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**PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT:
PARADIGM SHIFT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE**

by

VIOLETA MANOUKIAN, B.A.

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada
December 15, 1989**

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submitted by Sherab Violeta Manoukian, in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Christopher J. Maule, Director
The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

Professor J. O'Manique, Supervisor

*This thesis is dedicated to
those suffering the effects of maldevelopment
and to those who would help*

Abstract

This study addresses international development from an evolutionary perspective, analyzes expanding concerns, and presents evidence for the emergence of an alternative paradigm of participatory development encompassing synergistic links and transcendental values. These processes are set within the context of a larger societal paradigm shift from a mechanistic to a holistic understanding of reality. Such transformative understanding includes not only development '*out there*' (addressing societal and ecological concerns) but also '*in here*' (within each one of us) to ensure meaning and sustainability.

The theoretical component of the research includes: 1) a historical critique of concerns about participation in development, 2) an emerging framework of participatory processes; 3) the salient aspects of a participatory paradigm, and; 4) the salient aspects of participatory implementation. A case study of the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka constitutes the empirical part, an international non-governmental organization's endogenous alternative approach to personal/societal development in theory and practice.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Administrative Committee on Coordination (UN)
ECLA	Economic Commission for Latin America (UN)
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
GW	Gramadana Worker
IIED	International Institute for the Environment and Development
IIRR	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMR	Infant Mortality Rates
ITK	Indigenous Technical Knowledge
MG	Mothers' Group
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PSS	People's School System
QLI	Quality of Life Indicators
RDF	Rural Development Facilitator
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SEEDS	Sarvodaya Economic Enterprises Development Services
SM	Sarvodaya Movement
SPIN	Segmented Polycephalous Ideology Network
STS	Sarvodaya Technical Services
UNP	United National Party (Sri Lanka)
UNRISD	United Nations Institute for Social Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

The next few decades are crucial. The time has come to break out of past patterns. Attempts to maintain social and ecological stability through old approaches to development and environmental protection will increase instability. Security must be sought through change.

From Our Common Future, report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : CONTEXT AND INTENT

This study is an acknowledgment of change: change in the role of citizens' participation in development, change in paradigms of development, and change in the concept of development itself. Ours is a rapidly changing world. The increased complexity and the accelerated speed of interactions which are common features of our civilization as the twentieth century comes to its close are changing how humans perceive and interact with their world. The pages that follow deal with development issues which are set against this backdrop of change that seems to be emerging in our world view — in humanity's sense of itself and its universe. It has been said that we live in an era of "change about change": not only are we and our world changing, but our *understanding* at which changes is changing as well. ¹

Another characteristic of our times is that never before in the history of humanity have we been so close to human extinction, whether due to a major ecological calamity or to nuclear warfare. Unprecedented as well are the numbers of human beings alive on this planet, where a growing majority

now lives in hunger and need. But these times are also unique in that "the magnitude of our difficulties may be matched only by the magnitude of our opportunities. . . There is exciting and desperately needed work to be done, and we are privileged to have the opportunity of doing it" [Walsh, 1984:93] .

The urgency of our present human predicament does not escape those involved in development work, since these conditions form the very core of the development problematique. "The next few decades are crucial. The time has come to break out of past patterns", the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) tells us. This is a definitive and explicit exposition of the interrelatedness of development , environment, economy, and security considerations, from both the immediate and the long-term perspectives. Though most of the ideas and prescriptions contained in it have been around for years, this is the most significant and distinguished cohesive presentation of such an approach – labeled *sustainable development* – delivered to the United Nations General Assembly and to national governments of both North and South. It is now accessible to the general public as a book entitled Our Common Future. It might very well herald a new era in development thought and implementation.

This prospect may take place if there is, first, an intellectual understanding as well as an intuitive grasp of what sustainable development is, which then might generate exchanges, that ultimately lead to practices instrumental in bringing about the desired change, which in turn would expand our understanding further, and so on... Not conceived of as a one-time only occurrence, these processes have a common core: *the participation of individuals and groups involved in personal and societal development*.

There can be no sustainable development without people's conscious participation. Aware of this indispensable condition, the Commission itself set the tone by implementing a participatory strategy in carrying out its mandate. In addition to consultations with advisory panels of experts, it held public hearings attended by government officials, researchers, members of non-governmental organizations (NGO's), and the general public. These took place in all major regions of the world showing that the issues addressed were of global concern, transcending political frontiers and disparate cultures.

Despite the widely different backgrounds of the Commission's twenty-one members and their individual interpretations of details and priorities, they were in agreement as to the lines along which change must take place. Their recommendations to the U.N. General Assembly state:

First and foremost, this Commission has been concerned with people - of all countries and all walks of life. And it is to people that we address our report. The changes in human attitudes that we call for depend on a vast campaign of education, debate, and public participation. This campaign must start now if sustainable human progress is to be achieved. [WCED, 1987:23, emphasis added].

We live in a world where the underdevelopment of the poor and the maldevelopment of the affluent inevitably result in: 1) an ever-increasing number of humans being subjected to subhuman living conditions and, 2) growing environmental degradation and irreversible depletion of the earth's resources. There seem to be no signs of reversing this trend working with present dominant development paradigms.

For those interested in sustainable development there is an impending need to seek alternatives to present dominant paradigms since these tend to

disregard the crucial importance of involving human beings — the common woman and man of the street or the fields — in the processes of change known as "development". The consequences of over thirty years of implementing this mainstream approach to development have left many unsatisfied, particularly on issues concerning the increase rather than decrease of inequalities between rich and poor. These widening gaps or cleavages in the fabric of society are occurring within and among nations. And since global population is steadily increasing, the numbers of human beings suffering from lack of adequate shelter and nutrition, two of the most elemental needs, are larger than ever before.

The high-income industrialized societies, with either market or centrally-planned economies, which have posed as models of development to be emulated by the less-industrialized ones, are also suffering from severe crises, particularly in their capacity to accomplish their declared aims. These societies are as much in need of development alternatives as the rest of the world. In their case, the expectations and institutional rigidities derived from past successes present impediments to change. The less-industrialized world, on the other hand, suffers from severe constraints which are the legacy of colonizing and modernizing disruptions that created havoc in human relations and those with nature. Also under severe strain are the relations between these two kinds of societies, the centre and the periphery or the North and the South both at global and regional levels of interaction.

In view of such conditions it seems appropriate to seek alternatives that could restore a sense of well-being and harmony, essential elements of sustainable development. These can emerge only from the minds and hearts of

people aware of these deteriorating local and global conditions and capable of reversing such trends. A massive input of creativity is called for, one that brings together the efforts of specialists and common individuals, so that dissatisfaction may give rise to workable solutions instead of despair. This vast reservoir of untapped resources — people — could make a world of difference.

It will become obvious in the unfolding of the material in this presentation that people's participation is being addressed from a holistic perspective. This perspective encompasses individual and collective realities; it addresses development issues in inner and outer realms — in consciousness as well as in activities. This *context and this kind* of participation is quite different from the one endorsed in mechanistic approaches, different enough to warrant the use of the term *participatory development* to denote this emerging holistic perspective.

Therefore, the central thesis presented in this essay is that participatory development paradigms could create the optimum conditions to enhance and sustain the well-being of individuals and communities, ranging from the local to the global scale. And before looking closer at what is meant by this statement, it might prove fruitful to examine some of the underlying premises from which this thesis is drawn. These could be briefly stated as:

a) The dominant mechanistic Western world view is gradually being replaced by an emerging organic and holistic conception of reality. This is manifested in the realm of scientific discoveries as well as in the ways in which growing numbers of people chose to live their lives. This transition

may take decades, even centuries, to come to complete fruition but the seeds in the form of trends are present and observable now.

b) The realm of beliefs and the realm of knowledge of phenomena — even to the basic level of sensory perception — are interconnected, so that the latter is conditioned by the former.

c) Paradigms of development reflect the belief systems held valid in the world views of the societies from which they emerge by creating and perpetuating in the so-called real world the consequent "realities" of such beliefs. Hence the need to foster the growth of new paradigms of development that reflect the shifts to an emerging holistic perspective now beginning to take place in our worldview.

d) The outcome of development programs and projects is directly related to the qualities of people who design and implement them. Therefore a very important nexus exists between the personal and the social dimensions of development. Though this statement seems self-evident, mainstream development paradigms seldom address this crucial connection. They focus mainly on states of having rather than being, the natural corollary of adherence to mechanistic and reifying belief systems.

The interconnected processes upon which these premises are based are represented in Fig. 1 as a circular diagram where personal and collective beliefs act like a basic data base that becomes a set of representational models or paradigms. These paradigms constitute the basis for a world view, an operating system that colours the understanding of a society's perceptions of reality so that its members cannot possibly imagine a different way of looking at the world; consequently, it links once again with our beliefs and values. It is at this stage where mutations may originate, such as the one we are

experiencing now. These processes depict the inter-acting elements of a basic information processing system.

Fig. 1 Basic information processing system

The major ideas of a civilization which constitute the pillars of its world view are usually put forth by a handful of seminal thinkers acting as mutants in the processes portrayed in the preceding diagram. They start by being breakthroughs of limited scope that, with the passage of time, expand to shape the whole society. This study points to the emergence of such a mutant, a holistic world view that is at present co-existing with its mechanistic predecessor and relates this to contrasting paradigms of development — alternative and mainstream, respectively. Within the context of a critique of mechanistic approaches to development the present study portrays these

emerging alternative approaches focusing on the relevance of participation as central to the problems being addressed.

This holistic world view is emerging as a result of paradigm shifts in varied fields of endeavour that are superseding the tenets and practices of their antecedents. In his seminal work about such shifts, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Thomas Kuhn describes the transition between old and new paradigms as follows:

Probably the single most prevalent claim advanced by the proponents of a new paradigm is that they can solve the problems that have led the old one to a crisis. When it can be legitimately made, this claim is often the most effective one possible. In the area for which it is advanced the paradigm is known to be in trouble. That trouble has repeatedly been explored, and attempts to remove it have again and again proved vain. [Kuhn, 1962:153].

The transition from a paradigm in crisis to a new one from which a new tradition of normal science can emerge is far from a cumulative process, one achieved by an articulation or extension of the old paradigm. Rather, it is a reconstruction of the field from new fundamentals, a reconstruction that changes some of the field's most elementary theoretical generalizations as well as many of its paradigm methods and applications. During the transition period there will be a large but never complete overlap between the problems that can be solved by the old and by the new paradigm. But there will also be a decisive difference in the modes of solution. [Kuhn, 1962:84-5].

One of the goals of the present study is to address the need for a paradigm change in development by portraying the crisis that afflicts prevalent mechanistic approaches, a crisis depicted in such present conditions as the sustained poverty of over two thirds of the population of our planet, the disastrous imbalances resulting from indiscriminate tamperings with our ecosystem, and the potential for nuclear destruction. In so doing it will present several of the alternatives that participatory paradigms of development address with the intention of stimulating critical thinking and

dialogue among those searching for more valid theoretical and practical approaches to this problematique.

Before addressing these several aspects of participatory development paradigms which constitute the main body of this study, this introduction aims to set the tone of the discussion by explicitly stating the premises that underlie its formulation. The first of such premises is that today's dominant world view which started three centuries or so ago, when paradigm shifts in such fields as astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy in Europe led to the advent of mechanistic scientism, is now being challenged by an emerging holistic counterpart. Among the most famous precursors of this dominant world view are Bacon, Descartes, Newton, Hobbes, Locke, and Smith. It is a mechanical world view, i.e. an approach where the observer and the observed are separated to provide a neutral ground for "objective knowledge". This knowledge was to be used, according to Bacon, to take command over things natural. Nature was perceived as simple point masses moving in space when Descartes reduced quality to quantity in space and time. Newton contributed the mathematical model for describing mechanical motion which answered the perennial question of how did the universe work.

The mechanical world view dealt exclusively with material in motion, because that was the only thing that could be mathematically measured. It was a world view made for machines, not people. By separating and then eliminating all the qualities of life from the quantities of which they are a part, the architects of the machine paradigm were left with a cold, inert universe made up entirely of dead matter. It was a short journey from the world as pure matter to the world of pure materialism [Rifkin, 1980:22-3, emphasis added].

The route for such journey was mapped by Hobbes' and Locke's formulations that brought the sphere of social interaction into the world

machine paradigm and by Smith's contributions regarding economic pursuits. Hobbes' idea that "man is a wolf to man" led him to conclude that individuals should give up personal rights in exchange for protection from the state. With the aid of "reason" Locke concluded that self-interest was the only basis for society. He heralded an era of material preponderance and unlimited expansion, since to him the purpose of money was to permit the unlimited amassing of wealth and land left to nature he considered a waste. Smith, and especially his followers, carried this further by declaring that the most efficient way of promoting wealth is by not interfering with these "natural laws" of economics. Such laissez-faire, bereft of any moral considerations postulated the ethics of an invisible hand which would ensure the wealth of nations, since by each individual acting in pursuit of self-interest enough surplus would be generated to enrich the entire society [Rifkin, 1980:19-30]. As can be seen from this very brief summary of the beginnings of modernism such ideas are still very much with us in an all-pervasive world view that shapes the reality that most people perceive. They also constitute the underpinnings of mainstream development paradigms.

But for some who search beyond the constraints of this belief system and dare to take a fresh look, a different picture emerges -- one where life can no longer be reduced to point masses in motion, one that seeks ultimate meaning. There are at present different 'post-modern' views that are gaining ascendancy and relate to role and mission in life, to a cosmological perspective that is missing in modernism. Richard Falk, in "Religion and Politics: Verging on the Postmodern", distinguishes two versions of this emerging perspective and describes the features that characterize its influence on political reality as follows:

... anti-modernism can take many forms but two stand-out: the main religious tradition can be reinterpreted to emphasize the mandate to liberate individuals and groups from exploitative arrangements (for instance, as manifest in liberation theology); or outside of formal religious traditions, a new overall interpretation of what life is about that goes beyond rationalist inquiry and derives significance from workings of and connections with nature (for instance in "deep ecology") [Falk, 1988:381].

The path from this emerging spiritual renewal, whether within established religious traditions or outside of them, to a political renewal is "complicated, controverted, and still quite difficult to discern" according to Falk, but he suggests the following features are certain to be present along this path:

- the primacy of holistic existential values based on feelings of the inter-connectedness of all phenomena;
- a change from past anthropocentric interpretations of the divine and the locus of the sacred;
- the emergence of widespread acknowledgement of suffering, not only of humans but also of animals and nature as well, and the challenge this presents for all of us;
- a certainty that the creative and imaginative loci of energies is no longer to be found in current hierarchies of churches or states;
- a belief in the potential to cooperate as an integral part of human nature and a questioning of 'rational' and 'realistic' interpretations that view human nature as primarily competitive and aggressive and limited to current behavioural and structural modes of expression and organization; and consequently,
- a preference to seek non-violent means of transformation, revolution, security, and justice [Falk, 1988:390].

In many respects it is scientists themselves who are among those pioneering a new frontier of human understanding. For example, the discovery that living matter has the remarkable characteristic of being self-organizing and, as a result, capable of influencing its environment. And this environment, in turn, is essential to living beings: life is possible on this planet because the Earth's biosphere, atmosphere, oceans, and soil interact as a cybernetic system which seeks an optimal physical and chemical environment so that life may take place. This is the Gaia hypothesis.

which suggests that the entire range of living matter on Earth, from whales to viruses, can be regarded as a single entity, capable of manipulating its environment to suit its needs. Disequilibria . . . we observed suggests that the atmosphere is not merely a biological product, as oxygen often is, but more probably a biological construction — like a cat's fur, or a bird's feathers; an extension of a living system, designed to maintain a chosen environment [Myers, 1984:100] .

James Lovelock, a scientist engaged in space research and thus stimulated to look at Earth from the outside, formulated this hypothesis. But similar trends towards holism are found at the leading edge of disciplines exploring the space of sub-atomic particles. Discoveries in the study of quantum phenomena, the realm of sub-atomic particles that constitutes the basis of our universe as we are getting to know it, are displacing classical physics as the basic paradigm of understanding reality. These discoveries can be summarized by three concepts: randomness, thinglessness, and interconnectedness.

Randomness is the inherent uncertainty and probabilistic nature of the universe. . . Thinglessness is the acceptance of the creation and annihilation of particles — the idea that collisions between particles produce entirely new particles, which then almost instantly disappear. . . In what may be the weirdest of all quantum phenomena [interconnectedness] , it appears that particles somehow "know" what other particles are doing — and seem to know it at speeds faster than the

speed of light. . .the interconnectedness of the universe leads to yet another break with the past. According to classical physics, the way to understand a complex system was to break it down and study its parts. But if the parts are so interconnected that their very attributes arise from these connections, if things are what they are only by virtue of their relationships to other things, then an adequate view of the universe can come only from studying it as a whole.

