do not care who organizes them."

"The people in this village are either uneducated or not educated enough to organize these activities. Hence we welcome others, who are well educated and experienced, to prepare projects for our village, even though they may be outsiders."

"We have no objection to outsiders. We prefer to do this by ourselves. Why? Because other people we cannot trust. We can do the work for improving the village, We cannot expect such work from outsiders. We can tell the village people to do this and they will take our advice."

"I like it if outsiders also work. The villagers are more attached to each other than to outsiders. They like it if the villagers themselves do the village work. If people from outside come and work, we like it. We can get new ideas from outsiders more than from the villagers. There are more things to learn from outsiders than what is known to the people of the village."

"If we villagers get organized and do it with the assistance of outsiders, we like it very much."

"We like it best if we can do our own work through our own efforts."

"It is good if the people in the village do it."

"I do not mind if outsiders work together with the villagers in harmony. I do not differentiate between villagers and outsiders, both parties must be

treated in the same manner."

"It is better to have it done by the villagers, but if outsiders also come and participate in these activities, it is far better for the improvement of the village."

"I prefer to do this through a combination of outsiders with village people and also to do work in other villages with the help of our village people."

"It is desirable if the villagers themselves carry out the activities. Why? Only the people of the village know about the situation of the village."

"The villagers have a feeling of loyalty toward the village and it can be developed only by them."

"It is desirable if the people of the village do it. It is also good if outsiders participate, for then the work can be done effectively. However, since the village situation is best known to the villagers, it is better if the villagers themselves carry out the work."

"It is preferable if the organization is done by the villagers themselves. The villagers have a good knowledge of each other. The villagers themselves should do the work of the village. It is an insult to villagers when outsiders come and do the organization."

"It is desirable if the people of the village do it, as they are aware of the needs of the village and as they are capable of meeting with the people. But if outsiders do it, it is good, because their help and assistance is available in addition to that from the village. However, it is more desirable if the villagers themselves do it."

"I like it better if villagers themselves do it because it is they who know the problems of the village and the resources that can be tapped. If a systematic program is implemented successfully, even by outsiders, it would be all right."

"I like it if outsiders are involved in organizing activities in the village. This would allow those outsiders a chance to also learn about the Movement."

"I like it better if outsiders come to the village, and work in cooperation with the villagers. Outsiders' participation is a great help in solving many problems that exist in the village because we can compare their opinions with those of ours. Also, the villagers show a great enthusiasm when outsiders are working together with them."

"It would be better if outsiders worked together with the villagers. When outsiders work hand and hand with the villagers, it brings about associations. The villagers would be encouraged to take part in activities in other villages. Cooperation would improve."

"I like it better if the people of the village organize themselves. Then they will have better self-respect than when people from the outsider come in and organize."

"I like everything organized and done on a village level by its people. It is important because they have the feeling that it is theirs. I express this view through experience. So no outside interference is necessary."

"It is very difficult to collect the people of this village as they are always having personal disputes. Some people do not give their cooperation. Therefore, if outsiders come and organize something, villagers will give their support for that."

"I like it if everything is done by the villagers themselves. The reason is that disagreements are not likely to arise among villagers. It would be alright if outsiders played the role of advisors. On the other hand, we would not know much about the outsiders, would we?"

"It is good if the work is done by the villagers themselves. Outsiders need not come. When an activity like the construction of a road in the village is done, it is good if the villagers themselves do it. For such an activity, outsiders don't come and they should not come. The road that we use should be constructed by us."

"I prefer the people of the village organizing their activities themselves. The people of the village have an attachment to their village. So it is better for them to do their organizing themselves. It is also more respectable than outsiders doing it. Advice from outside will be useful, of course."

"As we want to develop our village, we extend our cooperation to each other. So we like our own people to develop our village. If outsiders do it, they will claim ownership. If we develop it, it is ours. So we like our people to do it and not outsiders."

Village Leaders

"If an outsider in whom we have confidence prepares good projects and explains them to us, we will try to implement them."

"There are no educated people in the village who are capable of organizing such activities. Hence, we wish to get this done by those outside the village."

"If those from outside and those from the village get together and make decisions, then there is every possibility for the Sarvodaya to extend its services. When outsiders participate it will spread. Those who participate will realize and understand that the Sarvodaya activities are very beneficial. They

will want to follow suit in their own villages. That is what I like most."

"People of the village can do things in a way which others would not be able to find fault."

"It would be much preferable if the villagers could do the work in the village by themselves. I told the two officials from the Sarvodaya headquarters that their idling here is not going to serve any purpose and that Sarvodaya will be meaningless if it is not going to do anything for the village. It seems to me that those two gentlemen are more concerned about their personal benefit."

"It is important that the activities be done by the people of the village. That is what I prefer because new people get used to hiring casual labor for their activities. There is no labor problem if we use our own labor potentiality."

"There is no difference between the people of the village and outsiders. It is bad if people work for personal benefit in doing community development work."

"Participation of outsiders would make the villagers take a keener interest in the work. Small disputes that exist between neighboring villages and ours would be settled and friendly relationships strengthened."

"It would be better if villagers handled their own affairs. Assistance from outside would be obtained whenever required. It would be very important to get outsiders to participate. This would cultivate friendly associations. In the past, people did not come due to caste differences, but they come now without regard for it. Everybody is addressed as brothers and sisters."

"Whoever it is, if he is doing something good for the village, such as when outsiders come and attend to this kind of activity, it becomes an exemplary activity for the whole country. It is the villages that go together to form the country. So I feel it is an exemplary service. Everyone should cooperate in such activities."

"It is good for the people of the village to do the activities with the cooperation of outsiders. Those outsiders come because they have experience with such work."

Sarvodaya Workers

"We wish to plan our own activities, but if anything is beyond our capabilities then we welcome others planning for us."

"If the villagers work together in unity, outsiders are not necessary. It is always better if one could do one's work by one's self."

"The people of the village have the ability to get the people of the village to conform to each others views. When outsiders come, they begin to order the people. The people of the village have the necessary conviction and the enthusiasm."

"When people of the village get together and do it, unity among the villagers is strengthened."

"Outsiders do not know the ideas and feelings of the villagers."

"If we were to wait for the assistance of outsiders, then we may have to depend on them always."

"I like it better if outsiders work along with the villagers. This brings about an understanding of cooperativeness."

"If outsiders come and offer their assistance, the villagers would become dependent on outsider help. The other reason is that the villagers could solve their problems by themselves."

"If outsiders come to work for a village, it loses its status as an individual village."

"When the people of the village do it alone, as time goes on, it is possible for them to lose interest. It is good, after some years, for outsiders to give their cooperation."

"If people come from outside and plan it, it may not be successful."

"Because it is better to do one's work by one's self. The expenses are less. It is more valuable than when outsiders do it."

"It is a matter of pride for the villagers to do their work themselves."

"The people of the village are fully aware of what should be done. Those from outside, when they come, there could be quarrels and disputes. They don't realize the real state of affairs in the village and there is every possibility for unpleasant situations to come up."

Appendix B

Field Trip Reports

NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT RALEIGH

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND LIFE SCIENCES

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROJECT
DEPARTMENT OF ADULT AND COMMUNITY COLLEGE EDUCATION
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October 25, 1977

To: Jim Hoxeng and Bernie Wilder, USAID/TA/EHR

From: J. Lin Compton, North Carolina State University and
Principal Investigator, Participative Education Programming Project

Subject: Field Trip Report - September, 1977

The following is a synopsis of events during my recent trip to Sri Lanka to launch the Participative Education Programming research project. It is important to note that Nat Colletta, project consultant, had previously visited the project site, initiated some of our plan, and was then recalled before completing a number of prescribed tasks. He was called back due to the hesitancy of the AID Mission authorities to support field research prior to the national elections in July. Our project cooperators, the Sarvodaya Research Centre staff had, nevertheless, been able to review and suggest revisions in the interview schedule for key informants and had submitted to me a proposed sampling plan for data collection and budget. Dr. Colletta had suggested to them that they draft three sampling plans and a budget for each. The 'minimum' plan carried a budget that more than doubled the amount we had allotted for this line item. However, because of our commitment to TA/EHR to do this research, I decided to go ahead with the trip in hopes of being able to re-negotiate some of the costs of the field effort. I carried with me on this trip a bank draft of \$3,000.00 to be used by the Sarvodaya staff to cover the initial research expenses to be incurred. I also carried with me two Sony TC-92 cassette tape recorders for use in the data collection.