Not surprisingly, one of the newest directions in scientific thought lies in the attempt to study a complex system as a whole — not only in physics but in social sciences as well. "Man has always been seeking wholeness — mental, physical, social, individual," writes British theoretical physicist David Bohm. "The notion that all these fragments are separately existent is evidently an illusion, and this illusion cannot do other than lead to endless conflict and confusion [Kidder, 1988: B4, emphasis added].

As a result of these new findings a critical shift is taking place from a mechanistic to a holistic interpretation of universal processes, a shift that augurs the dawn of new paradigms with a possible eventual concomitant change in world view. It could be said that we are living in this epoch of transition. Some have described it as a major watershed in our adaptation as a species; watershed systems are "situations in which relatively small changes at the moment will cumulate into much larger changes later on" [Boulding, 1978:265]. Some refer to it as a new civilization, the "civilization of complexity". ²

These paradigms, both in the physical and the social sciences, appear to be slowly emerging and providing an alternative to their non-living, machine-like predecessors. They are by definition open-ended, describing reality as never ending change in a field of probabilistic uncertainty. In contrast to the preceding ones they offer no predetermined answers but, instead, foster on-going inquisitiveness. They emphasize processes as well as goals, since we are becoming aware that goals, once reached, become

temporary stations of our evolving journey. "What is this evolving journey all about?" is a pivotal question that each individual must address personally since the crucial answers constitute the values by which each one of us lives. Collectively, the answer to this question portrays how a civilization fulfills itself.

The second premise of this essay is that the belief systems of individuals and societies condition their perception of the phenomenal world. Jeremy Hayward aptly describes this process as an organism's deep principle of "I'll see it when I believe it".

... a principle which governs much of our perception. Thus, the actual behavior of scientists in relation to observation seems to parallel the inherent predisposition of the organism. In the understanding of the history and meaning of the scientific endeavor, this realization is bringing about a revolution which has more profound consequences than the theories of relativity and quantum mechanics together. Simply, this view proposes that the conventionally agreed-upon belief structure of any particular group of scientists forms an inseparable part of their practice of science and determines which observations will be acceptable to them and which will be rejected. From this point of view, then, science is not necessarily finding out "the truth", but it is merely confirming or refuting its agreed-upon belief structures. In addition, belief systems change only when, in confrontation with reality, error is revealed [Hayward, 1984: 73, emphasis added].

This shift in view has far-reaching consequences. It opens the doors of validity and fosters tolerance to different world views with their different perceptions of reality and corollary systems of understanding. As Kuhn tells us: "Surveying the rich experimental literature... makes one suspect that something like a paradigm is prerequisite to perception itself" [Kuhn, 1962:113]. If "What a man sees depends both upon what he looks at and also upon what his previous visual-conceptual experience has taught him to see", then the primacy of Western modernism as the only valid paradigm of

development becomes questionable. And it is through such processes of questioning and experimentation that new paradigm formulation may take place.

The next premise underlying this study is that, since paradigms of development are conditioned by belief systems and world views, it is important at this time to acknowledge the validity of emerging alternatives which reflect the transitions now taking place in different realms of scientific and existential endeavours towards an ecological and holistic perspective. To illustrate this we can focus on one of the characteristics of the organic approach, such as an understanding of reality based on uncertainty, and see how it would alter the creation and implementation of development efforts. Donald Michael, in his work On Learning to Plan – and Planning to Learn writes about what he calls future responsive societal learning. He proposes a system of long-term social planning based on an acknowledgment of uncertainty which would have the following societal consequences: First, it would tend to discourage planning and environments where the commonly held belief is that one knows everything one needs to know, thus increasing the chances for tentative and explorative moods more conducive to societal learning. Second, by acknowledging the limitations of theories and facts, it would encourage creativity based on intuition, feeling, and hunch, sources which are usually ignored or underutilized. Third, the acknowledgment of uncertainty frees one from confinement to a single version of reality, oftentimes the undetected source of project and program failures; this is usually not questioned if that particular version is the one in vogue at the time [Michael, 1973:175-6].

Surveying the emerging literature on participatory approaches to development one finds many instances of the application of views similar to Michael's based on stochastic, organic perceptions of reality. The People's School System in the Philippines and the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, mentioned later in this study, are two examples of the successful application by development organizations of methodologies based on a shared acknowledgement of uncertainty. Both hold in high regard the knowledge and wisdom that the poor already possess and aim at bringing about change by creating environments where the poor themselves are encouraged to inquisitive exploration of possible alternatives.³ These alternatives tend to be holistic due to two factors:

- 1) Since the poor are an integral part of the 'whole' whose realities are being altered by development processes they are pivotal actors rather than objects. This is very different from previous efforts based on a more mechanistic understanding where external experts and technicians were viewed as sole possessors of the "truth" of development – the poor need only do as they were told and they would surely "develop". Though this picture is a crude oversimplification of the technocratic approach it portrays a system of beliefs that prevailed in development circles for over three decades. In most mainstream development efforts, it still does.
- 2) When previously excluded people participate fully in personal and societal development efforts they do so as a "whole" – when seeking well-being they do not differentiate among their various roles (daughter, mother, sister, consumer, friend, wife, instructor, employer, student). Instead they tend to integrate these various facets into an organic whole; this constitutes what we call "I" or "me". This is in marked contrast to the approach of specialists and

experts who focus on very narrow bands of the whole spectrum of being, while a person looking after her/his own inner sense of meaning and outward interests would tend to do so in a more holistic and comprehensive way.

The last explicit assumption in this study simply states that no matter what development model is being devised and implemented it is only as good (or as bad) as the people who do it. In other words, personal and societal evolution and involvement go hand in hand from this perspective. Otherwise we run the risk that these new paradigms end up as sterile intellectual exercises. Marshall Wolfe's question "Are the concrete utopias devised by committees with their universalism and immediatism, their hospitality to all kinds of worthy causes, anything more than another ritual recognition that the situation is desperate?" [Wolfe, 1981:173] is a haunting warning. The safest ways to avoid this pitfall are: 1) by the integration of the thoughts and actions of those people who, in most cases until now, are passively 'being developed'; and, 2) by the inclusion of the personal/societal dimensions in considerations of development processes.

This leads us to the centrality of participation in holistic approaches to development, the focal theme of this study.⁴ What distinguishes the holistic version of participation from previous concerns about this issue is the importance placed on the nexus between the personal and the social experience of development. The relevance of this nexus is quite significant, since it underlies the redefinition of the meaning of development. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the beginning of a shift in emphasis from material comfort to integral well-being as the central concern of development issues. The reasons for such a shift can be found in attempts at resolving the

fundamental anomaly of the following sort that characterizes most societies today:

- The basic system goals that have dominated the industrial era (material progress, private ownership of capital, maximum return on capital investment, freedom of enterprise, etc.),
- and that have been approached through a set of intermediate goals that include efficiency, economic productivity, continued growth of technological-manipulative power, and continued growth of production and consumption,
- have resulted in processes and states (e.g. extreme division of labor and specialization, compulsive replacement of men by machines, stimulated consumption, planned obsolescence, exploitation of common resources, environmental degradation, worsening world poverty) which
- culminate in a counteracting of human ends (e.g. enriching work roles, self-determination, conservation, wholesome environment, humanitarian concerns, world stability).

Put another way, the fundamental anomaly is that "good" microdecisions, i.e. local decisions made in accordance with prevailing rules and customs, currently do not add up to socially good macrodecisions. . . . [This] is essentially a characteristic of technological and industrial success, not of a particular form of government [Stanford Research Institute, 1974:247-8, emphasis added].⁵

It is evident from the above that in order to resolve this anomaly each one of us individually, whether living in relative poverty or affluence, needs to become aware and informed, so that our actions do not contradict our goals. These actions are a response to our outer and inner needs. For those living in bare subsistence conditions, the most pressing needs are to improve such conditions. For those whose subsistence needs are not in jeopardy, their position might lead them to inner searches, such as questioning meaning in life.

If this exposition of our present individual and collective predicament is taken as valid, then we need to seek paradigms of development that resolve rather than perpetuate such anomaly. This can only be achieved by a way of

life that harmonizes individual and collective benefits, worldly and transcendental values, inner and outer reality.

Not only external manifestations but also inner realities are in need of harmony. There is an internal, existential split now being recognized as the pervasive malady of our modus vivendi in the modern age. It is at the root of all forms of alienation and psychosis, topics that historian of science Morris Berman addresses in his work The Reenchantment of the World.⁶ His study traces the evolution of the scientific world view from its inception to the present and the type of consciousness that it fostered:

Scientific consciousness is alienated consciousness: there is no ecstatic merger with nature, but rather total separation from it. Subject and object are always seen in opposition to each other. I am not my experiences and thus not really a part of the world around me. The logical end point of such a world view is a feeling of total reification: everything is an object, alien, not me; and I am ultimately an object too, an alienated "thing" in a world of other, equally meaningless things. This world is not of my own making; the cosmos cares nothing for me, and I do not really feel a sense of belonging to it. What I feel, in fact, is a sickness in the soul [Berman, 1981:17].⁷

To do away with such pervasive anomie Berman proposes in this work a change to what he terms a *participating consciousness*: a consciousness that participates in processes of interrelatedness with the world.

At the very least we are forced to conclude that the "world" is not independent of "us". It is not composed of building blocks of matter, and indeed, exactly what matter is has become highly problematical. Everything, it seems, is related to everything else. The lesson of modern physics is that the subject (perceiving apparatus) and object (the reality measured) form one seamless whole. *Panta rhei*, said Heraclitus; everything flows, only process is real.

Quantum mechanics thus affords us a glimpse of a new participating consciousness, one that is not a simple reversion to naive animism. As we consider the implication of quantum mechanics, it becomes quite clear that the most significant alteration of our present world view would stem from the deliberate inclusion in our scientific thinking of the awareness that we participate reality [Berman, 1981:145, italics in the original, underlining added] .

A participating consciousness is a mode of consciousness where boundaries between self and other, inner and outer have become transparent. The inherent illusory nature of such boundaries is evident; being alive is equated with the on-going flow of processes where no 'independent' existence is to be found, since in the very act of cognition we create the cognized. Hence Berman's use of the verb participate in its transitive form, when he states that "we participate reality", to denote this characteristic of consciousness and experience accurately.

Berman recognizes that such participating consciousness shared by enough individuals brings about a holistic society. We might be witnessing its emergence in such ostensibly varied movements as feminism, ecology, ethnicity, and transcendentalism, which nevertheless have constituents of a holistic world view in common. They represent the elements that industrial scientism repressed for centuries, its 'shadows': "the feminine, the wilderness, the child, the body, the creative mind and heart, the occult, and the peoples of the non-urban, regional peripheries".

The innumerable individuals involved in these movements are helping to propagate the increasing awareness that if we want to bring about social change we must first live that change ourselves. There is little use for the espousal of "worthy causes" if one is not willing to integrate them in one's

daily life since the very nature of these causes demands one's personal involvement. Duane Elgin addresses this topic in his book Voluntary Simplicity, an exposition of the empowering capabilities of personal choice and its societal consequence. In it he points out:

Opportunities for meaningful and important action are everywhere: the food that we choose to eat, the work that we choose to do, the transportation we choose to use, the manner in which we choose to relate to others, the clothing that we choose to wear, the learning that we choose to acquire, the compassionate causes that we choose to support, the level of attention that we choose to give to our moment-to-moment passage through life, and on and on. The list is endless since the stuff of social transformation is identical with the stuff from which our daily lives are made [Elgin, 1981:176, emphasis added].

Elgin's penetrating analysis of changing trends is based on over a decade of work on future studies. His book portrays different stages in the growth and decline of civilizations, showing that industrialized nations are now in the stage of severe diseconomies. This stage precedes the last one, systems crisis. At times like this, his argument runs, to avoid total disintegration it becomes imperative that individuals assume personal responsibility in order to collectively change breakdown into breakthrough.

In order to do so individuals must be fully exercising their capacity for voluntary action. Since action is predicated on consciousness, Elgin differentiates between two modes of consciousness — *embedded* and *self-reflective consciousness* — as follows:

Embedded consciousness is our so-called "normal" or waking consciousness and it is characterized by our being so embedded within the stream of inner-fantasy dialogue that little conscious attention can be given to the moment-to-moment experiencing of ourselves. In forgetting ourselves, we tend to run on automatic and therefore forfeit our capacity for voluntary action. In the distracted state of embedded consciousness, we tend to identify who we are with habitual patterns of behavior, thought, and feeling. We assume this social mask is the sum total of who we really are.

...Where the distinctive quality of embedded consciousness is self-forgetting (running on automatic), the distinctive quality of *self-reflective consciousness* is self-remembering (acting in the world intentionally, consciously, voluntarily). ...Overall, the opening to self-reflective consciousness is marked by the progressive and balanced development of the ability to be simultaneously concentrated (with a precise and delicate attention to the details of life) and mindful (with a panoramic appreciation of life). Nothing is left out of our experience as both the minute details and larger life circumstances are simultaneously embraced in our awareness [Elgin, 1981: 150-1] .

Embedded consciousness is characterized by being immersed in discursive thought which captures our attention so that we cannot be present, where we are, as we are. Our attention is captured by thoughts: thoughts about the past, thoughts about the present, thoughts about the future. As a result, we hardly ever experience *nowness*. Nowness in this sense is equivalent to reality, what is really going on. From an experiential perspective it has been said: the past has already happened, so why dwell on it?; since the future is yet to come, why dream about it? The only reality we ever experience is the present moment — anything else is discursiveness.

This approach to reality (found both in Eastern and Western traditions) is not to be misconstrued as advocating the repression or cessation of thinking processes. What it does advocate is the cessation of our infatuation with thought, viz. experiencing consciousness only as discursiveness, mistakenly dwelling in thought as reality. This view and experience are mistaken in that they are partial. From a holistic perspective and in what has been called "unity consciousness" [Wilber, 1979:3] , akin to Berman's participating consciousness and Elgin's self-reflective one, *thoughts are perceived as thoughts* by a mode of consciousness which is aware of, rather than infatuated with, thinking processes. Unity consciousness awakens one to the totality of one's being as it manifests in *nowness*, whether one be engaged in

thought, talk, action, or non-action (as in meditation or samadhi, addressed in more detail in Chapter VI).

The experience of this holistic mode of consciousness is what this study denotes as the inner paradigm shift. This paradigm shift entails a transformation of consciousness and also manifests as personal transformation. Consequently, transformation is addressed in the pages that follow as the process of paradigm shift. Personal transformation is, in turn, the well-spring from which societal transformation comes forth. Marilyn Ferguson has written extensively about consciousness and social transformation and she provides the following description:

The term *transformation* has interestingly parallel meaning in mathematics, in the physical sciences, and in human change. A transformation is literally, a forming over, a restructuring. Mathematical transforms, for example, convert a problem into new terms so that it can be solved. . . the brain itself functions by complex mathematical transforms. In the physical sciences, a transformed substance has taken on a different nature or character, as when water becomes ice or steam.

And of course, we speak of the transformation of people — specifically the transformation of consciousness. In this context consciousness does not mean simple waking awareness. Here it refers to a state of being conscious of one's consciousness. You are keenly aware that you have awareness. In effect this is a new perspective that sees other perspectives — a paradigm shift [Ferguson, 1980:68, italics in the original, underlining added].

The prospects for the transformation of society by the personal transformation of a few inspired individuals or minorities are at best tentative and it is only in hindsight that one can ascertain whether they were successful or not.⁸ Since at present we seem to be in the midst of such a period of transition one cannot predict its outcomes for posterity. What this

study attempts to portray is that, given the nature and scope of this transition, it would be highly desirable to explore participatory paradigms of development and their resonance with the emerging ecological/holistic world view.

Having thus specified in broad strokes the context for this essay, we can now return to what it directly seeks to address, viz. participation in development. One may start by introducing a set of conditions presented by John O'Manique and David Pollock prescribing "the basis for a conceptual framework on which sound development theory could be built". Succinct in form yet quite encompassing in its normative scope, this analysis includes four elements believed to be the sine qua nons of development:

Economic growth is necessary to provide the material basis for good and continuing development. Equitable distribution is necessary to ensure that development touches all members of society, not just a privileged few. Participation in both growth and distribution is needed to ensure that development is appropriate and that it confers dignity and self-reliance on both persons and nations. And finally, transcendental values must be respected and observed throughout the process, since they include the people's innate reason for developing [O'Manique/Pollock, 1984: 76-7, emphasis added] .

This study looks at these variables from the vantage point of one of them — participation — since, in my estimation, if this aspect were the central focus of development planning and implementation, the other three could be seen as constituting the realms of its activities. In other words, if people were effectively participating in the development process they would manifest through their personal/collective involvement and participation their considerations and concerns over issues of values, growth and

distribution. Therefore, such is the perspective from which this study has been written.

There is abundant reference to considerations of growth and distribution in the literature of development, but transcendental values are seldom, if ever, mentioned and therefore warrant brief explanation. This can be put from the perspective of Arnold Toynbee's view of progress:

Growth occurs when the response to a particular challenge is not only successful in itself but provokes a further challenge which again meets with a successful response. How are we to measure such growth? ...Neither political and military expansion nor improvement in technique is a satisfactory criterion for real growth. Military expansion is normally a result of militarism, which is in itself a symptom of decline. Improvements in technique, agricultural or industrial, show little or no correlation with real growth. In fact, technique may well be improving at a time when real civilization is declining, and vice versa.

Real progress is found to consist in a process defined as 'etherealization'. an overcoming of material obstacles which releases the energies of the society to make responses to challenges which henceforth are internal rather than external. spiritual rather than material
[Toynbee, 1946:575- 6, emphasis added].

This study makes a clear distinction between what is commonly termed "religion" and what is here addressed as transcendental or spiritual concerns. There is an overabundance of people in the world who belong to religious traditions by the fact that they were born into them or that it is the socially acceptable thing to do, while their spiritual connection to the moral and transcendental teaching of such traditions is nil. Their participation is confined to sporadic attendance at places of worship but while going through the outward rituals there is hardly any change taking place in their inner reality or their personal actions as a result of such practices. In contrast,

what are here addressed as transcendental or spiritual concerns involve *contemplative* practices. The latter include any or all of Webster's meanings of the term contemplation: a) concentration on spiritual things as a form of private devotion; b) a state of mystical awareness of God's being; c) an act of considering with attention : meditation; d) the act of regarding steadily. This is an important distinction to make since, in this age of change, religions are not exempt from the transformations that are taking place.

The current changes affecting religious views and practices seem to fall into two broad categories: 1) a tendency towards reassertion of old paradigms finding expression in fundamentalism, characterized by an emphasis on literal interpretation of scripture and a lack of understanding of its 'spirit'; or, 2) a true paradigm shift at the personal and collective levels, where individuals or movements are going to the sources and engaging in contemplative practices that lead to transformations of consciousness and behaviour. This study is mainly concerned with the latter and its relevance to development. The usefulness of acknowledging transcendental values as inherent to the problematique of development resides in their function as determinants of personal and collective beliefs about reality since these are the beliefs which set the parameters of what is defined as "development".

Regarding the relationship between transcendental values and development, Joanna Macy remarks in Dharma and Development that, insofar as capitalism, national socialism, or Marxism embody the ultimate values of a person or society they are, in effect, acting au lieu of religion, performing an integrative societal function in a quasi-religious capacity when she writes:

To the extent that Marxism, national socialism, or capitalism claims to embody the *summum bonum*, the final perception and fulfillment of life, they too are religious; where they are understood to serve more limited means and are judged by broader or higher standards, these very standards are religious in nature. Of this nature are the final criteria operative in the allocation of resources, time, energy. Whether or not these criteria *appear* religious, they stem from value-systems – or are re-ordered in the light of value systems –which in the last analysis, are articles of faith [Macy, 1985:19-20, emphasis in the original].

The word religion derives from the Latin root *religare*, to bind together. Its meaning is etymologically similar to that of the word yoga, derived from the Sanskrit root *yug*, which means to bind or unite. Genuine religious or transcendental values provide a person or a society a context of meaning and, in so doing, a motivation. Such values are, therefore, holistic and perform a very important integrative role, particularly needed now, in times of extensive and accelerated change. The faster and more profound the changes, the more a person or society is inclined to question meaning and motivation in life. ⁹

In marked contrast with previous development models, participatory paradigms fundamentally acknowledge that they could never become a rigid set of universally applicable prescriptions. The tentativeness of assuming such a position is not regarded as a drawback but, instead, as its strength. Because it equates development with an on-going quest leading to increased awareness of the interactions of conditionality, impermanence, and complexity the participatory approach endorses *critical theory*. This is an organic view which presupposes that theory and practice must continually forge each other. Such a nonpositivist stance is illustrated in the following description of critical theory included in Ethics, Politics, and International Social Science Research:

The intent of research based on critical theory is therefore to develop an accurate understanding of the subjects' historical situation, and if this is successful, to initiate self-reflection. Because this is retrospective liberation - it facilitates insights into people's past and present situation - it does not lead the researcher to determine concrete proposals for future action. Thus, the third "function" of critical research, the selection of appropriate strategies, the solution of tactical questions, and the conduct of political struggle, should not suggest that research determines or legitimizes strategies for action. . .

Decisions cannot at the outset be justified theoretically and then be carried out organizationally. The sole possible justification at this level is consensus, aimed at in practical discourse, among the participants, who, in the consciousness of their common interests and their knowledge of their circumstances, of the predictable consequences and the secondary consequences, are the only ones who can know what risks they are willing to undergo, and with what expectations.

Practical action, therefore, is grounded in both theoretical discourse and the process of enlightenment. No theory, however, can legitimize or prescribe courses for action. These must be derived from, and are the sole responsibility of, the participants [Hamnett et al, 1984:65-66, emphasis added].

Since the vast topic of participation cannot be addressed by a work of this length, this study focuses solely on participation in development with specific relevance to the *third system*. This choice reflects as well my personal belief that, at present, it is at the level of the third system where the most promising seeds of change are flourishing. A distinction is made here between three social systems involved in different spheres of power. The first and second systems, governmental and economic power, respectively, are not directly addressed in this research. This typology has been cast by Marc Nerfin as characters in a play, namely: Prince, Merchant, and Citizen. Though the Citizen represents people's power, Nerfin makes the critical observation that "people, save in exceptional circumstances, do not act politically as such, *en masse*" [Nerfin, 1987:182]. Consequently, Citizen rather than being coterminous with all people denotes only those among the people who are reaching a critical consciousness of their role in the personal

and social evolving journey. The aim of the Citizen is not to supplant the Prince and the Merchant but, rather, to awaken more Citizens so that they may exercise their own autonomous power. This is an important consideration that constitutes the raison d'être of participatory approaches.

This research consists of two parts: a theoretical (Chapters II -V) and an empirical one (Chapters VI-VII). Chapter II provides a historical overview and some reflections on the concept and practice of participation in development. Chapter III is a description of the new participatory framework that is gradually emerging from a wide variety of perspectives. An analysis of some salient aspects of participatory paradigms constitutes Chapter IV, followed by an analysis of several implementation aspects in Chapter V. The empirical part of this research is found in Chapter VI, a case study of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, and in Chapter VII, the analysis of field work focusing on the Movement's participatory development efforts in two villages, Mathupantya and Katukendegolla.

Fig. 2 When the Chinese write the word *crisis* they use two characters. One means *danger* and the other *opportunity*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Marilyn Ferguson describes it as follows:

The potential for rescue at this time of crisis is neither luck, coincidence, nor wishful thinking. Armed with a more sophisticated understanding of how change occurs, we know that the very forces which have brought us to planetary brinkmanship carry in them the seeds of renewal. The current disequilibrium – personal and social – foreshadows a new kind of society. Roles, relationships, institutions, and old ideas are being reexamined, reformulated, redesigned.

For the first time in history, humankind has come upon the control panel of change – an understanding of how transformation occurs. We are living in the *change of change*, the time in which we can intentionally align ourselves with nature for rapid remaking of ourselves and our collapsing institutions [Ferguson, 1980:29] .

2. This refers to Andre Danzin's presentation in a symposium at the United Nations University in 1985. He posits that a spontaneous convergence is taking place arising from such varied disciplines as "nuclear physics, astrophysics, thermodynamics of dissipative systems, turbulence and chance mathematics, biology and physiology, information theory and cybernetics, and the study of evolution in the mineral, biological, and social worlds [where] all converge towards a metamorphosis of science" around the common analysis of complexity. This convergence has been spontaneous rather than an attempt at universal ecumenism.

A new vision of the world is now coming into existence, a new civilization is taking shape. These are the intellectual and spiritual forces that would allow us to inject some "spirit" into our wonderful machines, our revolutionary technologies.

... I believe that the points of entry [into the dialogue about complexity] could be the following:

- the relevance of concepts such as information and negentropy
- the general applicability of concepts such as cybernetics and holistic studies;
- the relevance of the idea of evolution and the meaning and value of time;
- everything related to the principles of uncertainty, non-determinism of particular situations, chance, games, fluctuation and bifurcation, instability, and deviant behaviour [Danzin, 1985: 784-5] .

At the same symposium Ilya Prigogine's presentation extrapolated from studies of dissipative structures (i.e. structures where non-equilibrium is shown to be a source of organization) to the new meaning of time, a problem of a more fundamental character. His presentation illustrates how the deterministic view of the world has been superceded by a stochastic one, and the consequences of such shift.

The fact that we come to a world which is open, in which the past is present and cumulative, in which the present is there but the future is not, is one of the answers to the question of the meaning of learning and of the ethical value of science. "Learning" is no longer simply learning about the past, it is discovery. And what is the future? The future does not exist yet, it is in construction. Construction which is going on in all existing activities. Space-time itself becomes a result of this construction. Irreversibility changes the structure of space-time and introduces new relations between history and the world of the present in which we are involved. This is a view which makes the problem of "being" and of "becoming" quite different. This is because the world in which we live, the world of "becoming" has a broken time symmetry and is propagated by laws which have themselves a broken time symmetry. In the classical view, objects had a full time symmetry and were equally oriented towards the past or the future. I think that we are now in a world which is much more satisfactory because, in a sense, the classical world was in opposition to our internal experience. Today, these new ideas lead to a concordance between the scientific view and our internal and real experience, and therefore the resulting world view is perhaps more open and more tolerant of different cultural origins, recognizing more fully, as it does, a new coherence between subjective experience and the scientific viewpoint [Prigogine, 1985:117]

3. For a thorough understanding of these holistic movements of societal transformation two sources that describe their methodologies in detail are Mayfield's Go to the People and Fuglesang and Chandler's Participation as Process. Both are listed in the bibliography.

4. This centrality goes beyond concerns about development to encompass the meaning and experience of participation in life itself. In a study of anxiety and courage in our age, The Courage To Be, theologian Paul Tillich writes:

Self and world are correlated, and so are individualization and participation. For this is just what participation means: being a part of something from which one is, at the same time, separated. . . . participation is a partial identity and a partial nonidentity. A part of a whole is not identical with the whole to which it belongs. But the whole is what it is only with the part.

. . . The courage to be as a part is an integral element of the courage to be as oneself, and the courage to be as oneself is an integral element of the courage to be as a part. But under the conditions of human finitude and estrangement that which is essentially united becomes existentially split [Tillich, 52:88-90].

5. This anomaly was identified and described at length fifteen years ago in a report of the Stanford Research Institute's Center for the Study of Social Policy and is based on what the authors consider the "possibly obsolescent premises that typify the recent industrial era":

- That individual identity is to be equated with material possessions acquired and/or occupational status achieved.
- That mankind is separate from nature and hence it is our destiny to master nature.
- That people are essentially separate, so that little intrinsic responsibility is felt for the effect of present actions on remote individuals or future generations.
- That progress is synonymous with growth of GNP, that quality of life is furthered by a system of economics based on ever-increasing consumption.
- That there is freedom in affluence, that it is possible for people to earn "enough" money, and simultaneously have full freedom of choice.
- That both societal growth and protection of one's interests are best served by competitive aggressive behaviors.
- That the individual should be free to make his own choice of "the good", and that the choices he makes in pursuit of self-interest will somehow add up to desirable over-all societal choices.
- The "technological imperative", that any technology that can be developed, and any knowledge that can be applied, should be.
- That economic efficiency should be pursued indefinitely through the organization and division of labor and the replacement of humans by machines.
- That the search for knowledge is appropriately dominated by utilitarian values -- science supported to the extent that it promises new manipulative technologies.
- That man is rational and that reductionism in positivistic scientific thinking is the approach to knowledge most to be trusted.
- That the aggregate knowledge of specialized experts constitutes wisdom.
- That the future of the planet can safely be left to autonomous nation-states, operating essentially independent.
- The "political premise" that "what ought to be" is not a meaningful concept because it is not achievable [Stanford Research Institute, 1974:64].

6. Berman's work is a critique of modernity where he juxtaposes contrasting experiences of reality.

...the modern scientific paradigm has become as difficult to maintain in the late twentieth century as was the religious paradigm in the seventeenth. The collapse of capitalism, the general dysfunction of institutions, the revulsion against ecological spoliation, the increasing inability of the scientific world view to explain the things that really matter, the loss of interest in work, and the statistical rise in depression, anxiety, and outright psychosis are all of a piece.

...it is a major premise of this book that because disenchantment is intrinsic to the scientific world view, the modern epoch contained, from its inception, an inherent instability that severely limited its ability to sustain itself for more than a few centuries. For more than 99 percent of human history, the world was enchanted and man saw himself as an integral part of it. The complete reversal of this perception in a mere four hundred years or so has destroyed the continuity of the human experience and the integrity of the human psyche. It has very nearly wrecked the planet as well. The only hope, or so it seems to me, lies in a reenchantment of the world [Berman, 1981:22-3].

7. It might be helpful to expand further on what Berman means by this "sickness of the soul". The best way to do this is by quoting his reference to R.D. Laing's work as follows:

In a study that purported to be about schizophrenia, but that was for the most part a profile of the psychopathology of everyday life, R.D. Laing showed how the psyche splits, creating false selves, in an attempt to protect itself . . . If we were asked to characterize our usual relations with other persons, we might (as a first guess) describe them as pictured in [the following figure]

Here we have self and other in direct interaction, engaging each other in an immediate way. As a result, perception is real, action is meaningful, and the self feels embodied, vital (enchanted). But . . . such direct interaction almost never takes place. We are "whole" to almost no one, least of all ourselves. . .

In [the next figure] the self has split in two, the "inner" self retreating from the interaction and leaving the body – now perceived as false, or dead (disenchanted) – to deal with the other in a way that is pure theater, while the "inner" self looks on like a scientific observer.

Perception is thus unreal, and action correspondingly futile. As Laing points out, we retreat into fantasies at work – and in "love" – and establish a false self (identified with the body and its mechanical actions) which performs the rituals necessary for us to succeed in our tasks [Berman, 1981:19-20].

8. From such hindsight Arnold Toynbee in A Study of History describes the relationship between changes in society and individuals as follows:

Two traditional views are current as to the relation of society to the individual: one represents a society as simply an aggregate of 'atomic' individuals, and the other regards the society as an organism and the individuals as parts of it, inconceivable except as members or 'cells' of the society to which they belong. . . . the true view is that a society is a system of relations between individuals. Human beings cannot be themselves without interacting with their fellows, and a society is a field of action common to a number of human beings.

But the 'source of action' is in the individuals. All growth originates with creative individuals or small minorities of individuals, and their task is twofold: first the achievement of their inspiration or discovery, whatever it may be, and secondly the conversion of the society to which they belong to this new way of life [Toynbee, 1946:577].

9. Ambassador Soedjatmoko, present Rector of the United Nations University, in an essay entitled "Religion and the Development Process", validates the importance of transcendental values in these difficult times of transformation which necessitate "developing a new sense of identity on a personal and collective level" as follows:

Of course, it is possible to look for answers to these questions from the perspectives provided by the humanities and social sciences. But, on the whole, their positivism and operational pragmatism fall short in meeting the intensely felt human needs in these situations of transition. Some secular ideologies have shown themselves to possess integrative and motivational power. However, it would be a serious mistake to overlook the transcendental and essentially religious dimension of these questions. Few people, especially in transitional societies, are able to live among the events of daily life without some sense of meaning — a sense which a transcendental vantage point provides. Man's mortality, the cycle of birth and death, growth and decay, and the seeming senselessness of much of human experience only become bearable within the context of some kind of awareness of eternal truth and reality.

As claimants to ultimate truth and reality, all religions have had difficulty in their relationship to history and social change. While both history and social change inevitably bear the stamp of the prevailing religion they also continue to escape the precepts, norms and injunctions of it. . .

If, however, the prevailing religion in a society undergoing social transformation develops through its leaders an adequate comprehension of the process of social change, of the urgency of development, . . . religion then can play an important reintegrative role. Because religion, even more than a secular ideology, is a total system of integration, it contains within itself the authority and directive capacity for reordering values and goals, rearranging norms, and for perceiving structures of meaning which man needs in order to live as a meaning seeking being. The inner reformulation of basic religious positions that this requires can best be born out of a genuine religious experience or through the illumination that may come from searching theological reflection. Be that as it may, one thing seems to be certain. Attainment or failure to actualize the goals of development may very much depend on whether religions in Third World societies will be able to absorb and digest the new elements and perspectives that accompany social change, but to do so without losing their own integrity [Soedjatmoko, 1985:50-52, emphasis added].