I stopped over in the Philippines to visit an old friend, Fr. William Masterson, Director of the Southeast Asia Rural Social Leadership Institute (SEARSOLIN) at Xavier University in Mindanao. While there I had the good fortune of being able to confer with five Sarvodaya field workers (Hafin Sawdin, R. P. Wijewardena, H. M. Victor, H. Somaratna, and P. Upali Wickramaratna) who were spending a 12 week training period with Fr. Masterson. Our exchange was helpful in that it gave me a perspective on Sarvodaya, its emphasis on preparing quality field workers, and its involvement with other groups in South and Southeast Asia.

Upon arrival in Sri Lanka, I contacted the USAID mission by phone to notify them of my arrival and to arrange for a meeting with the Director, Mr. Tom Arndt. In spite of the fact that we had previously received a cable from him

approving of our visit to Sri Lanka, he did not recall who I was or what were the purposes of my visit. When I met him the next day, he apologized, stating that he had checked the files and had indeed found a copy of the cable he had sent previously. In discussing Sarvodaya, he was not very aware of its purposes or mode of operation. He stated that he felt that it was a politically motivated movement and that the Mission had not tried to establish a relationship with Dr. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Movement.

My first visit to the Math Medura headquarters provided a chance to meet and talk at length with Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne, to observe the facilities and several program activities. After an initial exposure to the philosophy and purposes of Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya, as expounded by Dr. Ariyaratne, I was driven to the Sarvodaya Research Centre and introduced to several of the staff. Plans were established for interaction on the research project for the days ahead.

During my initial visit to the Sarvodaya Research Centre, I was introduced to and had a three hour conference with the following staff:

- Dr. Lalith Godamunne, Director
Sarvodaya Research Centre
- Dr. Nandasena Ratnapala, Professor
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Sri Lanka at Vivodaya, and
In-Charge, 'Participative Education Programming' Project
- Mrs. Damayanthi Herath, Coordinator
Field Research Staff
- Mr. E. H. S. Fernando, Office Co-Ordinator
Sarvodaya Research Centre.

Their respective roles and functions were spelled out to me as follows:

- Lalith has responsibility for the overall operation of the Centre and the negotiating of the research contract.
- Nanda will be responsible for the quality control of the research process, the translation of the questionnaires, the training of the field interviewers and the preparation and submission of the raw data.
- Damá will be in charge of supervising the work of the field research team.
- Mr. Fernando will coordinate all the related communication, secretarial, and office management functions.

The second day of our (Nanda, Damá, and Mr. Fernando) discussions focused on 'methodological considerations' (see attached outline) with every item being covered in depth. Clarification was made regarding quite a number of items, especially matters of the scope and process of data collection, preparation for submission, and analysis (see attached plan).

OUTLINE

- A. Purpose of Study: Great care was taken to emphasize that this study's primary focus was on the phenomenon of participation, not the Sarvodaya Movement itself. We see this as an initial, pre-cursory effort to identify and delineate relevant concepts and principles involved in participation and the promoting of an understanding of it. The Sarvodaya Movement represents a convenient vehicle for studying the participation phenomenon.
- B. Methodology: This will be a field study emphasizing the use of participant observation and field interviews using thematic interview schedules and relying heavily on the skill of the interviewer to use follow-up probes. Some effort will be made to double check wherever possible field data through the use of collective records and documents of program activities.
- C. Data Analysis: The analysis will be a cooperative venture, to be completed in May, 1978 during the second visit to Sri Lanka. In the interim, tabulated (quantative) and compiled (qualitative) raw data will be submitted periodically to Dr. Compton. He will xerox copies of this for Dr. Colletta's use. Dr. Compton and Dr. Colletta will study the data for the purpose of identifying approaches and techniques for final analysis purposes. The Sarvodaya research staff will do the same so that during the second visit we will be able to deal with the intricacies and complexities of the analysis and interpretation of the data.
- D. Construct Research Instruments: Dr. Compton brought with him the revised version of the interview schedule for use with key informants. He also brought the new schedule for villager participants. It was agreed that during the second visit he would bring two additional schedules; one for project facilitators and one for Sarvodaya program directors and leaders.
- E. Methods of Inquiry: Dr. Ratnapala was firm in insisting that, having made a preliminary assessment of the interview schedule, it might be necessary for an interviewer to spend several days with one interviewee. The major idea of importance here is that much of the information being requested would require that a proper setting and atmosphere be present for the staging of the interview. He stated that he would also take great care to assure that the interviewers made proper use of the cassette tape recorders. It was also agreed that the field researchers would keep a journal/log of their field activities and personal reflections upon them.
- F. Establishing the Universe and Sampling Frame: It was agreed that, given our budgetary constraints, it would be necessary to accept minimum sample option already established by the research centre staff. (Note: it was later agreed with Dr. Lalith that we would have to increase the budget item to meet the cost of the research to be incurred by Sarvodaya staff by \$800.00)
- G. Recruit and Train Field Researchers: Because of the previous unsure status of this research project, the research centre staff had not recruited field researchers. Existing staff were already engaged in another research project. It was agreed that this would be the first order of business

at the conclusion of our negotiations. Dr. Ratnapala emphasized that he would need at least six weeks within which to recruit and properly train the field interviewers.

- H. Pilot Test and Modify Interview Schedules: Dr. Ratnapala agreed that a part of the training of field interviewers would be their involvement in the pilot testing of the instruments themselves with changes being made in any items where it was felt necessary. This process in itself would be seen as one way to help clarify the understanding of the field interviewers regarding the instruments and the process.
- I. Data Management and Processing System: See attached outline.
- J. Budget, Time-frame, Follow-up Steps: See attached.

REFLECTIONS

I. Sarvodaya

Dr. Ariyaratne pointed out several things which reflect upon the present status of the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka. Under the previous government, there were approximately forty members of Parliament who opposed the very existence of the Sarvodaya Movement. Dr. Ariyaratne explained this in terms of their fear of being unable to control what might go on within their constituency if, through Sarvodaya activities, the people were to come to a process of 'self-awakening'. Dr. Ariyaratne stated that all of these forty or so members of Parliament had been despoed by the recent elections. He also said that there were approximately twenty new members of Parliament who had been previously involved with the Sarvodaya Movement in one form or another and that he now felt he had an effective lobby of over sixty people in Parliament.

Dr. Ariyaratne gave me a copy of a report/proposal that he had just prepared for submission to the government at government's request. This proposal calls for the establishment of a technical training centre for Sarvodaya-type activities in each of the electoral districts of the country. This represents a tremendous step forward for the Sarvodaya Movement even though the government, as of yet, has said nothing about where the financial support for such centres would be found. It was made clear to Dr. Ariyaratne that he was being given a mandate to extend Sarvodaya but that he would have to find a means of supporting these activities on his own.

I was very much impressed with two dimensions of Sarvodaya's work. Firstly, I was provided an opportunity to observe a nursery and day-care centre where malnourished and oftentimes orphaned babies had been brought from the outlying villages. These children were receiving intensive care at the hands of young (teenage and early twenties) handicapped girls who had also been brought in from the outlying villages and provided training in this type of work. Some of the girls at the centre had been there longer and were the more experienced hands, the others were serving as apprentices under them. The care that was being taken to provide a clean environment and nutritional care for the children was inspiring. Dr. Ariyaratne stated that they had already established hundreds of these centres in the villages and that several hundred of these girls had already been trained to man them.

The second thing that impressed me greatly was the Trades Training Centre. Here I saw young people being taught the art of printing, batik making, book-binding, carpentry, and mechanical-automotive repair skills. I also had a chance to observe the role that symbolism and ritual play in the Sarvodaya Movement. Dr. Ariyaratne has taken great care to assure that the spiritualistic and ceremonial aspects of mobilizing people for community development work in developing countries is not overlooked. Buddhist principles and values are brought into play by involving the Buddhist clerby and by the use of regular group sessions where all joined together in ceremonies designed to remind them of these values and principles.

II. Research Project

It is obvious that we shall have to work extensively with the data as it comes to us in order to assure that, upon our arrival in Sri Lanka in May, 1978, we will be ready with an analysis plan which directly reflects the realities proposed by the data itself. The Sarvodaya Research Centre staff see this project as an opportunity for themselves to improve their research program and staff capabilities. They strongly express their desires to be included in all phases of the research effort. Dr. Ratnapala and I agreed to co-author a paper on field research methodology. It was suggested to Dr. Ariyaratne that he consider a brief paper on participatory theory as it relates directly to the Sarvodaya project.