CHAPTER II

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT AND THE PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

The present chapter is an interpretation of the evolution of the concept and the practice of participation in development efforts tracing it through a historical period encompassing the last two decades and addressing gradually expanding concerns. The evolutionary unfolding of the relevance of participation in development is seen not only as a broader scope of activities which engage an increasing number of actors but also coming to encompass an additional dimension in development thought and implementation. This refers to the incorporation of the dimension of meaning, addressed here as the personal dimension, in concerns about development. Two interrelated aspects of this dimension are addressed throughout this study : one's inner sense of meaning and one's sense of outer meaning in community, the world, or the cosmos . In other words, development concerns may be viewed as intricately tied to people's personal understanding of who they are, on their own and with others. This additional dimension may trigger a transition from fragmented and mechanistic development efforts to comprehensive and holistic ones. The reflections in this chapter find us in the midst of such transition at present.

John Cohen and Norman Uphoff date the origins of the concern about the relationship between participation and human development as far back as the ancient Greeks. (This starting point, in my view, reflects the present lack of documented information about earlier societies whose records were destroyed, or those with partially-documented or without recorded history, since this relationship constitutes a central element of all levels of social

organization, from simple bands of humans to complex superpowers). In his analysis of 'the good life' Aristotle deals extensively with the effects of citizens' participation in the affairs of state considering it "essential to the development and fulfillment of the human personality". Not to be meaningfully engaged in politics, as in the case of slaves or women, resulted in curtailment of one's reasoning faculties, one's responsibility for the welfare of others in the society, and one's propensity towards prudent and balanced judgments. Though participation did not guarantee good character or virtue, the lack of access to it tended to foster ignorance and selfishness. In Aristotle's final analysis, the best state is one where there was broad participation "with no class dominating others. The conditions for this appeared to be a reasonably equitable distribution of wealth and widespread education, conditions commonly associated with development" [Cohen/Uphoff, 1980:214].

We can perceive in such early beginnings how concerns about participation need to address the personal and the social reality, since this is where they meet. Yet the bulk of literature on the issue of participation in development in mainstream approaches reviewed for this study omits to address the personal aspect and, in so doing, curtails the capacity of mainstream efforts to bring about the desired aim of societal change. One suspects that the reason for such omission is to be found in the classical scientific training and shared mechanistic world view of researchers and planners. In this approach 'objective' knowledge prevails. Changes are to take place 'out there'; development is equated solely with material things and external processes.

Three stages can be identified in the evolution of the concept of participation from this perspective. It emerges in the 1960's, when development and aid tended to be synonymous concepts; a different state of affairs than what we are faced with now. It is significant to note that these three stages reflect the changes that took place in the interim, from bilateral to multilateral and then global concerns, as follows:

- a) the heightened consideration granted to popular participation by the U.S. Congress in the forging of its foreign policy towards 'less developed' countries, marked by the insertion of the provision known as Title IX in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 (Appendix I);
- b) the support for popular participation expressed in a number of United Nations' resolutions and declarations on development, such as "The Declaration on Social Progress and Development" (1969), and the "International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade" (1970); the Cocoyoc Declaration (relevant portions of these three are included in Appendix II); and,
- c) the prescriptions included in reports of distinguished international commissions concerned about grave conditions of local and global disarray, such as those of the Brandt Commission (1980), and, specially, the one recently released by the Bruntland Commission (1987).

USAID AND TITLE IX

Over twenty years ago, the United States Congress inserted a provision known as Title IX into the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 which singled out participation as an essential element in American Foreign Aid policy at the time. In spite of the ambiguity between development and security concerns

reflected in USAID policies, this marks an important event in the history of the perception and concept of participation in development. Cohen & Uphoff [1980: 217] mention the importance that events in China, Cuba, and Vietnam, where popular participation and support of guerrilla movements in the countryside led to the success of major political shifts, had had in the United States' development community. In the 1960's neither economists nor political scientists showed much interest in applying this lesson to development efforts, but to USAID development practitioners and members of Congress deciding on aid issues such events signaled a 'red flag', not only literally but also worth paying heed to.

In the summer of 1969 a six-week conference was sponsored by the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on the implementation of Title IX. It was attended by AID officials, members of the State Department, and academics of prestigious American universities; it subsequently published a 200-page report entitled The Role of Popular Participation in Development. In their summary of conclusions they stated:

Popular participation, which is the goal of Title IX, should be set alongside economic development to form the twin pillars of the foreign assistance program. Such a new aid policy, representing a widened view of the developmental process, might bring a new freshness and appeal to the idea of foreign assistance.

... Setting up the promotion of participation as a pillar of aid policy does not in any sense imply a devaluation of the goal of economic growth. First, it would be tragic for the U.S. to lessen its economic effort at a time when the gap between rich and poor nations is still widening. Second, participation and growth are complementary not competing goals: no either-or choice is involved" [Hapgood, 1969: 1-2, emphasis added].

This group felt that the Title IX mandate was not so much to create new programmes but to incorporate a new element to existing ones, noting that,

therefore, it could be put into effect even in times of shrinking budgets. (These observations were made in 1969, yet they still sound applicable two decades later, pointing to conditions that have not changed in the field of international development: persistent widening gaps between rich and poor nations and shrinking budgets for development assistance and/or cooperation.) The conference participants declared that people should participate more in development, distinguishing among three kinds of participation: in decisions that affect their lives, in the implementation of development, and in the fruits of economic growth.

Fig. 3: 'The Spirit of Title IX'

Source: The Role of Popular Participation in Development.

To this group of American administration officials, political scientists, and economists such participatory perspective could bring about deliberately

induced socio-political change, about which they acknowledged to each other they did not know much. They recommended the allocation of funds to U.S. research institutions, and also included among those future recipients local social scientists, as well as peasants and labor, since it was felt that these groups would provide some understanding of local conditions inaccessible to outsiders and which would differ from country to country.

It is no coincidence that Title IX, written into the Foreign Assistance Act in 1966, and subsequent attempts at its implementation, took place in an era when Americans were increasing popular participation in their own body politic, as exemplified by the successes of third system efforts in the civil rights and the anti-war movements in the United States. At the MIT conference in 1969 it was agreed that the new priorities set forth in Title IX were dependent to a large extent on the people who were to implement this novel approach, and that AID personnel would have to acquire new skills and attitudes. A study of the conference report also reveals that AID personnel were being routinely trained at the time in counter-insurgency measures, and that such training would now be on Title IX instead:

In recruiting new employees, the agency should seek out people who, in addition to their technical skills, display cultural sensitivity and tolerance for ambiguity. Title IX programming cannot be accomplished with technical skills alone, for these are programs that take one into delicate areas and whose results do not lend themselves easily to quantification.

Obviously the prime resource of A.I.D. is its present personnel. . . The Senior and Mid-Career Inter-Departmental Seminars should be converted from counter-insurgency to courses on Title IX. "T-group" or "sensitivity" training should be made a part of training for new recruits, at least pending more evidence on its long-run benefits. Training in Title IX should be offered overseas to the Country Team as a means toward better inter-agency coordination [Hapgood, 1969: 15] .

Questionable as the motivation behind such early concerns with participation in development may be, they fostered, as a result, research interest on the subject, an example of which is the work reported to USAID by a multidisciplinary team at Cornell University. Although in its beginning stages the operational climate of this stream of inquiry into participation was influenced by its bilateral emphasis, through the years such influence declined, though it did not completely disappear. In the meantime, in the multilateral arena, concerns about participation were also taking shape.

UNITED NATIONS

The texts of relevant portions of the United Nations' declarations included in Appendix II are indicative of the ascendancy given to considerations of participation in that international forum. This is manifested in a vast body of literature from different UN agencies, working separately and in conjunction, which is beyond the scope of this study to address. From such corpus, therefore, this brief overview will focus mainly on the work of a) the Popular Participation Programme of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), and; b) the Panel on People's Participation, set up by the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) Task Force on Rural Development, with the International Labour Organization (ILO) acting as its convenor. These represent two of the main distillations of thought and experience of participation in development within the UN system.

UNRISD In 1978 participation was selected as one of the major themes of UNRISD's future work since, as Matthias Stiefel, Director of its Popular Participation Programme, expressed when launching the debate on this topic,

Indeed, UNRISD studies of former development efforts reveal that without participatory arrangements and processes that associate the poor majority with choices and implementation of development policies, such policies are unlikely to achieve their declared goals, and the poor majority are unlikely to benefit from them in any substantial way. ...Thus popular participation appears not merely as an utopian ideal but as a necessity, in terms of organized struggle of the poor for more favourable terms of incorporation and for improved livelihood prospects. (UNRISD Dialogue about participation 1, 1981:1-2)

The UNRISD Participation Programme has published so far four volumes entitled Dialogue about participation 1-4 covering the exchanges of thoughts and information that took place in the context of this debate centered around the theory and practice of popular participation, as well as some of the subsequent subdebates on specific topics or at specific regions, and the proceedings of some of the meetings that ensued.

In the context of the paradigm shift addressed in this essay, UNRISD's extensive exploration of participation, so far, lacks the essential perspectives of the personal and transcendental dimensions of participatory development. But despite these shortcomings its contribution is significant in that it helps to highlight some important issues, such as: a) addressing the oft-ignored social aims of research, and; b) identifying complex structures and ideologies of anti-participation.

As noted earlier, it is one of this essay's underlying assumptions that the belief systems of individuals and societies condition their perception of the phenomenal world. Since social scientists are no exception, the Popular

Participation Programme's approach to this issue is to be complimented for its forthrightness:

Despite claims to the contrary, the scientific analysis of social processes cannot remain neutral, value free: there is always a normative choice on the part of the researcher, a set of values against which the observed social reality is measured. The basic values underlying our Programme are the general values and end goals of development as proclaimed in the UN Charter and numerous UN declarations and resolutions. They are elementary values of human justice and dignity and they all imply or presuppose increased popular participation. A main assumption of our programmes is, therefore, that increased popular participation is in principle desirable and necessary – a good in itself. And our purpose in analysing and documenting the struggle and implementation of people's participation is to further this cause. It is thus a programme of research with social aims [UNRISD Dialogue about participation 1:3, emphasis in the original].

Partly due to such social aims the Programme was interested in studying "the causal relationships between the hegemony of some and the powerlessness of others". It observed that present social systems "tend to devise complex structures and ideologies of anti-participation. . . linked in a complex web extending over time and space [so that] they form in some cases, a totally anti-participatory social environment." Among those listed were:

- [1] unequal control over the means of production making some groups dependent on others for their very subsistence;
- [2] functional administrative divisions of labour conferring disproportionate bureaucratic control to the few over the many;
- [3] monopolies of education and knowledge, be they in the interpretation of religion, the evolution of culture, or the establishment of modern technologies, and;
- [4] ideologies of discrimination that legitimize the superiority of some groups over others [UNRISD Dialogue about participation 1: 5].

ACC PANEL ON PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION The Panel on People's Participation carried out , in the words of its chairman, Dharam Ghai: "conceptual analytical work; exchange of experience among developing countries in participatory

initiatives at the grass-roots level; reorientation of existing programmes to incorporate or strengthen participatory approaches; initiation of joint field projects; and mobilization of resources for programmes and projects seeking to promote authentic participation of the rural poor" (quoted in Oakley & Mardsen, 1984:v). Panel members represented various UN organizations (FAO, IFAD, ILO, UNRISD and WHO), and two of them , Peter Oakley and David Mardsen, published a study entitled Approaches to Participation in Rural Development. In their introduction they describe the almost all-pervasive character of considerations of participation in development circles associated with the U.N. and the difficulty of arriving at a common understanding of meaning :

For example, apart from the notion of actually participating in rural activities, we have been introduced to participatory evaluation, participatory action-research, participation field-action, and, more generally, participatory research. There are few who would disagree with the statement that the "participation" of the people is essential for any rural development programme to succeed. The problem is not in emphasizing the importance of "participation". The problem, in the context of rural development, is to achieve a consensus on the meaning of the term, if such an exercise is either valid or possible. "Participation" is the latest in a tradition of concentration on particular concepts or terms which guide development assistance in a particular direction [Oakley & Mardsen, 1984: 1].

These authors conducted an extensive survey of the documentation from different agencies within the UN which had commissioned their work, and also looked into sources outside the UN system. They accomplished the difficult task of analysis and synthesis of the 'uneasy space' occupied by participation in rural development. Based on this analysis correlating the definition and optimization of participation with different strategies and paradigms of development, they concluded that participation meant different things in different contexts and that it was closely linked to interpretations of how to effect social change:

"Participation" therefore must be viewed as a normative concept whose meaning changes with the changing explanation of social processes.

... Changing the accepted framework within which problems are perceived may do more than any other act to affect our future understanding of participation [Oakley & Mardsen, 1984:85-7, emphasis added].

Oakley and Mardsen's work is a significant contribution to the understanding of the problematic of participation. They present some fecund ideas, particularly in their endorsement of: a) participation as inextricably related to empowerment, and; b) the need to change the accepted framework of perception of participation in development. The meaning of participation as a form of empowerment is of great consequence, applicable at all levels of interaction. Meaningful as well is their portrayal of some common elements in an emerging strategy of participatory approaches based on case studies of groups with a fresh perception of development carried out mostly by NGO's and networks involved in breaking new ground with and among the rural poor. Though not labeled as such, their "framework of perception" concept is similar to what this study addresses as a paradigm.¹

Regrettably, the overall treatment of participation by these UN groups reveals a somewhat encompassing adversarial perspective, a view encapsulated in such phrases as: "Historically participation has rarely been willingly conceded to previously excluded groups and the encounter between opposing forces is the inevitable result" [Oakley & Mardsen 1984:27]. Within the context of a power paradigm shift (described in more detail in Chapter V of this study), this perspective prevalent in U.N. forums based on conflict and antagonism is precisely one of the attitudes which has impeded, rather than furthered, change in the past. An example of the fruition of such an attitude

is the present impasse at most forums of the U.N. on such issues as the North/South dialogue and the New International Economic Order.

Even though the U.N. analyses are repeatedly couched in terms of tendencies prevalent among those working within the confines of old paradigm assumptions, they contribute to the evolution of concerns about participation in development by almost exhausting the topic from that particular intellectual perspective. This extensive literature is somehow afflicted by the malaise of frustration, probably attributable to the authors' inability to precipitate, as social scientists, members of governments or international organizations, the structural changes perceived as necessary from the old paradigm perspectives prevalent within the U.N. system. It suffers from the absence of exploration of the personal dimension which is also conducive to this tone of frustration. But, most importantly, were this limiting omission of the personal realm of experience to continue for long, it might render the whole exercise futile, since this dimension appears to be essential to any meaningful evolution of understanding of the theory and practice of participation.

Originating from the U.N., but quite apart from its multi-governmental practices intricately connected with the adversarial divisiveness between North and South or East and West, is a new body of literature with a global perspective. In this global context popular participation, again, proves essential.

INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS ON GLOBAL AFFAIRS

The decade of the '80's has witnessed the appearance of reports by independent commissions with persuasive and insistent pleas to individuals, groups, and governments for the need to pay heed to our global conditions. These commissions have drawn together knowledgeable and distinguished men and women from a wide variety of geographical, cultural, and political spectrums. They have been able to function in a somewhat independent capacity without too many limitations being imposed on them by institutional and governmental constraints from the U.N. or their own countries. Each of these commissions was given a mandate by the General Assembly to look into specific topics and to present a report of findings. Their reports reveal the consensus arrived at after long deliberations upon the interconnectedness of economy, security, environment, and development concerns affecting all of humanity. Some tend to consider such consensus itself as the greatest contribution of their work; hopefully this will not detract from substantive consideration of the topics being addressed. A common element that permeates this consensus is their encouragement for more active popular participation at various levels in all societies throughout the world.

The Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, reported in 1980 and 1983. In their first report entitled North-South: A Program for Survival, under the heading "Development Requires Participation", the Commissioners state:

"Workers and peasants, women and youth --organized in trade unions, cooperatives and other groups -- will often be the guarantee of implementing reforms in many social and economic areas. Furthermore, such organizations can help in decentralizing development activities, in mobilizing resources, particularly through

self-help and public works projects, and in providing social services, extension services, credit, training and inputs on a group basis. Decentralized governments or administrative systems could help in this process. In achieving the main objectives of development, no system lacking in genuine and full participation of the people will be fully satisfactory or truly effective. (The Independent Commission on International Development Issues, 1980: 133, emphasis added)

The Brandt Commission's analysis focused mainly upon economic issues and established relationships between world poverty and expenditures in armaments and environmental issues. Its second report bore the title Common Crisis. This was followed by Common Security, the report of the commission headed by Olaf Palme addressing issues from the perspective of security, and most recently by Our Common Future, the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, taking environmental concerns as its central theme.

The twenty-two Brundtland Commissioners gathered considerable evidence about present conditions by soliciting public participation in five continents where "hundreds of organizations and individuals gave testimony during the Public Hearings and over 500 written submissions constituting more than 10,000 pages of material were received by the Commission in connection with them" [WCED, 1987: 359].² At these meetings the Commissioners had the opportunity to hear the voices of those directly affected by the destruction of the environment. Gro Brundtland recounts:

"We were deeply moved by the testimony of farmers, herders, fishermen, city dwellers. It was they who convinced us of the human costs of this destruction, of how it impoverishes them, how it limits their potential to build their societies and nations, and how it robs their children of the means to prosper, and in some cases just to survive. (Tribute, 1987/88: 5)

Shridath Ramphal, a member who served on all three Commissions, described each as a 'learning process'. Among the things he has learned so far is that the participation of each one of us matters, that our involvement is crucial at this time. On the occasion of being asked "What can the person in the street do?", he replied:

"Everything! Ordinary people have the greatest aggregate power to act—but first they have to become aware and care. That's where the [Bruntland] Commission can help. Twenty years ago I thought that enlightened governments could save the world. Now I'm convinced it's enlightened people that have to save both governments and the world" [Tribute, 1987/88: 5, emphasis added].

Ramphal's words not only extol the significance of the third system at this juncture in time, but also voice the Bruntland Commission's conclusions that effective citizen participation is essential since survival is everybody's business. The Commission's report states in a myriad ways how human survival on this planet is in jeopardy, not only from the nuclear holocaust threat, but by the everyday 'development' practices in both the more- as well as the less-industrialized societies. The report presents an alternative vision of our present and future, labelled sustainable development. It is sustainable in that it aims at promoting harmony among human beings and between humanity and nature.

The Commissioners agreed upon seven requirements, similar in nature to goals, conducive to creating favorable conditions for the pursuit of sustainable development that are to underlie development efforts at both national and international levels. Citizens' participation ranks high among them:

- a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision

making.

- an economic system that is able to generate surpluses and technical knowledge on a self-reliant and sustained basis,
- a social system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development,
- a productive system that respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development,
- a technological system that can search continuously for new solutions,
- an international system that fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance, and
- an administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction [WECD, 1987:65].

The report recommended that in order to reverse present unsustainable development practices inflicting irreversible damage that threaten our very survival and that of our children, such as irreparable soil erosion leading to diminished soil quality or in extreme cases, desertification, and irreparable damage to endangered habitats and populations of humans and non-humans co-habiting the Earth with us, causing at times extinction, each one of us should be ecologically aware and capable of making informed choices. In light of these prevailing conditions, the Commission considered widespread understanding and public support essential, where the scientific community, private and community groups, and NGOs could play essential roles.

Our Common Future may be evaluated from a different number of perspectives; in the context of this essay its main significance can be summarized in two points:

1) It addresses the future of our ecosystem which sustains life on our planet as inextricably linked to development and security practices. It emphasizes the urgent need to understand environmental concerns from a preventive rather than a corrective perspective. For example, the need for "urban planning rather than "urban renewal", or "afforestation" instead of "reforestation". In this regard people's participation is basic: they usually are the first to notice

changes in their immediate surroundings and may be trained to detect early indicators of trouble before matters reach grave or catastrophic proportions. In my view, it is of utmost importance that these messages be encouraged, received, discussed, and acted upon, which will necessitate a reversal of anti-participatory attitudes and practices. This preventive outlook, if it is to be effective, must pervade all levels of planning within and across societies and bioregions, in government bodies, institutions, enterprises, local communities and personal lives. ³

2) The report is instrumental in changing the readers' perception and understanding in a subtle but profound way. Not only is it about ecology – it is ecological itself. The Bruntland Commission's analysis of conditions of life on this planet, if properly internalized and implemented, could further both the shift in world view and the development paradigm shift now underway by its clear exposition of the interrelatedness of poverty/environment/development/society/ body politic.

The really subversive element in ecology rests not on any of its more sophisticated concepts, but upon its basic premise: interrelatedness. But the genuinely radical nature of that proposition is not generally perceived, even, I think, by ecologists. To the western mind, *interrelatedness* implies a causal connectedness. Things are interrelated if a change in one affects the other. So to say that all things are interrelated simply implies that if we wish to develop our "resources", we must find some technological means to defuse the interaction. The solution to pollution is dilution. But what is actually involved is a genuine *intermingling* of parts of the ecosystem. There are no discrete entities. . . Ecology begins as a normal reductionist science, but to its own surprise it winds up denying the subject-object relationship upon which science rests. Ecology undermines not only the growth addict and the chronic developer, but science itself [Everndon, 1978: 16, italics in the original, underlining added].

The vital consequences of ecological thought addressed in the above quote have not made themselves felt, so far. This is true in our everyday world at large as well as in the field of development. Sustainable development, in essence an ecological approach based on the premise of interconnectedness, is still in its infancy. But one would venture to say that it is just a matter of time.

"This is the dog that bit the cat that killed the rat that ate the malt that came from the grain that Jack sprayed." (Reproduced by permission of *Punch*.)

Fig. 4. Source: The Subversive Science: Essays Towards an Ecology of Man.

As their predecessors in this overview of the evolution of the concept of participation in development, these independent reports do not address the

essential issue of how people change. It could be said that this is not their role. And yet. . . One of the underlying assumptions of this literature seems to be that the lucid and well-meaning exposé of our present human predicament, accompanied by intelligent and compassionate prescriptions at the economic, social, and political levels (for which they are to be commended), will be capable of reversing long-standing trends that have led us to this, 'our common present'. Somehow, if we only were to take these prescriptions to heart and were to apply ourselves to their understanding and their practice, we could reach a more desirable 'common future'. Possibly so, but this "somehow" is crucial, and not addressed by the Commissioners.

In other words, this approach calls for a fundamental change of hearts and practices, most of them justified in the reports by arguments based on unavoidable interconnectedness and "enlightened self-interest" couched in terms of global costs-analysis, but does not concern itself with the essential connection between society and individual, nor for that matter, between the mundane and the transcendental. This is an approach to development that encompasses far more than previous attempts but that still stops short of holistic integration in understanding and prescribing processes of change.

In order to fulfill such a task this study considers it essential to look at the interconnectedness of the individual and society, since culture itself is rooted in individuals. Individuals, in turn, live in communities. The collective experiencing of individual realities forms the basis of any group, whatever its size, whether this be a couple of people living together or a large family, a neighbourhood or a village, a corporation or a city, a country or a group of countries. This is schematically portrayed in Fig. 5, showing the

interrelationship among the three dimensions of 'space' -- personal, local, and global -- where this experiencing takes place. This presentation of participatory development posits that only by taking into account all three dimensions may a sound theoretical and practical approach to sustainable development take place. This characteristic signals, in essence, a paradigm shift in development theory and implementation

Fig. 5 Three Dimensions of Space

1: personal space

2: local space

3: global space

Sustainable participatory development efforts emerging along the lines of this paradigm shift have incorporated the personal dimension to their considerations. They also acknowledge that this personal dimension encompasses concerns about one's fulfillment as a human being and that these are not confined to material possessions alone. As an example of these heterogeneous attempts I have chosen to briefly describe the approach of the Institute for Rural Reconstruction in the Philippines. The longer case study of

the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka in Chapters VI and VII will illustrate the impact of this alternative holistic style in more detail. ⁴

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

The International Institute for Rural Reconstruction (IIRR) is located in the province of Cavite in the Phillipines. Its approach to rural development evolved from the lessons learned by James Yen, an innovative Chinese political scientist, during his sixty years of work in this field. James Mayfield, professor of political science at the University of Utah and consultant for USAID, analyses Yen's contributions and the methodology of the IIRR in his book Go to the People: Releasing the Rural Poor through the People's School System, where he states:

This model departs from the traditional approaches to helping by placing joint responsibility on the helper RDF (rural development facilitator) and helped (peasant). Following the logic of this model, the peasant not the RDF, is the principal protagonist in a search for the tools, skills, and perceptions needed for effective development. The peasants' long range task is to come to terms with life – its problems, behavioral patterns, attitudes, and perceptions – and to develop within themselves the necessary skills to implement self, group, and community development [Mayfield 1985:80, emphasis added].

The IIRR promoted in 1976 the People's School System (PSS), a participatory development program which acknowledges the interconnectedness of individual and collective development. Its work is directed at exploring, analyzing, and implementing three key dimensions of rural development: 1) the theoretical/intellectual, 2) the practical/utilitarian, and 3) the spiritual/emotional. Mayfield describes the function of each dimension in the quote which follows, where he is explicit about the IIRR's

incorporation of the personal dimension in its approach to development, since it is this dimension which provides the motivation and the sustainability for effective individual and collective transformation:

If theory and the intellect provide us with the logic and reason for rural development, and if the practical/utilitarian dimension suggests appropriate strategies and procedures for its implementation, it will be the spiritual/emotional factors that generate the commitment and motivation to initiate and then sustain such a process (Mayfield, 1985:7, emphasis added).

The People's School System (PSS) is an alternative holistic approach to development which has been gradually forged – and still is – on the bases of previous experience and creative approaches to problem solving. It capitalizes on a past that yielded successful results and does not shy away from a future to improve upon the mistakes made. The strong binding factor between these two phases is the crucial emphasis on critical shared-awareness learning which, in such an approach, is equated with development itself.

The long-term objectives of the PSS include: 1) human development, by providing opportunities for individuals and groups to acquire new capabilities to identify their problems, to acquire skills and resources to solve them, and to generate the self-confidence and vision necessary for this to become a self-sustaining process; 2) socioeconomic development, by focusing on people's desires and capabilities to improve their condition in such areas as livelihood, health, and education, and; 3) institutional development, by promoting the creation of organizations and institutions controlled by the rural people in order to ensure that these processes of human and socioeconomic development are self-sustainable and endure. (The conceptual framework of the PSS is shown in Appendix III-a).

The Institute has identified three successive phases in their rural development programs. The first phase initiates a process of interaction between the rural development facilitator (RDF) and the rural community. Yen describes this phase as: "Go to the people, live among the people, learn from the people, plan with the people." The focus is on establishing contact, building trust, and helping to identify local problems and to recruit local volunteers. This is the beginning of the development of local leaders and the mobilization of commitment and skills.

The second phase is a learning and implementation stage where the local members are trained by being provided information and skills that address their problems. Yen's recommendations for this phase include: Work with the people; start with what the people know; build on what the people have; teach by showing; learn by doing". In this phase the actual projects embarked upon are planned, implemented, and evaluated by the rural participants, since this phase aims at achieving material results as well as developing a sense of confidence and empowerment.

The last phase is geared towards the withdrawal of the Institute's active role by the emergence of local self-sustaining organizations. The emphases of this phase are on problem solving capabilities, income producing projects, and the evolution of a new level of interaction with local entrepreneurs and officials. This new level is characterized by the awareness, skills, and organizational capabilities that the villagers have developed so that they now may reap the benefits of their participation in these enterprises or organizations. This phase aims to foster autonomous institutions informally

linked to, but not dependent on, local or central governments or any form of outside assistance. Such complex web of interrelated efforts and achievements is a result of Yen's and his collaborators' approach to rural development, which he describes as: 'Not a showcase but a pattern, not odds and ends but a system, not piecemeal but an integrated approach, not to conform but to transform, not relief but release.' (The characteristics and dimensions of these three phases are shown in schematic form in Appendix III-b).

The holistic approach of the People's School System is innovative in a variety of ways. It acts as a catalyst that encourages the unlocking of potential found in the poorest rural populations by working with individuals in their own terms and addressing their own needs. It emphasizes the importance of trust and a shared awareness system of communication (described in more detail in Chapter V). Within this context it addresses mainly those issues that the peasants themselves consider indispensable, taking care to do it in economical and simple terms. Having established good rapport with poor peasants, the Institute's rural development facilitators select some volunteers to be trained as *barangay scholars* in specialized programs (i.e. livelihood, health, education and culture, and self government). Though they each specialize in one discipline the overall outlook and scope of the program is holistic. Funds necessary for their training are raised by the village to which they return to instruct others. Thus, through IIRR efforts, the latest advances in understanding and technology are simplified and made accessible to rural populations via these *barangay scholars* who return to share with their people and sow the seeds of change.

The Institute considers lack of opportunities, and not lack of brains, as the major obstacle to human and rural development. Consequently, it creates favourable opportunities for local energy and leadership to emerge and provides on-going training and support systems. It stimulates the emergence of a local dynamic that aims at waking up the personal and collective awareness of the oft-neglected rural portion of society. This is an approach where outsiders may help, but it is the insiders' challenge and task to envision and carry out rural development. In cases where such processes are successful the peasants' complex web of participatory efforts turn into entrepreneurial and civic organizations and institutions which make possible sustainable rural development. This holistic, participatory approach is intended to be adaptable, so that, ultimately, it may be implemented by government and non-government units on a large scale outside the IIRR's social laboratory'.⁵

It is impossible to do justice in a few paragraphs to the vast and comprehensive body of knowledge and implementation techniques of the IIRR. Its brief description in this historical overview of participation in development is intended to cite it as an example of a viable development alternative based on a comprehensive participatory approach that, starting from individual development, evolves into a cohesive, holistic rural development model.

This chapter has shown three phases of concerns about participation in development, describing their evolution from the bilateral, to the multi-lateral, and finally to the global perspective. It has attempted to show that, though much progress has been made bringing about participatory efforts, as

long as personal inner development and transcendental values are not addressed these efforts are bound to be at best only partially successful, or at worst fail altogether, in promoting organic sustainable development.

The approach of Title IX dealt with participation as an adjunct to be inserted in mechanistic bilateral aid approaches prevalent at the time of its inception. Over twenty years later, some still approach participation this way. Though it signaled the beginning of considerations about participation in development and generated interest in research, the thrust of efforts inspired by Title IX – or innumerable other attempts like it throughout the world – is basically a top down, production-focused approach which fails to develop people, to genuinely motivate people and contribute to their integral well-being in a sustained way.

In contrast, the ensuing attempts at addressing the problematique of development from a global perspective by various U.N. agencies and commissions acknowledges the need for an integrated approach to participation and the relevance and validity of bottom up efforts. This perspective culminates with the WCED report which emphasizes the importance of an ecological perspective to understand causation. It also explicitly points to the need to promulgate third system efforts in order to avoid the disastrous conditions that now obtain on Earth, or the even worse consequences for future generations (if we have any). Though far more comprehensive than previous attempts at elucidating the development crisis we now face this approach, like its predecessors, neglects to consider the personal dimension both in its analysis and its prescriptions. Despite its most valuable contribution in fostering an ecological understanding of our planet's

predicament, such a regrettable omission might render its version of sustainable development as one more chimera collecting dust upon shelves.

The demonstrable failure of old paradigms to respond adequately to crisis is the most propitious occasion for paradigm shifts. The brief presentation of the thought and activities of Yen and his colleagues at the IIRR aims to portray the incidence of such a shift in international development. This holistic, comprehensive approach to development encompasses, in addition to the theoretical/intellectual and the practical/utilitarian dimensions, the spiritual/emotional component of transcendental values since it emphasizes one's place and one's motivation in the universe, in the world, and in society. It is based on beliefs and norms transmitted personally and culturally through generations and encompasses not only economic and political aspects of one's life, but personal aspirations, artistic endeavours, and philosophical and humanistic concerns, as portrayed by Mayfield in his work on this long-established movement. The example of the holistic efforts of the IIRR is meant to bring into focus the emergence of a participatory framework of development, which is the topic presented in Chapter III.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹ Since the authors were not writing about their personal experiences of participatory development work with the poor, their guidelines suffer the shortcomings of being one or more steps removed from the processes being described, as evidenced in their:
 a) endorsing no formal course of training for agents in the field (p.76); and,
 b) mentioning in the concluding statements that "In the final analysis participation remains illusive." (p.86, emphasis added).

Though the first may be ascribed to their lack of field involvement in this particular approach, and the second to a play on words on Marshall Wolfe's 'elusive' development, I cannot share their views.

This is based on my research and my observations of the work carried out by the IIRR and the SM. Although the background, qualifications, and styles of 'catalysts' working among the poor may vary greatly, those who are accomplished have usually one aspect in common - their job is their vocation. Nevertheless this fact does not negate the need for training in the intricacies of participatory development efforts, unless such efforts were unfortunately viewed as, indeed, illusory.

I had the opportunity to be present at one such training session at SM's headquarters in Moratuwa, Sri Lanka. IIRR President Juan Flavio and several of his staff had come from the Philippines to give instruction and exchange views at a ten-day seminar of SM District Co-ordinators. The scope of their knowledge and educational experience in devising training programmes for development agents working with the poor and the benefits of such training reflected in the work of these two participatory movements, far from being illusive, were undeniably evident.