III. Other

The presence and involvement of the Dutch Organization for International Development Cooperation (NOVIB) in supporting Sarvodaya activities was very evident throughout the week. Many of the facilities and program activities at the Meth Medura headquarters and training center were financed through grants from NOVIB. This organization has also produced an excellent film titled "We Build the Road and the Road Builds Us: Sarvodaya Shramadana, Development with a Human Face." Much of NOVIB's work has been inspired by the late E. F. Schumacher (Small is Beautiful), an early visitor and benefactor to Sarvodaya in the '60's.

Due to pressure of time, I was unable to participate in the International Conference on Nonformal Education being conducted by the MARGA Institute. However, I did have a chance to meet and confer with several conference participants from Senegal and Mexico. I also learned from Dr. Lalith Godamunna that he was in the process of coordinating arrangements for a UNDP sponsored international conference on "Appropriate Technology" to be held in the near future in Colombo.

IV. Sources

1. NOVIB film "We Build the Road and the Road Builds Us: Sarvodaya Shramadana-Development with a Human Face" (available from NOVIB, Amaliastraat 5-7, Den Haag, Holland, \$950.00).
2. David Radcliffe, "Development Education and the Sri Lanka Sarvodaya Movement", a paper prepared for the Conference on Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor, Michigan State University, East Lansing, September, 1976.
3. A. T. Ariyaratne, "The Sarvodaya Shramadana Experiment" International Development Review.
4. DANA, International Organ of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.
5. A. T. Ariyaratne, "A Programme for the Participation of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Development at the Village Level on an Electoral Basis", a mimeographed copy of a proposal.

6. A. T. Ariyaratne, "Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement for Social Development in Sri Lanka: A Study of Experience in Generating People's Participation," a paper prepared for the UNICEF Executive Board Meeting, Manila, Philippines, May, 1977.
7. Frank J. Shulman, "Doctoral Dissertations on Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Submitted to Institutions of Higher Learning in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Australia, 1956-1974." Prepared for the Association for Asian Studies, March, 1976.

REPORT ON "PARTICIPATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAMMING"

RESEARCH PROJECT/SRI LANKA

8/9/89 - 8/11/78

Arrived in Colombo at 2:10 AM and checked into the Holiday Inn. At 2:00 PM on the ninth was picked up by Mrs. Damayanthi Herath, the field research coordinator, and taken to Sarvodaya Damsak Mandara, the new headquarters facilities at Meth Medura to meet Ariyaratne. After a lengthy discussion and tour of the new facilities, we made arrangements to meet Carol's plane the next day and to move into the Hotel Concord across the street from the Sarvodaya Research Center.

The following day Mrs. Herath, in a Sarvodaya vehicle took me to the airport to meet Carol's 9:25 AM plane which came at 11:00 AM. Plans were made to meet with the Research Center staff to plan the field phase of the visit.

At the Sarvodaya Research Center the next day we met with Mrs. Herath, Mr. Fernando, Mr. Wijesooriya, Mr. Lalith Godamunne, and Dr. Nandasena Ratnapala. We laid out a tentative plan of work for field trips and data analysis. We then proceeded to Meth Medura to see Dr. Ariyaratne. There we also met Mr. Abdun Noor, a Bengali employed by the World Bank. We had a second tour of the facilities, focusing on the skills training program. Ari requested assistance in editing a speech he was to make to the SID Sri Lanka Chapter on, "The Common Man's Approach to Development." During this visit to headquarters we observed two groups of villagers (one of twelve and the other of more than 60 people) walking to Meth Medura. They had come to negotiate a Sarvodaya chapter for their villages.

8/12/78 - 8/13/78

Hotel Concord: Read the new Sarvodaya literature and studied the field data that had been collected. Sunday afternoon Ari stopped by to deliver his copy of

the speech for editing. We had a long discussion regarding a paper published by ICED under the editorship of Manzoor Ahmed. That evening I read and edited the speech.

8/14/78

Drove to the Pathakada Buddhist Community Leadership Training Institute with Ariyaratne; Carol; Mr. Yamashita, coordinator of UNESCO volunteers in Asia; Mr. Shiba, a UNESCO volunteer; Mr. Ibrahim, a Bengali UNESCO rural development volunteer; two of Ariyaratne's children; and two of their friends. The three-hour ride took us to several Sarvodaya villages and Gramodaya Centers where we observed various aspects (preschools, soapmaking, batik-making, etc.,) of the Sarvodaya program.

We arrived at Pathakada at about 11:00 AM just as the monks were breaking up their class to have their meal. The Pathakada Institute is located on a mountain-side and operates as a center for training Bhikkus (Buddhist monks) for community development leadership. Training seminars are held there throughout the year. This particular occasion had more than sixty monks participating in an evaluation seminar. Dr. Ratnapala and Mrs. Herath had already conducted an evaluation session with them earlier that morning.

Following lunch and a tour of the facilities, we had a chance to meet and discuss the "social Buddhism" foundations of Sarvodaya with the Reverend Pandit, the head priest in the Sarvodaya program who now resides at the Institute. Dr. Ariyaratne and the Rev. Pandit then talked to and interacted with the Bhikkus who were participating in the training seminar. At the end of this portion of the seminar we left for Tanamalawila, arriving two hours later.

Tanamalawila is a 500 acre demonstration farm and agricultural training center of the Sarvodaya Movement at which approximately 400 young trainees are located. This farm is on low flatlands in an area characterized by high winds and swamp land. One objective of the center is to reclaim the land and make it

productive by re-establishing an old system of tanks and irrigation canals in the area. This infrastructure was in existence long before the colonists came to Sri Lanka, but it subsequently fell into disrepair. Apparently the colonists were more interested in mountainside tea plantations. With proper damming and irrigation control, the hope is to demonstrate the viability of this approach for reclaiming more than one million acres of such land in the region.

An extensive tour of the farm took us to various sites where groups of young people ("families") were being settled for periods of a year or more for the dual purpose of learning agricultural skills and developing the land.

That evening we participated in a Sarvodaya "family gathering" activity, a time which is devoted to meditation, knowledge and skill-building games, cultural activities such as singing and dancing, evaluation reports, and even critiques on participation in that particular evening's exercise. On this occasion Dr. Ariyaratne told the participants about his recent trip to the USA and Europe. Mr. Yamashita and I were also asked to say a few words to the group which were then translated into Sinhala. I informed the group of Ari's singing ability (he and Carol had sung most of the way from Pathakada). The group then requested Ari to sing for them. He proceeded to sing a song with group response lines. This was followed by the singing of the National Anthem.

Following these activities, everyone went into the cafeteria to eat the evening meal (it was nine o'clock by the time that we began dinner). We then took a flashlight tour of other facilities (watling houses, the generator plant, the drafting classroom, etc.). Next we visited a practice session of the musical group of the center; about ten musicians, the leaders, and about 30 young singers participated.

8/15/78

The next morning we toured the vegetable plots where the trainees were engaged in their morning chores of watering, weeding, and spraying the plants.

After we had all had breakfast in the cafeteria, Carol toured their kitchen facilities. We then made the four-hour drive back to Colombo. That afternoon we made arrangements for a field trip the following day to two of the villages in the study.

8/16/78

We left Colombo in the morning and drove to Dolapihilla village in Kandy District (one of the nine sample villages). Our group consisted of C. Jayakody, a Sarvodaya Research Center staff member who served as our interpreter; J. Bambaranda, project interviewer; I. Wickremaratne, project interviewer; Jayatissa, driver; C. Compton; and I. We stopped first at the village temple and from there went to the Sarvodaya Center in the village where we interviewed a village elder. Next we visited the Sarvodaya preschool where we interviewed the preschool teacher and the leader of the Sarvodaya village youth. (See attached descriptions of these interviews.)

That evening we stayed overnight in Kandy at the government rest house.

8/17/78

The next morning we went on to Kabillewela village in Badulla District. This five-hour trip took us on winding mountain roads through the wet zone and on into the dry zone. In Kabillewela we conducted interviews with the headmaster who had been instrumental in bringing Sarvodaya to the village, and with a village elder. (The descriptions of these interviews are also attached.) We had been told prior to visiting this village that it was one in which Sarvodaya had had a low level of success. It turned out to be an interesting contrast with Dolapihilla. After concluding the interviews in Kabillewela, we drove all the way back to Colombo, arriving there about 10:30 in the evening.

9/18/78 - 8/24/78

During this period our efforts were confined to the Sarvodaya Research Center and the United States Embassy. At the Center we did an initial rough analysis of the responses to the first two themes (of eleven) of the questionnaire in order to find out the kinds of problems which might occur. As a result of this process, a number of customs referred to by the respondents but not described, numerous Sinhalese words which had been transcribed rather than translated, and other vague references were discovered. These items were then referred to members of the research team for clarification, and the data was gone over by us quickly to spot additional problem areas. In addition, organization of the materials was checked and omissions and other problems spotted so that Research Center staff could correct these gaps before we left.

The process used in this initial level of analysis of the first themes resulted in a rough categorization of responses. This process and the resulting product were then discussed with Dr. Ratnapala as representing the basic approach that we would follow for the first level of analysis of the remainder of the data. It was agreed that, after each theme had been worked into this level of analysis, the results would be mailed back to Dr. Ratnapala (theme by theme) for his further analysis and comments. It was felt that this would be a necessary step in assuring that the cultural perspective would be adequately built into the analysis.

During this period Carol interviewed the field interviewers in this project using an open-ended questionnaire which she had developed. These interviews usually lasted from one and one-half to two hours. The results of these interviews will be incorporated into the methodology section of the final report.

I arranged meetings with the U.S. Ambassador, Howard Wriggins and with A.I. Mission Director, Sarah Jane Littlefield. Briefly, discussions with Ambassador

Wriggins touched upon the philosophy and mission of Sarvodaya, its role in grass-roots development in Sri Lanka through the mobilization of youth, the organization and training of community leadership, the training of artisans of various income-generating projects, and the development of other types of non-formal education activities. Ambassador Wriggins had visited the national headquarters of Sarvodaya the previous week for the first time.

The question of possible U.S. support for Sarvodaya activities was discussed, and he raised further questions regarding the danger of "overloading the circuit" of assistance to Sarvodaya, since Dutch and German organizations were already providing considerable help. The question of how AID's large-scale development objectives (i.e., providing millions of dollars worth of fertilizer for agricultural production purposes) could be reconciled with the needs for small-scale inputs such as would be needed in the case of Sarvodaya was also raised by the Ambassador. Dr. Wriggins requested ideas regarding what U.S. inputs could be. Three suggestions were offered: grants to support the further development of the Sarvodaya Research Center, grant support for increasing the mobile capability of Sarvodaya National and Regional Center staffs, and funds for the purchase of a linotype press. (See attached mini-proposals.)

The following days' discussions with Director Littlefield focused on Sarvodaya's approach as a means of reaching the poorest of the poor, one of AID's major objectives. She had only arrived in Sri Lanka the previous Saturday, and she expressed her appreciation for the briefing on Sarvodaya. In response to her request for suggestions, the same items mentioned to Ambassador Wriggins were proposed.

During this period several meetings were held with Dr. Lalith Godamunne, Dr. Ratnapala, and Mrs. Herath of the Research Center regarding possible future aspects of PEP and prospects for strengthening the capabilities of the Research

Center staff through a special project. There was general agreement as to what was needed and how this might be carried out. (See attached proposals.)

Arrangements were also made with Dr. Ratnapala for the administration of an additional questionnaire on the role of the Sarvodaya worker.

Other sessions were held with Mr. Fernando of the Research Center regarding accounting and reporting procedures for the project. It was agreed that he would forward all remaining receipts and vouchers as soon as possible.

Discussions were also held with Mr. Jayakody regarding the remaining twenty-one questionnaires (out of a total of 109) which were still being translated from Sinhala into English. It was agreed that they would be posted as soon as the translations were finished.

Villager Interview:

2:00 P.M. 8/16/78

(The man interviewed was the village traditional doctor (he uses herbs and spiritual healing). He was about 65 years old. He has been involved with the Sarvodaya Movement for some time.)

The Setting, The Process (Carol's Notes):

This interview took place in the Sarvodaya Center building. In the middle of the building rows of long desks and benches were arranged, facing a blackboard. A few benches were at the sides of the room. As we entered the building we were followed by a large group of young people. Inside the building Lin, the village elder, Jayakody and Jayasena found places to sit on the benches and tables in the center of the room. I sat on a low bench in the very back row. Behind me a group of teen-aged girls stood, observing and listening. Behind a low bench on the right of me were a row of younger children, both girls and boys.

On the left and near the doorway a group of teen-aged boys stood, also watching and listening. Other members of our party sat on a bench under the windows at the left.

Initially the village elder seemed a bit uneasy, perhaps because of the large crowd which had gathered both inside of and outside of the building; but as the interview progressed, he seemed to be enjoying the fact of having such a large audience. The man spoke in Sinhala and Jayakody translated.

The Dialogue (Lin's Notes):

The old man explained that one of the good things which Sarvodaya had done was to establish a carpentry training program that now had fifteen trainees. He said that many more people had applied for the program, but existing facilities would not permit more than that number being accepted. He stated that the selection of these trainees was done by the elder's council, and that it was a difficult job. (Later one of the villagers was pointed out as being one of the instructors in that program.)

The man explained that in the past there had been carpenters in this village, that people in times past could do many things for themselves and had learned to be self-sufficient. He felt that today the young people were not learning such things and the Sarvodaya program was a good one because of these training programs. (When we visited the training site, we saw work tables and a stack of raw lumber.) He stated that the tables and cupboards made were sold in the village itself, at a price far less than that found in the outside market. He also mentioned that coffins had to be purchased from the town and cost two or three hundred rupees, but if they could be made in the village the cost would be only thirty or forty rupees for one. He said that before the carpentry training program there had been a masonry training program. He said that it was the idea of the elder's council to ask Sarvodaya for the carpentry training program, because they had once been a carpentry village.

He said that Sarvodaya is primarily for the youth, but when questioned further he said that the adults had other responsibilities. He said that Sarvodaya brought harmony and social organization. He said that things differ from the olden times (forty years ago) when youth frequently got together; today's life misses this. Sarvodaya has helped to bring this youth interaction back.

He commented that one of the needs of the village from his point of view was a reading room. When asked what materials might be locally available for the villagers to read in Sinhala, he said that there used to be old scripts at the temple, but that one of the monks took some of them with him when he left and that others had been sold or lost. However, he felt that there was this need to have a place where the young people could come and read and play games in the afternoon (traditional games).

When asked about the composition of the elder's council, he said that there were forty people on the council, twenty men and twenty women. When a man was too busy to attend a meeting, he might send his wife in his place. He said that this council evaluated and decided upon activities for recommendation to the Youth Council. But, due to the parliamentary/democracy system, youth don't always do the things which they suggest.

He asked whether there were doctors like himself in the United States. Lin assured him that there were, though probably not a lot. We mentioned the faith healers that we have there, as well as general herb doctors.

At the very end of the interview he asked to see the palm of Lin's hand. He looked at the palm quickly and gave it back with no comment. A member of the research team later said that the old man had told him that he simply wanted to know if Lin were going to be of any value to the village or not.

Preschool Teacher Interview:

3:00 P.M. 8/16/78

(The teacher whom we interviewed and the other teacher at the preschool had had two months of training with Sarvodaya for their preschool work. They have been working in this village for eight months.)

The Setting, The Process (Carol's Notes):

After the interview with the older man, we were invited to take tea at the preschool while we interviewed the preschool teacher. A small group of young men followed us into the room where we were to meet. Many children and a few adults gathered outside of the front door.

Jayakody and Indra took seats behind the table where the tea things were spread, Lin and I shared a small settee on the other side of the table. The rest of the team sat on a long wooden bench next to the opposite wall. The preschool teacher sat apart from a table in a chair, while the other teacher stood behind her chair throughout the interview. At the end of the interview, Jayakody poured the soft drinks and we all had cookies and bananas with them. Then we signed messages in the preschool book and the center book.

The Dialogue:

The preschool teacher was asked to tell about the general schedule which the children follow on a typical day. These are some of the activities she noted:

First, there is the recitation of some Buddhist/Sarvodaya prayer texts. Then the children are allowed to work with the materials they select for that morning. After some time they are gathered into a group and the teacher may read or tell a story or poem, or the children may share something with the group. Sometimes they may go outdoors for a bit. Then there is lunch. After lunch they will return to their homes.

There are two two-year-olds, some three-year-olds, and others four, five and six in the school. In response to the question as to whether or not the mothers ever make suggestions about the program and what it should or might contain, she said that at first there was no reading preparation in their program, but that the mothers of some of the older children who would soon be entering school were insistent on having some introduction to reading. So now the teachers do this for that group every day. This reading preparation activity usually takes place just before lunch.