² Though public hearings were held in different parts of the world, it is unfortunate that the intellectual perspective of the analysis of the Brundtland Report is markedly Northern. This cultural bias, exemplified by the analytical schema chosen, the preponderance of the English language in the information cited in the bibliography at the end of each chapter, as well as in the misrepresentation of conditions in the South (for example, that there is less pollution in the South, that toxic wastes are a problem only in industrialized countries), was deplored in an analysis of the Report from a Latin American perspective. This critique is found in the final document of a debate that took place in Tepoxtlán, Mexico [IFDA Dossier, March/April 1989:25]. If this critique is valid, it is to be hoped that the WCED Report is followed by an interdisciplinary and collective Southern work that aims to correct this skewness in thought, method, and presentation. What I have in mind is something similar to Catástrofe ó Nueva Sociedad: Modelo Mundial Latinoamericano (Catastrophe or New Society: Latin American World Model), a Southern response to the Club of Rome's The Limit to Growth analysis, carried out by an interdisciplinary team coordinated by the Bariloche Foundation and published by IDRC in 1977. This work aimed to show that the major constraints humanity experienced were not primarily physical, as the Club's conclusions stressed, but instead social. Though this study is far less

known to the public, it stimulated constructive thought and debate among informed researchers.

³ A convincing description of this need for change is also found in the following quote from Peter Berg, who directs an organization seeking decentralist, local approaches to environmental problems, addressing the situation that environmentalists face now:

Alerted to fresh horrors almost daily, they research the extent of each new life-threatening situation, rush to protest it, and campaign exhaustively to prevent a future occurrence. It's a valuable service, of course, but imagine a hospital that consists mainly of an emergency room. No maternity care, no pediatric clinic, no promising therapy; just mangled trauma cases. Many of them are lost or drag on in wilting protraction, and if a few are saved there are always more than can be handled jamming through the door. Rescuing the environment has become like running a battlefield aid station in a war against a killing machine that operates just beyond reach, and that shifts its ground after each seeming defeat. No one can doubt the moral basis of environmentalism, but the essentially defensive terms of its endless struggle mitigate against ever stopping the slaughter.

Environmentalists have found themselves in the position of knowing how bad things are but are only capable of making a deal [Devall & Sessions, 1985: 3-4, emphasis added].

⁴ In making a transition between non-holistic and holistic approaches to the relevance of participation in development, I wish to acknowledge the importance of efforts which came to be known as *community development*. Due to time constraints they are not included in more detail in this study. But community development efforts were very instrumental in assigning high priority to popular participation. For the most part, these efforts were from the top down.

The main criticism of this approach deals with the fact that it was, to a great extent, contrived. Mayfield's comments contrasting the IIRR and the community development approaches succinctly state these shortcomings:

The fundamental difference between this type of participation and the community development type of participation of the 1950s-60s is that these later groups emerging in the 1980s come from the bottom, from the poor people themselves, and not from some well-meaning government bureaucrat who knows a lot about administrative procedures and central government program requirements, but, unfortunately, cannot begin to communicate with the rural poor [Mayfield, 1985:100].

In top down participatory efforts it is essential distinguish between empty ritual and real transfer of power. In order to facilitate this task Sherry Arnstein, Director of Community Development Studies for 'The Commons', a non-profit research institute, devised a typology depicted as eight rungs in a ladder of citizen participation and "non-participation" as follows:

The bottom rungs of the ladder are (1) *Manipulation* and (2) *Therapy*. These two rungs describe levels on "non-participation that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. The real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Rungs three and four progress to levels of "tokenism" that allow the have-nots to hear and have a voice: (3) *Informing* and (4) *Consultation*. When they are proffered by power holders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. But under these conditions they lack the power to insure that their views will be *heeded* by the powerful. When participation is restricted to these levels there is no followthrough, no "muscle", hence no assurance of changing the status quo. Rung (5) *Placation*, is simply a higher level of tokenism, because the groundrules allow have-nots to advise, but retain for the power holders the continued right to decide.

Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a (6) *Partnership* that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. At the topmost rungs, (7) *Delegated Power* and (8) *Citizen control*, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power [Arnstein, 1969:217].

This typology discloses the dangers that all participatory efforts, and in particular top down ones, must face and surmount. The consequences of not doing so is illustrated in the following illustration included in Arnstein's research:

Poster by French students. In English: I participate, you participate, he participates, we participate, you participate. . . They profit.

Source: Arnstein, 1969:216

⁵ The PSS program began in two municipalities of Cavite province, Siland in the upland area with forty villages and approximately 40,00 people and General Trias in the lowland with eighteen villages and 27,000 people. Mayfield states:

... IIRR had shared the approach with other agencies in the Philippines and other countries through its international training and documentation program. Not surprisingly several agencies have found the concept attractive and have adapted it for implementation in widely varying circumstances. The first adaptation of the People's School System was implemented in San Jose, Occidental Mindoro, in 1978 with the support of World Vision-Philippines. The same organization has expanded its People's School System (termed Community Leadership Training, or COLT) to the provinces of Isabela and Palawan. The municipal government of Mauban, Quezon, adapted the approach directly to its municipal development program also beginning in 1978. Outreach International has recently sponsored an adaptation in Isabela province under its Community One for Rural Development (CORD) program. The provincial government of Antique is currently adapting the PSS as the operational framework for its Upland Development Program.

Adaptations have also been initiated outside the Philippines in Indonesia, Thailand, Guatemala, and Ghana through IIRR's affiliated national reconstruction movements and through the regional program of World Vision in Southeast Asia [Mayfield, 1985:62].

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS A PARTICIPATORY FRAMEWORK

The dominant logic of this paradigm is that of a balanced human ecology, its dominant resources are the inexhaustible resources of information and creative initiative, and its dominant goal is human growth defined in terms of greater realization of human potentials.

From "People-Centered Development:
Toward a Framework"
[Korten, 1984:300].

The new development paradigm is not just a rural Third World phenomenon. It overlaps and resonates with the alternative movements of rich countries... Solutions to the problems of unemployment of the rich world, and of the degraded rotten cores of inner cities, are equally to be sought in decentralisation, empowerment, community involvement, and processes of learning... Decolonisation has many faces beside that of international political relations: decolonisation of minds, institutions, bureaucracy, businesses, and professions. The movement for reversals to the new paradigm is not isolated: it is a world-wide convergence.

From "Normal Professionalism, New
Paradigms and Development"
[Chambers, 1986:24] .

Having presented an interpretation of the historical evolution of the concept and the practice of participation and in order to provide a basis for understanding the paradigm shift that this study of participatory development portrays, this chapter attempts a synthesis of an emerging participatory framework that might make the transition clearer. Though at present no detailed framework is possible, its contours are becoming visible to those willing to perceive them. In his latest work, The Turning Point: Science,

Society, and the Rising Culture , Fritjof Capra states " . . . the outlines of such a framework are already being shaped by many individuals, communities, and networks that are developing new ways of thinking and organizing themselves according to new principles" [Capra, 1982:265].

According to Capra such a situation lends itself to a "bootstrap approach" similar to the one developed by contemporary physics, whereby a gradual formulation of a network of interlocking concepts and models is accompanied by the emergence of corresponding social organizations. In his view:

None of the theories or models will be any more fundamental than the others, and all of them will have to be mutually consistent. They will go beyond the conventional disciplinary distinctions, using whatever language becomes appropriate to describe different aspects of the multileveled, interrelated fabric of reality [Capra, 1982:265].

Capra, a distinguished physicist, expands on the tradition of previous illustrious thinkers who have described processes of cultural transformation, such as Toynbee, Sorokin, and Mumford, detailing characteristics of epochs and plotting recurring cycles through time. From such an encompassing perspective of cultural evolution the present paradigm shift is seen as an integral part of periodic fluctuations of value systems that take place in all civilizations. "Sorokin's analysis suggests very forcefully that the crisis we are facing today is no ordinary crisis but one of the great transition phases that have occurred in previous cycles of human history" [Capra, 1982:32]. Consequently, in dealing with such crisis, patchwork answers will not do. Instead, they exacerbate the problem.¹

This problem, our present individual and collective crisis, has the characteristics of typical phases of cultural decline and disintegration which take place when a culture (or for that matter, a paradigm within a discipline, as Kuhn argued and this paper aims to portray) has become too rigid — in its ideas, technologies, and modes of social organization — to cope with the challenge of changing conditions.

This loss of flexibility is accompanied by a general loss of harmony, leading to the outbreak of social discord and disruption. During the process of decline and disintegration the dominant social institutions are still imposing their outdated views but are gradually disintegrating, while new creative minorities face the new challenges with ingenuity and rising confidence. This process of cultural transformation, shown schematically in the diagram below, is what we are now observing in our society [Capra, 1982:418].

Fig. 6: Schematic depiction of the rising and declining cultures in the current process of cultural transformation.

Source: The Turning Point, p. 419.

This study, therefore, may be viewed as an offshoot or specific application within the discipline of international development of Capra's analysis of evolutionary cultural transformation. The change in world view which is being brought about by the spontaneous convergence of paradigm shifts in different disciplines of thought as well as styles of implementation is also taking place in international development. This short essay is an attempt at delineating and analysing the rudiments of this shift while at the same time participating in the processes of transformation it describes.

There is a vast literature on the topic of changing world-views and paradigm shifts, too broad to be addressed in toto within the scope of this study. But two more authors, James Robertson and Alvin Toffler are worth citing in addition to Capra in order to complement this perspective. Robertson describes contrasting visions of reality and lifestyles that are emerging in his books The Sane Alternative: A Choice of Futures and Future Work: Jobs, Self-Employment and Leisure after the Industrial Age, by enumerating the characteristics of two alternatives which he calls the Hyper-Expansionist (HE) and the Sane-Humane-Ecological (SHE). The HE version is a continuation and acceleration of the trends that have shaped our civilization for the last three hundred years and could accurately be described as superindustrial. The SHE version, by contrast, changes the direction and emphasis of development: the breakthrough in this alternative will be primarily psychological and social. ²

It will enlarge the human limits to human achievement. It will amplify our capacity to develop ourselves as human beings, together with the communities and the societies in which we live. Not only will it bring fundamental social and personal change, as the industrial revolution did, but that is what will be its main motive force [Robertson, 1985:5, emphasis added].

The relevance of Robertson's dichotomy of future versions of society is that it allows us to identify in current events some of their incipient stages. For example, the trend to expand the limits of our human capabilities along the lines described in Robertson's SHE tendencies is being felt beyond the confines of the minds of futurists and is appearing in present political and economic arenas. A pragmatic application of this trend is a recently introduced bill to the U.S. Congress — "National Commission on Human Resources Act". This bill would have the President and Congress appoint a 23-member Commission to hold public hearings and consult with experts to prepare a report to advise them and the American public on "individual, family, community and government action to achieve fuller human potential in body, mind, and spirit" [Satin, 1988(b): 3]. The bill addresses not only the needs of American society but also encourages the establishment of counterpart Commissions in other countries and the preparation of an international meeting of all of them.

It is worth citing the arguments offered (and by whom) at the testimony presented for the Senate hearing which included a variety of interest-group bases and made the following points:

- the U.S. has spent over \$190 billion on inner searching during the last 40 years (by the editor of *American Health and Psychology Today*);
- major employers consider that the future economic success of the country depends on the "human potential" of the American people (by the president of the Washington Business Group on Health);
- 75% of illnesses are "attributable to stress-related or mind/body related causes" (by a Harvard Medical School professor);
- America's "primary need is for a value-system [adequate to] making the important decisions of our time" (by the convenor of a group of leading-edge entrepreneurs), and;
- organized labor's statement that working people's single demand is not just more money; they also want "more opportunities to develop their human potential, and more leisure" (by an economist with the AFL-CIO) [Satin, 1988 (b):3-4].

Those offering testimony were described in the article as "white males in dark suits with gray or graying hair", but the author also contrasted this with the radical political potential of the bill, since it might play havoc with the equilibrium that most adherents of the status quo strain to achieve between a society's educational system and the qualities of its labour force. As a competent Washington operative assessed: "Now if you say that we're suddenly going to accelerate the capability of the individual, then we're going to have, in theory, much more qualified people, with perhaps a much broader vision of their personal value. And then things can get out of whack!" [Satin 1988(b):4]. The U.S. is no exception in trying to provide the working force that its economy wants and perceives it needs. Therefore this bill is, in essence, an acknowledgement of the changes brought about in the last four decades by the human potential movement which have become as important, if not more so, than the technological advances that are radically altering our lives. The accelerated changes brought about by mechanical devices such as computers, lasers, or faxes pale in comparison to what more fulfilled *inner* human capabilities are doing and could do.

These processes of personal/cultural transformation now taking place have been described as the Third Wave (in contrast to the First and Second Waves brought about by the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions, respectively) by author Alvin Toffler, who considers this transition "the single most explosive fact of our lifetimes":

A new civilization is emerging in our lives, which brings with it new family styles; changed ways of working, loving, and living; a new economy; new political conflicts; and beyond all this an altered consciousness as well.

Much in this emerging civilization contradicts the old traditional industrial civilization. It is, at one and the same time, highly

technological and anti-industrial.. .It is a civilization with its own distinctive world outlook, its own ways of dealing with time, space, logic, and causality [Toffler, 1984:21].

Toffler's work points to the congruity that exists between certain features of Third Wave civilization and those found in First Wave societies, such as decentralized production, appropriate scale, renewable energy, work in the home, and de-urbanization. As a result he is led to ask questions, which have also been in the minds of holistic development practitioners for quite some time, such as : "Will this strange congruity make it possible for many of today's First Wave countries to take on some of the features of Third Wave civilization — without swallowing the whole pill, without totally surrendering their culture or first passing through the 'stage' of Second Wave development? Will it, in fact, be easier for some countries to introduce Third Wave structures than to industrialize in the classical manner?" Toffler, 1984:26].

Such questions are difficult to answer but certainly worth posing, particularly for their contribution towards novel development possibilities, for instead of calling attention only to poverty and misery, they highlight certain inherent and oft-ignored strengths of First Wave societies. Decades of conventional development thought and practitioners have given little credit to practices and lifestyles in South societies. A case in point are subsistence house gardens. Belatedly, some experts are now beginning to acknowledge the native approach to house gardens in tropical countries as an appropriate village technology. Having been maligned and stereotyped as traditionalists resisting modernization, it is ironic that small poor farmers in the tropics are now being endorsed by ecology conscious scientists in the U.S. and Europe for their "alternative" production practices:

Generally these involve polycropping systems featuring sometimes highly complex combinations of intercropping and relay cropping of multiple species, use of organic nutrients, and natural methods of pest control. Recent studies have shown that many of these food production systems, products of long-evolved trial and error, are both highly productive and ecologically well suited to conditions of the humid tropics [Anderson, 1986:106].

In Toffler's view Third Wave civilization does not provide a ready-made model for emulation. Development strategies will have to be forged locally, matching indigenous values and needs. He predicts that such strategies are more likely to emerge in Africa, Asia, and Latin America than in Washington, Geneva, or Moscow. The approach Toffler advocates condemns outside models, whether they be First, Second, or for that matter, Third Wave. Such an approach would probably not emphasize economics over ecological, cultural, religious, and family/community concerns or the psychological dimensions of existence [Toffler, 1984:32]. These questions open new horizons of liberating possibilities since they are based on real positive aspects of the so-called "less developed" societies which, if utilized intelligently, could help alleviate not just local conditions in "less-developed" nations but the crisis affecting all of humanity, including the "developed" ones.

An outstanding feature of this approach, when applied in the field of development, is its emphasis on the creative initiative of people as the primary development resource and to their material and transcendental well-being as the end that the development process serves. This is in sharp contrast with conventional approaches, whether capitalist or socialist, where the models have become so production oriented that the needs of the production system have taken precedence over the needs of people. David Korten, a development thinker and practitioner who has worked extensively with innovative

approaches to development and is at present regional advisor for development management for USAID in Asia, describes the incipient stages of this approach as follows:

If people centred development is to emerge, it will be as an offspring of the production-centred industrial era. It will be conceived in the knowledge, possibilities and necessities created by that era. It is, however, still in its gestation period.

. . . The gestation process is already well along — an outgrowth of a collective act of human creation that has no visible organizational structure, no headquarters, and no budget; knows no national boundaries; and transcends traditional ideological and political affiliations. Its participants act not as formal office holders, but as individual human beings seeking the creation of a more human society. They come from among the marginalized and the powerful, the poor and the wealthy, the illiterate and the well-educated. The majority are found outside the halls of power and the pages of the leading news magazines. With less stake in maintaining the past they can sometimes see more clearly the nature of present realities. Less in the limelight and thus less pressured to provide immediate solutions, they have more freedom to experiment in the creation of the alternative ideas, social techniques, and technologies that are the basic elements of the power-building process. Indeed, these three creative tasks define an important part of the power-building agenda of people-centred development [Korten, 1984:309].