In response to the question as to whether or not the fathers make any input or contributions or suggestions to the preschool program, she said no. She also said that they (the teachers) never have any contact with the fathers....only with the mothers.

Headmaster Interview:

2:00 P.M. 8/17/78

(The headmaster is a native of this village, and was the instrumental force in getting Sarvodaya established here. There are 17 teachers at the school, eight of whom are also from Kabillewela. There are over 300 students at the school which goes through the tenth grade.)

The Setting, The Process (Carol's Notes):

This interview took place at the Gramodaya Center Building. We had picked the headmaster up at his home and gone to the classroom section of the Center building for the interview. However, we moved almost immediately to another section of the building to make room for a group of ten to fifteen young women from villages in the Sarvodaya service area who were participants in a preschool teacher training class. We therefore conducted the interview in the other half of the Center building.

A young man brought out additional chairs, and members of the research group arranged themselves about the room. The headmaster, Lin, and Jayakody (who did the interpreting) sat near each other on chairs near the partition which divided us from the classroom. Indra and I were seated on a rather uncomfortable, narrow bench against the opposite wall. Indra, Jayasena, and Tilak who were all near the door got up and left the room or walked about from time to time during the interview. The rest of us remained in our seats. Throughout the interview the preschool teacher trainer's voice could be heard quite clearly as she taught her class in the next room. For the most part, the interaction was between Lin, Jayakody and the headmaster.

The Dialogue (Lin's Notes):

The headmaster noted that the young people participated in Sarvodaya activities, but that the old do not. This, he said, is primarily because the adults are just not curious enough to want to learn. Individuals might come together as a group for some cooperative endeavor, but when each had benefitted from the group effort, the tendency was for each to go his own way. He said that people were too poor to participate much, and that some would not even send their children to school because they were too poor.

When asked about the prospects for organized adult education classes, he at first did not think much of the prospects for success, but when the discussion got down to more specific terms, such as farmers learning how to grow new crops, women learning how to sew, etc., he stated that these things might be very possible if someone would organize them.

He described a project now underway by the community development department which focused on current world affairs, development

problems and issues within Sri Lanka and the local region, and that this seemed to be a successful program from the standpoint of public participation. He said that this kind of program seemed especially interesting to adults.

Villager Interview:

3:00 P.M. 8/17/78

(The villager interviewed was a retired government contractor in his sixties. Originally this village had consisted of only about 15 houses. However some years ago a number of families of people who worked in Bandarawela moved to this village, thus increasing its size quite a bit. These people continued to work in Bandarawela, even though they lived in Kabillewela.)

The Setting, The Process (Carol's Observations):

This was the second house we visited, as the man whom the headmaster had hoped to have us interview was not at home. The house of this first person was a very nice, rather large plaster home. As we walked through the village to the second home where the interview was actually conducted, we passed quite a few nice homes. We did not notice any poor, run-down buildings or homes at all in this section of the village. Since we did not walk all the way through the community, however, we did not have a chance to note if this was characteristic of the entire village or not.

The yard of the man whom we interviewed was rather large. In front of the house he had two small dogs kept in small, raised locked cages, one on each side. There were a number of large, decorative plants around the sides of the house.

This home was a very nice one indeed. It was large and comfortable, made of plaster with two sala or seating areas. One such area was immediately in front of the front door, another a room just to the side. The house was nicely furnished with both solid and wicker sala sets, display cabinets, a desk and chair, a dining area visible to us, as well as a bedroom to the side.

Lin, the headmaster, Jayakody, Indra, our host and I sat in the inner sala in chairs ranged around a coffee table. Two other members of the research group sat in the entrance area.

The wife and children of our host stayed back in the dining area throughout the interview, observing all. At an appropriate time our host had his young daughter bring us all tea.

The Dialogue:

When he was asked what weaknesses he saw in the activities, he said that the youth would get together in a Sarvodaya training project or activity and learn all they could; then, rather than continuing to work together on the project, they would quit and try to make use of what they had learned for individual gain.

That would not work out, and later, maybe in a few months, they would participate in another Sarvodaya activity for a while, only to quit and try to use what they had gained for themselves alone. He said that this kind of thing was a real problem in this village.

He noted that in the old days it was not difficult to make a living in this area, and people did not have to put so much time into doing so. But in modern times it has become very difficult just to maintain a family and provide for the education of the children. Because of this people do not have time to participate in community activities such as Sarvodaya. Only the young people have time for this because they have nothing else to do.

A question was posed as to who was not involved in Sarvodaya, and why did he think these people were not involved. The man responded that nearly all of the people in the village were involved, but those who were not were just too busy because they had to earn a living.

At one point he gave the following illustration of what he called the perverse nature of the people of this area: If you ask a person the directions to Bandarawela (name of a nearby town), the people in this area would tell you the most difficult route instead of the easiest.

Carol then asked him, "What do you think that Sarvodaya might have to offer the middle-aged and very old people in this village?"

His initial response was a bit negative. He said that the middle-aged people had too many responsibilities to be involved in Sarvodaya. He also said that as for the very old, about the only thing that could be done was to provide them with a good meal from time to time (to be done by the young people in Sarvodaya) since they were just waiting to die.

She responded by saying she felt that perhaps the old people might actually have something to contribute to the young people, such as stories, traditions, skills and other things to teach them and share with them.

At first his reaction to this was still rather neutral or negative, until Jayasena and Tilak tried to expand on her meaning. Then he got excited and got out a book of which he was quite fond. He showed Jayakody and then Carol a paragraph in the book. He went on to tell how he had purchased the book in 1928, and that it told in simple layman's terms how to make various useful items. Apparently he had long been interested in having people involved in doing this.

We then described for him the Foxfire experiment in the United States, and how it had put the young people back in touch with the old, and how mutual respect and learning had taken place.

The headmaster mentioned during this period that this idea was similar to this man's interest. The difference (which we perhaps did not point out clearly enough, however) is that the young people interviewed the older ones, not took information from a book, but essentially wrote a book themselves. It was also mentioned that this was an area of work (with the adults)

that Sarvodaya might want to look into in the future. The man agreed that this was a possibility.

During this discussion of involvement of and programs for adults as well as for youth, the look on the face of the headmaster seemed to indicate that he was either not much interested in seeing this happen or that he felt that the youth work was the most important thing that Sarvodaya could do in this village. (Our host mentioned that the headmaster alone, and later one or two others joined with him, had seen to it that Sarvodaya got going in this village.) In response to what she saw as the headmaster's concerns, Carol's next major question was directed at getting positive information (as opposed to new suggestions or directions or comments on what was not being done) from the host about Sarvodaya's input in this particular village.

She asked, "What do you see as the best thing that Sarvodaya has done in this village?"

The best thing, he said, is that Sarvodaya has brought peace to the village. He also said that it had provided the youth a sense of direction and had helped to build the village spirit, a sense of community.

Appendix C

Interview Schedule

SUMMARY OF THEMES

- Theme I - Existing traditional (culture-rooted) participation patterns in the village context.
- Theme II - Existing procedures by which villagers (and perceived capacity of villagers to) participate meaningfully in identifying needs.
- Theme III - Origin and extent of participation in the _____ Development Projects.
- Theme IV - Characteristics differentiating participants from non-participants and degree of participation among participants in a development effort.
- Theme V - Social, economic and political factors which are either encouraging or hindering participation in the _____ Projects.
- Theme VI - Participation in _____ Projects - determining projects, evolving methods of working and deciding upon instructional roles that have to be played in the project implementation.
- Theme VII - Benefits of participation in determining projects, evolving working methods of those projects and in playing instructional roles in implementing the projects.
- Theme VIII - Characteristics and activities of _____ workers in promoting villager participation in a _____ Project.
- Theme IX - Nature and duration of relationship between facilitators and client community.
- Theme X - Nature of participation in sanctioning and legitimizing _____ activities.
- Theme XI - Functional outcome of _____ Development Projects; that is, general changes that have taken place in those who participated which you feel are a direct result of their participation in those activities.

(b) INFORMAL ACTIVITY (_____)
(Name)

- 4) What are the reasons for many peoples' participation in these formal activities? Describe taking each formal activity (named in Section 1) separately, if possible.

PARTICIPATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAMMING (P.E.P.)

PHASE I

(Thematic Guide for Open-ended Interview with Key Informants)

Theme I - Existing traditional (culture-rooted) participation patterns in the village context.

I would like to understand the activity patterns of the people in this village; what they do; how they do and why? Therefore, please tell me what kind of activities the people here participate in. In other words, outside of working, sleeping, eating, conducting family business, or other basic and necessary activities such as cooking and nursing the sick, how do the people spend their time?

Probes

Name formal situations (such as funerals, feasts, rites of initiation or passage).

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| a. _____ | f. _____ |
| b. _____ | g. _____ |
| c. _____ | h. _____ |
| d. _____ | i. _____ |
| e. _____ | j. _____ |

2) Name informal situations (such as games, contests, story-telling, gossip at bathing places and gossip at village boutique).

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| a. _____ | f. _____ |
| b. _____ | g. _____ |
| c. _____ | h. _____ |
| d. _____ | i. _____ |
| e. _____ | j. _____ |

3) Describe in detail the participation in one formal and one informal activity.

(a) FORMAL ACTIVITY (_____)
(Name)

- 8) Do people (a) devote time (days, weeks, or months) separately for the purposes of relaxation and enjoyment, or (b) do they attempt to have relaxation and enjoyment while they are at work? Describe.

Theme II - Existing procedures by which villagers (and perceived capacity of villagers to) participate meaningfully in identifying needs and making decisions about meeting those needs.

As you will know, people will always have problems and needs no matter who they are or where they are. It is necessary to know the problems and needs of the people in this village and what the villagers think and feel about them.

- 1) How, where, and with whom villagers spend time in discussing problems? Describe.

- 2) Are villagers aware what they want to know in order to solve their problems? Describe.

6) To what extent/level/degree do you make decisions about your problems?
Describe.

7) To what extent/level/degree do you make decisions regarding the solutions
to what your problems are? Describe.

8) Who influences you in decision-making?
(Professionally who is he/are they?)

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____

9) If you have a problem, whose advice do you seek? (several professionals)

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____

10) What is the inter-relationship of those professional people you have
named in 8) and 9) above? Describe.

11) Did you see any change in that relationship since the _____
Movement was introduced to your village? Describe.

12) To solve your problems, what action(s) do you take?

a. You do it alone?

Yes

No

b. With the cooperation of other villagers?

c. With the cooperation of Government officials?

d. Combining b and c above?

e. By any other way?

(Name It)

f. Describe your action if taken under d above.

g. Describe your action if taken under c above.

Theme III - Origin and extent of participation in the
Development Projects.

1) How did _____ Movement get started in the village? Describe.

2) How and why did you get drawn into the _____ Movement?

3) How about some of the following as reasons for your participation in
_____ activities?

	Totally	Very Much	Some- what	Very little	Not at all
a. Dependent upon the availability of time for you	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Dependent upon the availability of resources	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Dependent upon the degree of acceptance of the goals of the project	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Dependent upon the attractiveness of the probable rewards of the project	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Dependent upon the pressure of the people in the upper socio-economic strata (peer)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Dependent upon a felt need to conform	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	Totally	Very much	Some- what	Very little	Not all
g. Dependent upon a felt need to belong	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. Dependent upon the provision available to do social service in the project	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Dependent upon the degree of satisfaction that one could achieve in completing the project	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. Dependent upon the possibility of the project to unite the village community, shunning the petty differences and disunity of the villagers	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4) (a) What type of village residents (priests, teachers, headmasters, physicians, dispensers, village leaders, other government servants, etc.) were instrumental in organizing the activities, and (b) describe how they have got about in organizing the activities?					
(a)					
(b)					
5) (a) What type of non-residents (outsiders) were instrumental in organizing the activities, and (b) describe how they have got about in organizing the activities?					
(a)					
(b)					

6) After joining the _____ Movement, do you contribute in the following areas:

	Yes	No
a. Providing leadership	_____	_____
b. Assisting those organizing projects	_____	_____
c. Providing food, etc.	_____	_____
d. Providing tools and equipment	_____	_____
e. Providing funds	_____	_____
f. Providing advice, ideas, opinions, suggestions where necessary	_____	_____
g. Canvassing villagers to participate in work involved in the project	_____	_____
h. Canvassing the people to provide material inputs necessary to complete the project	_____	_____
i. Assisting the organizers of the project in decision-making	_____	_____
j. Making positive efforts to settle minor conflicts and minor differences that arise in the course of implementation of the project work	_____	_____
k. Any other:	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(Name)		

7) Do you make the major decisions about this project alone? If so, what are such major decisions? Describe.

8) If you do not make major decisions, do you just implement the decisions of others? Who are these others? (Give their socio-economic status.)

- 9) Which would you like: the organization of activities in your village by the villagers themselves, including you, or by the outsiders? Please give reasons in support of your views.

Theme IV - Characteristics differentiating participants from non-participants and degree of participation among participants in a development effort.

In a village, there will always be some people who participate and some who are less prone to participate. Thinking of your village and your fellow villagers, what would you say are the major differences between participants and non-participants in development projects in your village?

- 1) The active participants are mostly (a) _____ Youths
(b) _____ Middle Age
(c) _____ Old
- Which is the second most active group? _____
- 2) They are mostly (a) _____ Males
(b) _____ Females
or (c) _____ Both
- 3) They are mostly (a) _____ People of no schooling
(b) _____ School drop-outs
(c) _____ Average educated (S.S.C. qualified)
(d) _____ Well educated (Advance Level to Degree)
(e) _____ All of the groups given above (letter combinations) _____
- 4) Their social status in the village is (a) _____ High
(b) _____ Medium
(c) _____ Low

- The status of the second most active group is
- (a) _____ High
(b) _____ Medium
(c) _____ Low
- 5) Their income is
- (a) _____ Very low
(b) _____ Average
(c) _____ High
- 6) They are mostly
- (a) _____ Unemployed
(b) _____ Employed
(c) _____ Under-employed
(d) _____ Of no such distinction
(e) _____ Of combination given above
- 7) They are mostly
- (a) _____ Old settlers
(b) _____ Comparatively new-comers
or (c) _____ Both
- 8) Are the non-participants (and those less prone to participate) mostly
- (a) _____ Youth
(b) _____ Middle Age
(c) _____ Old
- Which group is the next least prone to participate?
- (a) _____ Youth
(b) _____ Middle age
(c) _____ Old
- 9) Are non-participants mostly
- (a) _____ Males
(b) _____ Females
or (c) _____ Both
- 10) Are they mostly
- (a) _____ People of no schooling
(b) _____ School drop-outs
(c) _____ Average education (passed S.S.C.)
(d) _____ Well educated (Advance Level to Degree)
(e) _____ All
(f) _____ Or in which groups together?
Give appropriate letter (above combination)
- 11) Their social status in the village is
- (a) _____ High
(b) _____ Medium
(c) _____ Low

- 12) Their income is (a) _____ Very low
(b) _____ Average
(c) _____ High
- 13) They are mostly (a) _____ Unemployed
(b) _____ Employed
(c) _____ Under-employed
or (d) _____ Of no such distinction
- 14) They are mostly (a) _____ Old settlers
(b) _____ Comparatively new settlers
or (c) _____ Both
- 15) What attitudinal and behavioral changes have you observed in those who participate in the _____ projects in the village?
- 16) What attitudinal and behavioral changes have you observed in those who have changed from being low or non-participants to become high participants or people who have demonstrated increased participation in _____ activities in the village?
- 17) There may be some people in your village who were once very active in the _____ activities in the village but do not take part in _____ activities at present. They must be having their own reasons for the change. Do you know what the reasons are? If so, please describe them.

18) If there are people in your village who never participated in _____ activities, they also must be having their own reasons for non-participation. Do you know what these reasons are? If you know, please describe them.

19) The following are some characteristics of people. I will present them to you as opposites. Please tell me whether these characteristics are typical of a high participant or typical of a low participant.

	High	Low
a) Has a strong desire for self-advancement	_____	_____
b) Has a weak desire to achieve	_____	_____
c) Has a strong sense of being able to accomplish whatever he/she sets his/her mind to	_____	_____
d) Has a sense of being personally able to accomplish his/her goals	_____	_____
e) Thinks positively of himself/herself as a person	_____	_____
f) Thinks negatively of himself/herself as a person	_____	_____
g) He/she is bossy in his/her relations with others	_____	_____
h) He/she is democratic in his/her relations with others	_____	_____
i) He/she has a strong need to belong to a group	_____	_____
j) He/she is independent in his/her behavior and ideas	_____	_____
k) Has a strong need to feel accepted by the group norms	_____	_____
l) Doesn't care for what others think of him/her	_____	_____

20) What rewards or positive sanctions accrue to those persons experiencing success in group participatory efforts in learning and/or development efforts

- 8) What are
courage i
- 9) What other outside forces act to encourage participation?
- 10) What other outside forces act to discourage participation?
- 11) Could you describe how people regard each other and how they come to agreement or disagreement in respect of participation in _____
_____ Projects.