The above quote illustrates the wide-spread and difficult-to-depict nature of people-centred development since the efforts of its adherents are diffused through the fabric of local and global society in a myriad ways. Despite the immense spectrum of versions that these efforts assume they coalesce at one point: the participation of concerned people in the creative processes of personal and societal development. Hence, this study designates such activities as participatory development.

What is meant by participatory development? The following descriptive definition of this term found in Building Blocks for Alternative Development

Strategies is quoted here at length due to its relevance and usefulness in this paper:

Development fundamentally refers to human beings, to every man and every woman, to the whole man and the whole woman. It is a human experience synonymous with the fulfillment of individual mental, emotional and physical potentialities.

Development, even in its most subjective dimension, does not happen in a vacuum. Human beings, like the societies they form, are at the same time conditioned and free. They are conditioned by history and culture, by biological rhythms and access to resources, by the level of social productivity and the institutional environment. They become free in the process of learning to understand and transform nature — in an ecologically prudent way — and society itself, a process in which personal and societal development interact. Participating in this societal process is a source of fulfillment.

The development problematic can thus be defined in an objective way: the society, its economy and polity, ought to be organized in such a manner as to maximize, for the individual and the whole, the opportunities for self-fulfillment. Development, as the etymology suggests, means removing the husk — that is overcoming domination, liberating, unfolding. Development is the unfolding of people's individual and social imagination in defining goals, inventing means and ways to approach them, learning to identify and satisfy socially legitimate needs.

. . . There is development when people and their communities — whatever the space and timespan of their efforts — act as subjects and are not acted upon as objects; assert their autonomy, self-reliance and self-confidence; when they set out and carry out projects. To develop is to be, or to become. Not to have [The Third System Project, 1980: 9-10, emphasis added]

This study utilizes this understanding as a point of departure and attempts to elaborate it further. Thus, in this context, development is a concept denoting a process and a state which favors the integral well-being of individuals, groups, nations, regions, and encompasses all living species. Why "integral" ? Because what is being integrated are three dimensions or realms of experience: 1) the material, which includes resources and know-how or skills; 2) the personal, which consists of the internal make-up and the

external interaction with others, and 3) the transcendental, which involves the existential transcendence of the preceding two dimensions, material and personal. In this approach development is not accounted for quantitatively in terms of *what* resources a society possesses but rather, since well-being is ultimately qualitative, by *how* these resources are utilized.

Development, here defined as integral well-being, is perceived in this essay from an evolutionary, non-static perspective. What becomes important is that development *is lived* by people. This brings us then to the issue of participation. Development becomes participatory when it has as its main focus — both in theory and practice — people's willing and conscious participation. In general, three different categories of participation may be identified: *formal*, or to avoid sanction; by *imitation*, or without understanding; and, *responsible*, or as a willing actor freely choosing to consciously engage in action [CILSS, 1987:4]. This essay deals exclusively with the last category, focusing primarily on third system attempts at transformation.

Therefore this work does not address participation as a supplementary element to be inserted into existing development programs, a noticeable trend during the last decade in mainstream development circles. Instead, it deals with participation as a central element in the conception, design, implementation, and evaluation of development activities. It concurs with Oakley and Murdsen [1984:32] in that: "It is simply not possible to consider participation as some kind of quantifiable ingredient to be injected into a development project. It is essentially a qualitative process which, if it is to be meaningful, implies some fundamental shifts in thinking and action".³ When

these fundamental shifts take place within and throughout the development process a distinctly new approach has evolved: the term participatory development is used here to denote this change.

Within the framework of participatory development it is useful to distinguish four types of participation or levels of involvement: 1) direct active, where one is personally involved and operative; 2) indirect active, where one participates through agents or representatives; 3) direct passive, where one is an inactive member of a group yet involved in its actions in some inert capacity; and, 4) indirect passive, where one is very marginally involved. These are shown as a matrix in Fig. 7. A fifth type not represented in this figure is no participation at present, as in the case of those who have died or are yet to be born which, for the purpose of this study is being considered an empty set.

Fig. 7
Types of Participation

	<u>Direct</u>	<u>Indirect</u>
<u>Active</u>	Direct Active	Indirect Active
<u>Passive</u>	Direct Passive	Indirect Passive

In the context of this study, participation is conceived as access to processes. This broad working definition is purposely so in order to address its all-encompassing and consequential role in development. The most mature and holistic manifestation of the applicability of the principle of participation is portrayed in participatory development. The aim of participatory development is to open and widen people's opportunities for realization of their potential to take part in personal and collective aims, in societal decision-making, in the effective implementation of agreed-upon courses of action, and in the equitably shared consequences of such endeavours.

The following quote from Elusive Development points to the worthiness and the tentativeness that characterize such an approach:

Participation is one of the most complex areas of choice. . . Authentic creative participation, heightening the participants' consciousness of values, issues, and the possibility of making choices, influencing the content of development, generating new ways of doing things, and also safeguarding the participants' right to an equitable share in the fruits of development, remains an elusive aspiration - but the conversion of this aspiration into reality may well in the end prove the most essential requisite for a style of development enhancing the capacity of the society to function over the long term for the well-being of all its members [Wolfe, 1981: 69].

Those engaged in such pursuits sooner or later might come to realize that they have embarked upon a quest. Akin to those of chivalry in medieval times, the goal might on occasions seem so distant as to become unreal, specially if one loses track of the transcendental or inner journey. But as in all quests, the aspirant does not give up: a characteristic element distinguishing this type of human endeavour. The quest is, in essence, a way of life; it continuously goes forward, whether one meets with temporal

success or defeat. This view is positive in the ultimate sense. It is based on an ever-expanding holistic experience of the flow of time, where the past is perceived as a partial view of the present and whatever is known now is also only a part of what will be known in the future. What matters is to participate more and more fully in the internal processes within oneself and in the external world that surrounds one. Such are the means and goal of the quest of participatory development.

A good illustration of the consequences of this outlook is what Albert Hirschman called the Principle of Conservation and Mutation of Social Energy. In his recent book, Getting Ahead Collectively: Grassroots Experiences in Latin America, he describes how, when he inquired about the life histories of the people principally involved in cooperative efforts in the six countries he visited in that region, he discovered that a large number of them shared a striking characteristic: most of them had previously participated in some kind of collective action and, some of them, had been unsuccessful in their earlier attempts. He cited several examples, such as the case of a successful fishermen's cooperative in Colombia. Its members had not been fishermen for generations as Hirschman had assumed; they had been born and lived as landless agricultural laborers who had attempted, years earlier, an invasion of land that had failed. But this experience had broken down their isolation and made them aware of their potential, so they figured: "As long as we cannot take the land, why not take the sea?"

But the experience of the attempted land takeover was also a real stepping stone to the fishing cooperative in the usual sense of stepping up rather than down. Having cooperated in the takeover of land, the Cristo Rey peasants had practiced cooperation at the most rudimentary level; having thus dispelled mutual distrust, forged a community, and — perhaps most important — created a *vision of change*, they were now

ready for joint endeavors that required much greater sophistication and persistence.

This sort of dynamic can account for the numerous other cases where early participation in public action of one kind leads later to involvements in collective endeavors of a very different nature.
[Hirschman, 1984: 49, emphasis added]

Hirschman's observations and the principle derived from them based on peoples' shared *vision of change* point to the fundamental role of our present changing beliefs about change and their central importance in personal and societal evolution. Hirschman concludes that, though some objectives are never reached, the energies involved in the processes of attempting change may remain in storage, as it were, without diminishing their transformative power. It is this characteristic that he refers to as the Principle of Conservation and Mutation of Social Energy. To me this principle also points to the complexities involved in the comprehension and evaluation of results of actions. How do we evaluate project or program success? What is a mistake?

Problem areas

Having placed emphasis on human beings over material objects in this approach to development it is useful to point out some dangerous pitfalls to be avoided in assuming such a perspective. These fallacies are the result of extreme views, where the interrelated nature of the different constituents of the so-called real world has been neglected or eschewed. Such is the central element these fallacies hold in common and the scope of such imbalance may manifest in three different ways.

The first way we might go astray in emphasizing human development is by asserting or denying the primacy of the individual over society without the realization that either position errs in being too extreme and leads to problematic consequences in its application, such as the abuses of capitalism or those of centrally planned economies. If based on my right to the uniqueness of "me" and "my" possessions I deprive or discourage others from enjoying a similar right, the social consequences of actions are overridden by too much emphasis on "this" subjective reality. If conversely, I do not matter so much since the ultimate good is that which benefits society as a whole, who is then to determine the goals and means of such an "ideal" society? The fallacy here is claiming objectivity in the determination of "that" reality, when, in effect, it is a case of disguised subjectivity that relies on others (be it in the form of a doctrine or anyone occupying positions of power) to outwardly assume that role. A healthier approach would be to balance considerations, so that the collective good is based on the summation of the unique worth and dignity of its individuals. Such a society would foster and enhance the dignity and human worthiness of its individuals by fostering increased awareness of: 1) personal belief systems and actions and, 2) how these affect the common reality we share in each and all environments we inhabit (family, job, neighborhood, local or national government, and global as a species). "The ideal man-centred development is one which provides room for individual emancipation but gives priority to group solidarity and collective decision-making". [Galtung, Preiswerk, and Wemegah, 1981:136]

The second danger to be avoided is the extreme position of ethnocentrism, where the values, beliefs, and practices of a culture or society are deemed "superior" to others and claimed as universally valid. The

painfully dangerous consequences of such a position characterized the national expansionism of the last four centuries (as in the case of Eurocentrism in the "conquest" of the Americas or of imperial subjugation in other parts of the world), as well as present conventional development doctrines. Abuses of this nature continue to be perpetrated, two present instances are Chinese policies towards Tibet or Brazil's towards the inhabitants of the Amazon basin, based on the supremacy of considerations of greed and power over stewardship and respect. What is changing, and, hopefully, is likely to continue to change, is the perception that such abuses may be ethnocentrically justified. Racism has a long history and deep roots, but the ultimate economic and psychological abuses it is predicated on are now being revealed for what they are, so that any claims to "superiority" can no longer be viewed as legitimization of abuse.

The third instance of fallacious views is the danger of anthropocentrism, a malady that has afflicted humanity quite seriously since the advent of the scientific revolution; it might lead us to serious paralysis or even death. This view emphasizes the dominant place of humans over nature, a position maintained by most Judeo-Christian traditions up till now, based primarily on the Bible. This is a teleological interpretation, which in contrast to our intuitions of organic wholeness, asserts the supremacy of humans over the rest of creation, where the Earth is seen almost exclusively in terms of natural resources to be exploited in the name of progress. It should be clearly stated, therefore, that when this essay speaks in terms of human-centred development it is not advocating the supremacy of humans but rather emphasizing our central role in assuming responsibility for how we live our

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lives and, in so doing, what mental and material environments we create, inhabit, or destroy. Individuals that live in this awareness, what Elgin calls self-reflective consciousness (discussed in Chapter I), tend to become *a part of* nature rather than being *against* it. Here we are, with rocks, malls, squirrels, banks, grass, birds, rivers, cars, clouds, and cement. As one begins to perceive the interconnectedness of our thoughts and actions and how these constantly interact with the world around us, an ecologically sane way of life may begin to emerge both at the personal and collective levels — ecologically sane in our relationships to ourselves, other human beings, and nature. This is not easy, it demands commitment to hard work, what poet-philosopher Gary Snyder calls the "real work", the work of really looking at ourselves, of becoming more real.

Another problem area that might arise is over the meaning of "well-being" in the definition of development stated above: "a concept denoting a process or state of integral well-being". It must be readily acknowledged that the elucidation of this condition has been the preoccupation of generations of metaphysical thinkers of all philosophic traditions. But for the purpose of the considerations addressed in this essay I choose a more prosaic and open approach, one that poses questions rather than providing answers. This is due to two factors: first, that definitions are valid insofar as they set parameters useful in description and analysis, and secondly, well-being is meaningful, ultimately, to the individual or group who is experiencing it or the lack of it. Consequently, what would be the usefulness of a prescribed recipe of well-being? ⁴ This is clearly a situation where we should not confuse the map with the terrain. Is well-being the satisfaction of needs, enjoying good health, the fulfillment of cherished aspirations, a sense of being at ease, enhanced

sensual or aesthetic gratification, the company of loved ones, a feeling of contentment, or an experience of harmony with everything that is? Is it described by one, a few, or all of the preceding statements? What about the set of statements that would be valid descriptions but have not been included here by this writer?

As can be seen this is an area to be left open and looked into in each specific instance, since the answers would be very different, even when answered by the same person or group at different points in time. This is so because these answers are related to ever-changing external conditions as well as inner stages in our evolution of being. This unknown is the common ground of evolution and development; it must be looked at fresh each time we answer the question.

This points to other problems encountered in the implementation of a participatory development approach, such as the difficulty experienced by leaders and experts to resist telling people what to do. Or its counterpart, the lack of interest and apathy characteristic of people after long periods of passive roles. Both situations could be alleviated if we viewed development as synonymous with education. Mariano Grondona, in his book Bajo el Imperio de las Ideas Morales: El Desarrollo Moderno como un Fenómeno Social (Under the Rule of Moral Ideas: Modern Development as a Social Phenomenon) provides a clear, though lengthy, exposition of what this education/development entails:

To educate is etymologically derived from the indoeuropean word *duk* = "to conduct" and the prefix *e*, which portrays the idea of conducting "outwards", allowing the educatee to "emerge" from the limitations of her or his ignorance. Herein lies a paradox, since the purpose of education will only be fulfilled with the transmittal of means so that the educatee may choose what to be and do. To educate is to awaken the educatee in the direction of her or his life, her or his own freedom. Our

life is something that each one of us elaborates from our own premises, toward our own goals. One who wishes to educate starts a process at the end of which the disciple thinks and acts differently than the educator.

From this perspective, to educate is to grant freedom and this freedom may be used in a different way than that intended by the educator. Such great disciples, as Aristotle of Plato and Jung of Freud, may be cited as two famous instances who went beyond the limits of what was transmitted to them. They truly had had great masters! To educate is to awaken energies so that one may transcend whatever it is that is being taught.

The opposite of to educate is to *induce*. In this word the prefix *in* indicates that it is directed "inwards" and not outwards, towards established doctrine, towards the cosmological vision that the teacher imposes. But in this case the disciple, far from taking flight towards her or his discoveries, will instead submit to the authoritarianism that manipulates her, will "cuddle up" in the bosom of orthodoxy, rather than attempting her own adventure of thinking and living.

. . . [Therefore] if the inexhaustible "mine" of our times resides in each one of the individuals that surrounds us, and if educating them is the greatest investment, true education assumes that one grants them the freedom of not being like the educator would like them to be, since there is no more powerful motivation than to know oneself as possessor of one's own life. Free people are motivated people. Motivated people are people who educate themselves in the direction of development [Grondona, 1987:146-7, emphasis added].

This study points through reasoning and documentation of gathered data that it is highly desirable at this time for a theory and practice of development to emerge along the lines of the optimal education cum development that Grondona describes. In other words and stated simply: development is a state of being. No amount of transfer of goods and services, of mouthed ideologies, or efforts at mimicry can substitute for it. Having said that, and assuming that the fields of national and international development somehow were focused in this direction, it would be unrealistic to expect immediate results. Though some might consider this a problem, this essay's perspective envisions such wide-scope change as only possible in a long-term perspective, an integral part of our changing world view. One or two

generations will have to grow up thus "educated", the 21st. century experience of freedom. This is not to deny that we should start right now, from where we are, to head in that direction since as the ancient adage states "Long journeys start with a first step".

New Paths

This long journey also starts with everything we do, and it personally affects all of us since it addresses what it means to be a human being. The drive to actualize our full potential is a major human motive, which cuts across cultural differences and is shared by all humanity. This section of the conceptual framework chapter portrays our evolving understanding of processes of transformation to a fuller actualization of this potential, from the personal to the global dimensions.

The first three or four decades of theory and practice in the field of development reveal a dire lack of concern or willingness to examine and research the nature of the nexus between the personal and the global dimensions. This inter-relationship, in my view, is too crucial to be overlooked. Continuing to do so perpetuates efforts at manipulating external objects or "objective realities" while failing to understand their inner and subjective sources. Staying Alive: The Psychology of Human Survival by Roger Walsh is among the few works that addresses this crucial connection. (Chapters VI and VII of this essay will analyze the written works of A.T. Aiyaratne, and the approach of the Sarvodaya Movement, which also address

this important co-relation between mental states and actions.) Walsh, in stating the reasons that led him to write from such a perspective, states:

For the more I reflected on our current crises, the more I recognized that they were all human-caused. To the extent they were human-caused, then to that extent their causes were to be sought in human behavior, and in the psychological forces — the desires, defenses, phobias, and fantasies — that motivated that behavior. In other words, the roots of our dilemmas were largely psychological. The dilemmas themselves could be seen as symptoms: global symptoms of our collective psychological disturbances.