12) Very generally, all of many of the following persons constitute the different socio-economic facets of the village:

- a) _____ priests
- b) _____ headmasters
- c) _____ teachers
- d) _____ herb-doctors and midwives
- e) _____ dispensers
- f) _____ other government officials
- g) _____ semi-government officials
- h) _____ workers in private establishments
- i) _____ traders
- j) _____ money lenders
- k) _____ land owners
- l) _____ artisans
- m) _____ self-employers in farming, fishing, etc.

Describe briefly how you personally relate to them in action.

13) Have you got any idea as to what those in a) to m) and others not listed in 12 above think of you? If so, please describe.

Theme VI - Participation in _____ Projects
determining projects, evolving methods of
working the projects and deciding upon in-
structional roles that have to be played in
the project implementation.

	Yes	No
1) Do most villagers here participate in the process of determining the content of the _____ Projects?	_____	_____
2) Do the villagers expect outsiders and the leading personalities (such as priests, headmasters) in the village to determine the content of the _____ Projects?	_____	_____
3) Is there any other way of determining the project contents? If yes, please state how.	_____	_____
4) Do most villagers here evolve the methods of implementing the projects?	_____	_____
5) Do they expect outsiders and the leading personalities in the village to evolve the methods of implementing the projects?	_____	_____
6) Is any other approach adopted to evolve the methods of implementing the projects? If yes, please state how.	_____	_____
7) Do most villagers here play instructional roles in implementing the projects?	_____	_____

- | | Yes | No |
|--|-------|-------|
| 8) Do they expect outsiders and leading personalities to play the instructional roles in these projects? | _____ | _____ |
| 9) Is there any other particular way of playing the instructional roles in project implementation?
If yes, please describe. | _____ | _____ |
| 10) Please describe the content of a _____ Project that was carried out in your village. | | |
| 11) Please describe the method of implementation of a _____ Project in your village. | | |
| 12) Please state what category of people (villagers, leading personalities of village, government officials from outside, etc.) played instructional roles in one of the _____ Projects completed in your village. | | |

Theme VIII - Characteristics and activities of
workers in promoting villager
participation in a Project
(Facilitator - Active Worker).

Thinking about the activities in your village, whom can you identify as the three best facilitators (in order of merit) of the activities?

1) 1st Facilitator:

- a) Name _____
- b) Age _____
- c) Sex _____
- d) Civil Status _____
- e) Denomination _____
- f) Level of Education _____
- g) Principal and Secondary Occupations _____
- h) Resident/Non-resident _____
- i) Extent of Land Owned _____
- j) Family Status _____
- k) Any Other (Describe) _____

2nd Facilitator

- a) Name _____
- b) Age _____
- c) Sex _____
- d) Civil Status _____
- e) Denomination _____
- f) Level of Education _____
- g) Principal and Secondary Occupations _____
- h) Resident/Non-resident _____
- i) Extent of Land Owned _____
- j) Family Status _____
- k) Any Other (Describe) _____

3rd Facilitator

- a) Name _____
- b) Age _____
- c) Sex _____
- d) Civil Status _____
- e) Denomination _____
- f) Level of Education _____
- g) Principal and Secondary Occupations _____

- h) Resident/Non-resident _____
- i) Extent of Land Owned _____
- j) Family Status _____
- k) Any Other (Describe) _____

2) How are the _____ Workers (facilitators) recruited and trained?

3) Are you satisfied with the selection criteria for training? If not satisfied, what suggestions do you have to improve?

4) What kind of training do they receive before and after they begin to work in _____ Projects? Describe.

9) Do they have cultural traits such as

	Yes	No
a) ability to mix	_____	_____
b) good listening	_____	_____
c) authentic	_____	_____
d) democratic	_____	_____
e) non-patronizing	_____	_____
f) direct in dealings	_____	_____
g) evasive in dealings	_____	_____
h)	_____	_____
i)	_____	_____
j)	_____	_____
k)	_____	_____
l)	_____	_____
m)	_____	_____
n)	_____	_____

Theme IX - Nature and duration of relationship between facilitators and client community.

1) How would you, in your own terms, describe this relationship, in general?

2) Please describe an example of good relationship with which you are familiar.

3) Describe one you would consider bad.

4) Do you think that the people here may sometimes come to depend too much upon a facilitator? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, why does this happen?

5) Do facilitators sometimes do things which result in their creating too much dependence upon them by the people? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what are these things which they do?

6) In what ways do the people become dependent upon a facilitator?

7) Do facilitators retire from the carrying out of local (village) projects without damages or reducing the chances of success of the projects?
Please comment.

8) Do the people ever initiate or carry out projects on their own without the assistance or suggestions of "outside" facilitators? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, how so.

9) How do facilitators generally treat the people here in "this" village?

	Yes	No
10) a) Are the facilitators over-protective?	_____	_____
b) Do the facilitators allow the participants to keep on making mistakes?	_____	_____
c) Are the facilitators patronizing only?	_____	_____
d) Are the facilitators directive or bossy?	_____	_____
e) Do they accept the ideas and suggestions of the people?	_____	_____

11) How do people treat facilitators?
(Below are some possibilities.)

	Yes	No
a) They are obsequious.	_____	_____
b) Overly warm towards facilitators	_____	_____
c) They pay lip-service only.	_____	_____
d) They are hostile.	_____	_____
e) Evasive	_____	_____
f) Indifferent (non-committal)	_____	_____
g)	_____	_____
h)	_____	_____
i)	_____	_____

12) Perhaps the people treat different facilitators differently, depending upon certain background characteristics about the facilitators. Are the people more likely to treat a facilitator better on the basis of whether or not

	Yes	No
a) he has the ability to converse with them, and in a convincing manner?	_____	_____
b) he is of the same village?	_____	_____
c) he is of the same community?	_____	_____
d) he is of the same social class?	_____	_____
e) he is of the same religion?	_____	_____
f) he has similar values and beliefs?	_____	_____
g) he has had experience similar to their own?	_____	_____

Theme X - Nature of participation in sanctioning and legitimizing _____ activities.
In other words, do people play a role in determining what will take place in the village?

1) In your view, who in the village are important in giving legitimacy to _____ activities? What socio-economic personalities (e.g., headmaster, native physician, priest) are they?

- 2) Whose association would detract from giving legitimacy?
- 3) Do you know what are the reasons for these people (in [1] and [2] above) to give or not give legitimacy to _____ activities? Describe
Reasons to give legitimacy:
- Reasons not to give legitimacy:
- 4) Describe how the people of this village go about determining whether or not a _____ Project is appropriate to the village.

Theme XI - Functional outcome of participation in development projects. That is, general changes that have taken place in those who participated which (you feel) are a direct result of their participation in those activities.

- 1) Can you provide me with a few specific examples of behavioral changes that have occurred? Please describe the types of changes.

2) What can you surmise from this? Is there some general principle you can see here between participation and behavior changes? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please explain.

3) Do you see any relationship between the type and extent of village participation, on the one hand, and the ability of a development project to sustain itself, on the other? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please explain.

4) Is there any relationship between participation and the ability of a project or learning activity to have a spread-effect? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please explain.

5) Do you say that the people are adequately motivated after taking part in _____ projects, to participate in future projects?
Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what factors can you identify which might operate to sustain their motivation to participate? Give those reasons under economic, political, personality, and other factors separately.

- 6) If no to 5) above, what factors can you identify which hinder the motivation to participate? Give those reasons under economic, political, personality, and other factors separately.

Appendix D

Newspaper Article

The role of Sarvodaya

Gunadasa Liyanage

"DAMSAK MANDIRA," the best building complex of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is due to be ceremonially declared open by the President of Sri Lanka on the 15th of May at Moratuwa.

This building constructed in the form of the wheel of the Dhamma (Dharma Chakra) is believed to be the first of its kind in the history of buildings in this country.

The twenty first annual general meeting of the Sarvodaya Sangamaya was held exactly ten days ago and there is no doubt that the twenty first anniversary is a very important landmark in the life of a nation or an organisation. Looking back at the history of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, one can clearly see

that it has not been a bed of roses for the founder A. T. Ariyaratne or his band of tireless workers.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana movement which was originally known only as the Shramadana movement first came into the limelight with the celebrated work camp in the village of Kanatoluwa in the Belgirya electorate nearly two decades ago.

Kanatoluwa was a very backward village in which so-called low caste people lived.

In the first week of December 1958 a student Shramadana army of over 300 headed by Ariyaratne 'marched' to Kanatoluwa and set up camp there amidst protests from the vested interests of the high castes in the area.

In spite of protests and underground activities, the Shramadana workers lived with the 'low caste' people for eleven days and nights like brothers and sisters.

Its future

With the dilapidated huts being repaired, wells sunk, latrines built, new games taught, literacy classes begun, sleepy Kanatoluwa was awakened and turned into a busy place. Newspaper, and radio went to town with stories and pictures of the new adventure, thus making Shramadana almost the fad of the day.

At the Kanatoluwa camp Ariyaratne addressing the 'family gathering' of students said that 'this movement will develop to such an extent that

There was no doubt that the Principal considered it a joke at that time to talk of Shramadana work being discussed at the UNO level. The other elders too must have held the same view. Ariyaratne himself, though he made the remark through over enthusiasm may not have expected such a bright future.

But time can do (and has done) wonders. At the beginning a small house at Maradana, where Ariyaratne lived, was the Headquarters of the movement a narrow path between two shop walls led to this humble abode which was popularly known as 'Delgaha Vata Gedera' or the house under the bread fruit tree. There was a tall breadfruit tree in the front yard and hence the name.

Operating from this small house Ariyaratne was able to make his movement world-famous, within a matter of ten years, by winning the Ramon Magsaysay Award for community leadership in 1959.

In twenty years the Sarvodaya movement has grown so rapidly that it has embraced over 2000 villages in Sri Lanka and several other villages in foreign countries, like the Netherlands, West Germany, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Thailand and New Zealand.

Daily, more and more people are realising that the Sarvodaya way is the surest way to salvage our society. The United Nations Organisation

misconception that Sarvodaya is an organisation for opening up roads and digging wells in rural villages, while some others think that it is only a carbon copy of Mahatma Vinoba Bhave's movement.

Although Ariyaratne did miles and miles of 'pada yatra' (walk) with Vinoba in remote villages in India and learnt many a lesson from him, the local Sarvodaya is a unique thing. In fact when Ariyaratne asked for advice from Vinoba the latter is reported to have said:

"You need not wait for my advice. The way to develop your country is explained in detail in the Dhammapada. Go back and work according to the Dhammapada."

The literary meaning of the word Sarvodaya is 'awakening of all' (Sarva-all, Udaya - awakening). Sarvodaya does not believe that economic stagnation and poverty are inevitable. It is consistent with the Buddhist principle that salvation lies primarily in one's own hands, be it an individual or a group.

Village level

Sarvodaya does not believe in plans for the village drawn in air-conditioned rooms in Colombo. Instead the plans originate from the village by the villagers. Sarvodaya never encourages the 'airlifting' of factories, experts and imported raw material to the village. It always tries to make use of available talents and raw material in the village.

The first target of Sarvodaya is 'Paurushodaya', which means the awakening of the person. The second is 'Gramodaya' or the awakening of the village and the third is 'Deshodaya' or the awakening of the

From the Headquarters at the 'Meth Medura' the Sarvodaya message has now spread to over 2000 villages in Sri Lanka. The largest Sarvodaya Development Education Centre is at Tanamsivilva in the Moneragala District. This centre is 370 acres in extent and can be described as an ideal rural university.

As a person Ariyaratne has suffered untold miseries in pursuing his noble task for the last two decades. He says that seventy-five per cent of his valuable time during the past twenty years had to be sacrificed for protecting himself and the movement from the 'enemies'. Twenty per cent of the time was devoted to find money for the movement and he was able to save only five per cent of the time to think and improve the movement.

Murder

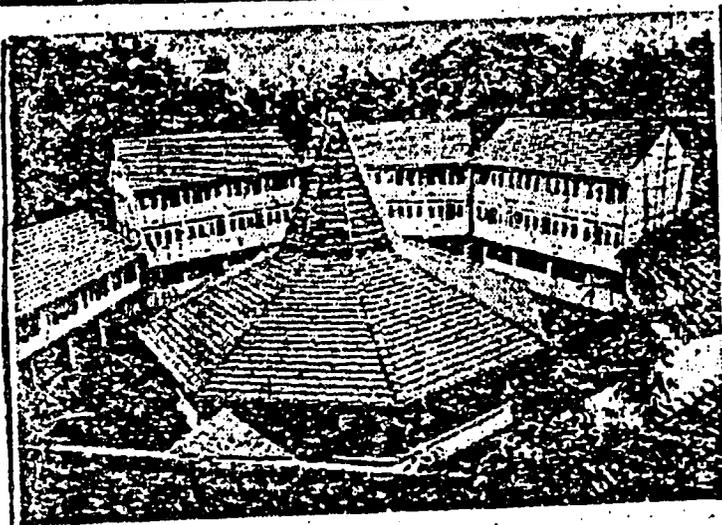
It is a little known fact that during the Nalanda days certain people hired a notorious thug from Maradana to kill Ariyaratne. The night before the scheduled murder, Ariyaratne walked into the thug's den and offered himself to be killed then and there, without polluting the Nalanda premises with blood. That bold step resulted in the 'king of thugs' protecting Ariyaratne and his boys for the rest of his (thug's) life.

During the height of the insurgency in April 1971 a powerful official in the Security Council tried his best to involve Ariyaratne in the insurgent movement. Fortunately the Army Chief and the Police Chief said in one voice that no insurgent activities were reported from any of the Sarvodaya villages and it was very unreasonable to drag Ariyaratne into it.

tion to see that the Government is giving every possible assistance to the Sarvodaya Movement. A plan made by the Prime Minister Mr. I. Premadasa to make of the Sarvodaya Movement every possible way for the development of the country reported to have received the approval from the Government.

Creating a 'Dhammachakya' is the expressed wish of President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and in this noble Sarvodaya, which is based on Metta, Karuna, Mudita, Upekka can and will play a very important role.

PROVINC



"Damsak Mandira" the latest building complex of the Sarvodaya Sramadana Movement will be ceremonially declared open by President J. R. Jayewardene today at Rawatawatta, Moratuwa. The entire cost of the building complex which amounts to one million rupees was borne by the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Twelve days after the ceremonial opening of the Damsak Mandira, the first Inter-

national Seminar on Sarvodaya will be opened there by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa. This seminar which will go on till April 7, will have "Sarvodaya and World Development" as its theme. Over twelve countries including West Germany, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Switzerland, India, Nepal, Thailand, Canada, Japan, Tanzania, Philippines, Guyana and Belgium are scheduled to participate in the seminar. USA?

Appendix E

Sri Lankan Local Government Organization

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ENVIRONMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN 1973

LEVEL	ORGANIZATION			SCALE (approx. pop'n.)	
CENTRAL	<u>MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, JUSTICE, & PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</u>			13 MILLION	
	<u>MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS</u>		<u>MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT</u>		
	DIRECTOR OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT	COMMISSIONER FOR PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES	COMMISSIONER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT		
DISTRICT	ASST. DIR. RURAL DEVELOPMENT	GOVERNMENT AGENT	ASST. COMMISSIONER LOCAL GOVERNMENT	500,000	
SUB-DISTRICT	RURAL DEV. SUPERVISOR	DIVISIONAL REVENUE OFFICER	LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR	60,000	
(REVENUE DIVISION)					
LOCAL	RURAL DEV. SOCIETIES	GRAMA SEVAKA	VILLAGE COUNCIL	10,000	
SUB-LOCAL		JANATA (PEOPLE'S) COMMITTEES	VC WARDS	COMMUNITY CENTERS	1,000

Appendix F

Resources

Resource Institutions

Academy for Educational Development
1414 Twenty-second Street N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Action for Development
Food and Agriculture Organization
of the UN (FAO), 00100 Rome, Italy

Appalachian Adult Education Center
Morehead State University
Morehead, Kentucky 40351

Asian Cultural Forum on Development
Room 201, 399/1, Soi Siri
off Silom Road, Bangkok 5, Thailand

Center for International Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts 01003

Clearinghouse for Non-Formal Education
Institute for International Studies in Education
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

Experimental World Literacy Programme
UNESCO
7, place de Fontenoy
75700 Paris, France

International Council of Adult Education
c/o Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

International Council for Educational Development
P.O. Box 217
Essex, Connecticut 06426

International Institute of Adult Literacy Methods
P.O. Box 1555
Tehran, Iran

Summer Institute of Linguistics
7500 West Camp Wisdom Road
Dallas, Texas 75211

World Education, Inc.
1414 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019