. . . Yet psychological causes and principles seemed to be very rarely recognized. Almost all discussions focused on economic, political, or military factors without any appreciation of the mental factors underlying them. The problems were seen as originating solely "out there" rather than both "out there" *and* "in here". The underlying sources — our minds — of both problems and solutions were usually overlooked. Much anger, blame, and attack were directed out at the world, thereby often exacerbating the very emotions that had caused the problems in the first place. In other words, the failure to appreciate the psychological roots of our global situation appeared to reduce the depth and effectiveness of our responses and even render them counterproductive [Walsh, 1984:xvii, italics in the original, underlining added].

Anybody who has been involved, even peripherally, with recent approaches to personal problem-solving techniques, whether this be in the context of work or family space, knows that a mediator or therapist will invariably ask one to look at oneself, rather than follow our usual tendency to try to manipulate and/or lay the blame "out there". And this is precisely what Walsh does in this work; he looks at several interrelated aspects of the global crisis — overpopulation, energy depletion, ecological imbalance, nuclear threat, poverty — utilizing a diverse array of psychological tools and methodologies to demonstrate how we can effect change from "in here".

The analysis in this essay stems from an intellectual and intuitive perspective (akin to Walsh's) which explicitly acknowledges that failure to understand mental states and motivation leads to futility in resultant actions. This understanding may be logically derived as a specific application of the inter-action of several of the underlying assumptions ("b", "c", and "d") mentioned in the introduction to this essay. In other words, since the world we perceive "out there" is conditioned by our beliefs or mental states "in here" it is imperative that we explore and comprehend the inner realm of reality . This inner realm is the ground or foundation upon which we build our constructs of so-called reality. This space, our mental billboard, accommodates all our thoughts, emotions, and inner images which pass through it unceasingly in a similar fashion to words and images displayed on a screen. We live our lives conditioned by the displays and sounds of this inner space or screen. It conditions what we perceive, how we process it, and the resultant actions which ensue. This is who we are, at the most intimate, personal level. Such processes take place uninterruptedly, moment after moment. This is how we create the world "out there" — how my ideas are being typed by pressing keys and appear on an external screen which in turn I read, thus generating the next image or thought, as I craft this paper.

This process is the same for all humans, from the most minute individual action to the grandest collective endeavor. Since this process is an integral part of how our human nature functions, it is highly desirable to be aware of it because fundamental change, like a subterranean stream, only springs from this inner realm. True development is development from within. This is so not only at the personal level but at every subsequent aggregate stage, from a single individual to all of humanity. Self-reflective

consciousness is essential — there is no substitute for it. It is synonymous with mindfulness and awareness and, though intangible and escaping measurement, it provides the attributes through which different systems of thought and different traditions have used to define evolution, whether at the personal, social, or whole species levels of analysis. (A more detailed and specific exposition of this philosophical, ethical, and immensely practical perspective, is to be found in the case study of the Sarvodaya Movement in Chapters VI and VII).

Walsh's study treats the central issues of the problematique of development from the perspective of disciplines usually not associated with it. It relates different facets of human nature to our present predicament. It draws upon different traditions or schools of understanding to address different dimensions, such as cognitive psychology to demonstrate the importance of thoughts, beliefs, assumptions, and ignorance; behaviorism to illustrate the relevance of inappropriate reinforcers for our actions; psychoanalysis to clarify the powerful role of defense mechanisms; the humanistic, existential, and transpersonal traditions to reveal the costs of inauthentic living and failed actualization, and the Eastern traditions to explain the all-encompassing effects of addiction, aversion, and delusion. These different psychological perspectives are then applied to different aspects (nuclear threat, ecological disaster, starvation, etc.) of the crises facing humanity, encouraging us to transcend our fears of hubris and hopelessness.

This work not only describes and clarifies, it also points the way by numerous examples showing how each one of us may transmute the present

crises into opportunities for accelerated learning and growth, thus personally and collectively developing a psychology of human survival. Walsh's holistic and evolutionary perspective echoes Teilhard de Chardin's vision of evolution as "an ascent towards consciousness". It also belongs to the school of understanding that, in contrast to materialism, finds ultimate meaning in what Aldous Huxley called "the perennial philosophy". Such a philosophy lies at the heart of all great religions and views consciousness and its development as the primary goal of existence. Walsh poses the questions "Are we solely surviving animals or are we also awakening gods? How can we decide?". In his view it is crucial at this time that "we deepen our understanding of both the universe within and the universe without"[Walsh, 1985:85]. Hopefully this work will be followed by others in a vitally needed new interdisciplinary area of study focusing on the nexus between our state of mind and our behavior vis a vis personal, local and global problems in development.

In a similar vein but very different emphasis is a novel school of thought emerging mostly within the confines of international rural development circles at the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Sussex. The works of Robert Chambers et al are demonstrating the need for a paradigm shift and its relationship to the personal characteristics of development practitioners. Chambers argues that two concomitant reversals are called for: one within the discipline and another within practitioners themselves, in a coherent body of papers which includes "Putting 'last' thinking first: a professional revolution", "Normal Professionalism, New Paradigms and Development", and "Agricultural Research for Resource-Poor Farmers: a Parsimonious Paradigm".

Chambers defines a paradigm as "A coherent and mutually supporting pattern of concepts, values, methods, and action, amenable to wide application" [Chambers 1986:ii]. The present study concurs with this definition, as well as with the four interacting levels — normative, conceptual, empirical and practical — of a new development paradigm that he and his colleagues are in the process of forging:

The normative level is simple: development should be people- centred; people come before things; and poor people come before the less poor. It is right to put the last first, to give priority to those that are more deprived — the poor, physically weak, vulnerable, isolated and powerless, and to help them change those conditions. It is also right to enable them to identify and demand what they want and need.

... At the conceptual level, development is not a progress in a single direction, but a process of continuous adaptation, problem-solving and opportunity . . . Causality is complex and circular, not simple and lineal. Development is not movement towards a fixed goal but continuous adaptation to maximise well-being in changing conditions.

At the empirical level, there are four verifiable elements:

- i. conditions are diverse and complex. . .
- ii. rates of change are accelerating. . .
- iii. people know a lot. . .
- iv. people are capable of self-reliant organisation. . .

The practical level of the paradigm integrates the other three. A practical approach to development embodies reversals, not just of normal professionalism, but of normal centripetal tendencies. The central thrusts of the paradigm here are decentralisation and empowerment [Chambers, 1986:20-1].

To Chambers and to me, a paradigm that puts 'last' values first necessitates a shift from normal to new professionalism. This is because personal and collective preferences and biases in perception and thinking of development practitioners interlock with modes of analysis and practices. His observations validate the last of the underlying assumptions to this study

(stated in Chapter I, page 6) which made reference to the qualities of people who design and implement development programs and projects.

Almost all professionals in the world are victims of 'first' thinking, that is, of the perceptions, modes of analysis, and prescriptions of urban, industrial, elite cores. . this distorts their understanding and action concerning those who are 'last' — that majority of the world's acutely deprived people who are to be found in the rural areas of the Third World. Questioning professional values and the structure of 'first' thinking, and putting first the situation and the priorities of those who are last, is one path towards making things better for them in ways they want and need [Chambers, 1985:78] .

Chambers reveals the conservative nature of normal professionalism, with its emphasis on the "diploma disease" as a prerequisite for jobs and upward mobility, and its restricted approach to learning mostly by repeating what is said in textbooks or in class. The main focus is on methods which are stable and must be adhered to:

Where they are mathematical and lend themselves to ritual repetition, they are easily accepted and perpetuated. The more they rely on counting and statistics the more the methods endure. They survive both because they are useful and because they provide psychological security for those who practice them.

. . .Normal professionalism also maintains itself through a repertoire of defences against discordance and threat. It seeks security through specialisation, simplification, rejection, and assimilation [Chambers, 1986:6].

In terms of development professions and professionals, specialisation limits the scope of understanding and promotes inbred, inward looking narrowness. ⁵ In addition, limiting concerns and criteria through oversimplification of complex realities, such as the single numeraire in cost-benefit analysis or the achievement of physical targets by physical engineers, is another defence mechanism widely used. If these two do not work, other defences may come into play such as rejection (through boundary definition

and maintenance), ridicule, or in extreme cases, persecution. A major example of boundary definition and maintenance is the rejection by development practitioners of the validity of indigenous technical knowledge (ITK) because those who possess it are not 'experts'. What is worse, they are usually illiterate, low status and poor. If all of these defense mechanisms fail, normal professionalism resorts to assimilation, that is, it responds to challenges with more of the same, rather than innovate. Though normal professionalism is useful and has its virtues, such as ensuring continuity, coherence, and consistency and producing tangible results, Chambers argues that this is not enough. ⁶ A process of professional self-criticism is needed, which to him reveals weaknesses such as knowledge gaps, misuse of methods, and prior biases.

This positive criticism calls for a reversal of power, as well as of values and methods, embodied in a new professionalism:

The new professionalism reverses power relations — 'putting the last first' — in choice of clients, professional values, research methods, and roles. Clients are the poorer and the more deprived, and especially those in rural areas. Professional values are turned around, with shifts towards 'low' technology and software. Research approaches and methods are more holistic and experimental, and located more in field conditions. Roles are reversed, with poor people as teachers and experimenters. Research priorities are determined not by scientists but by the poor themselves. Evaluation is not by peers but by clients. And not surprisingly, the status of many new professionals in the eyes of their peers, is low, if not off the bottom of the scale altogether [Chambers, 1986:18].

Chambers' convincing arguments show that, unless such reversals take place to balance existing priorities, first values and theories are continually imposed upon last realities, and a 'misfit' ensues, since in most cases these are polar opposites of each other. ⁷ This is illustrated by the neglect in

development research and implementation (mostly carried out by non-poor males) of realities that affect the most needy, such as resource-poor farmers, women, or children. Little is done to find drudgery-reducing technologies for rural women gathering wood, fodder, or water; research or credit for subsistence crops lags far behind those that are marketed; the seasonal surviving strategies of the most poor go unnoticed; until recently millions of children died as a result of diarrhoea. The list could go on but this is enough to illustrate that open-ended empirical investigation of these 'last' realities is necessary in order to generate enduring 'last' solutions that fit those realities. ⁸

Chambers et al obviously are conducting some of this research themselves and also keep in touch with others who do so, as his suggestions imply. For example, the 'misfit' between development economists trained mostly into thinking of livelihood in terms of employment, when the reality in rural communities throughout the world is a more complex web of interconnected seasonal activities that engage — but not necessarily 'employ' — all members of the household in some capacity or other. Present statistics do not reflect this most common reality, neither economists nor agronomists take this into account, so there are plenty of R and D opportunities for action along these more appropriate new lines of thought. As an illustration of these new methodologies Chambers cites the case of a technique known as 'rapid rural appraisal' [RRA] being pioneered at the University of Khon Kaen in Thailand. RRA is a "flexible, exploratory, interactive and iterative" method for outsiders to learn about conditions in ways that are quite encompassing and cost-effective. The new methodology of RRA's, based as it is on holistic systems

analysis, is more congruent with the emerging paradigm than previous tools of analysis which were more mechanistic, arbitrary and culture-bound.⁹

Yet these changing methodologies could not possibly be devised if researchers and practitioners did not first change themselves, placing emphasis on the interests of the 'last', by respecting their reality and mode of thought and choosing to co-operate and learn with them. This is not easy and should not be taken for granted.¹⁰ Instead, how to access such realities should be incorporated into the training of development practitioners, whether it be in agriculture, animal husbandry, medicine, social sciences, or any of the other professions. The reasons for this are made explicit by Chambers as follows:

To adopt last thinking, first professionals have to suspend much that makes them feel secure. They have to do a 'flip' and see things from the stance of those who are last, taking hold of the 'other end of the stick' as psychologists sometimes call it. They have to learn from below instead of from above. They have to accept those whom they have been conditioned to regard as ignorant and inferior as their teachers. Instead of working with and for the high-status rich, they have to work for and with the low-status poor. Instead of standing and lecturing, they have to sit down, listen, and learn. More, they have to accept the priorities of the last [Chambers, 1985:95].

By calling attention to those he has called the 'last' Chambers is only attempting to redress the skewness that now pervades mainstream development thought. In his view "It is not a question of first or last, but of a combination". Indigenous technical knowledge and modern scientific knowledge could be complementary, rather than exclude each other.

This principle of complementarity is a leitmotif of holistic perception and thought — first and last, inner and outer, feminine and masculine, mechanistic and organic, maintenance and innovative learning, including many other polarities not included in this short study. Among the best ways to describe complementarity is by the ancient Chinese Taoist principle of ying and yang, illustrated by the well-known symbol shown in Fig. 8 below.

Fig. 8 Ying- Yang Symbol.

This graphic representation of the principle of ying and yang illustrates by its two halves that opposites are dependent on one another for their existence. We cannot have dark without light or this without that. As the entwined two halves of the diagram show, they depend on one another for their existence. If one is removed, the other one disappears, since they are integral parts of an underlying whole — the perfect circle. This principle illustrates the need, so often emphasized in Eastern disciplines, to go beyond dualistic fixations which lead us to forget that it is we who partly create the dichotomies by what we perceive and the values we attribute to such perceptions [Walsh, 1984:35]. Notice also the contrasting dots in each half,

symbolizing that each one in a pair of opposites contains in itself the other. The significance of this symbol is very vast. Living in accordance with it is living in accordance with the 'tao', the most basic law of life or reality. It lends itself to intellectual application at all levels of analysis and, if embraced existentially, leads one from knowledge to wisdom.

Another practitioner who is focusing on the appropriateness of concepts or categories being used in development to solve the problems we now face is Manfred Max-Neef, recipient of the Alternative Nobel Prize (Economics) in 1983. He is Director of Centro de Alternativas de Desarrollo (Development Alternatives Centre, CEPUR) in Chile and is connected with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation efforts at promoting 'Another Development'. Max-Neef and his interdisciplinary group of collaborators, like Chambers et al, are attempting far more than changing concepts. They are proposing a new philosophy of development. Their proposal stems from an integrated effort of contemplation, research, and action conducive to a new paradigm of development, less mechanistic, more human and more humane. They are also devising new tools to carry out these tasks, such as the basic human needs matrix described in Chapter IV.

This matrix is but one example of the application of one of the central principles, that of synergy, in this emerging holistic school of thought. (Synergy is also the implicit binding factor in the discussion of various aspects of participatory paradigms and their implementation in Chapters IV and V.) A different application of this same principle was recently voiced by Max-Neef as a challenging exercise to development practitioners. The main

argument of his exercise is the need for truer understanding. The exercise consists in eliminating from one's language and one's thinking categories certain key words that, in his view, are essentially used to hide ignorance by obscuring meaning. Consequently, Max-Neef proposes a "pruning" of such words. As in orchards, this is done to stimulate healthy growth; in this case, a re-thinking process aimed at truer understanding. His reasons for this are as follows:

We know, in fact, how to describe and how to explain. What we seem to overlook is that describing plus explaining does not amount to understanding. . . .The confusion in our approach to understanding reveals itself in, at least, three manners: a) our involvement with options of secondary relevance; b) the utilization of simplistic theories for the interpretation of social complexity; and, c) the impoverishment of our language [Max-Neef, 1988:30].

The challenge of pruning consists in finding the key words behind which our voids of knowledge are to be found. These voids are represented by our constant pursuit of matters which do not address root causes, what he terms 'options of secondary relevance', citing as an example concerns about *who* is in power, rather than an examination of *power itself*. He also aptly describes what, in my view, is the arch-problem of the social sciences: the utilization of simplistic theories in the analysis of social complexity.¹¹

Max-Neef suggests that each one of us (development practitioners) practice this exercise and then proceeds to do it himself. In his case, he chooses to prune from his language about social improvement the following words: development, economic growth, efficiency, and productivity. In

addition, he prunes such indicators as Gross National Product and its offspring. What is he left with?, one begins to wonder.

What follows is the result of my personal answer to the challenge. A social system's basic aim should be the achievement of coherence; that is, coherence with itself, meaning, in turn, that it is not a caricature of some other system. A coherent system is supposed to fulfill three attributes: Completeness, Consistency, and Decidability.

1. Completeness, meaning that the system contains all the necessary elements, which, if adequately organized, allow for its reproduction in self-reliant manner. . .
2. Consistency, meaning that the system's chosen form of reproduction leads to no self-destructing contradictions. . .
3. Decidability, meaning that the system has an in-built capacity to learn from experience: our own and others. . . A system that satisfies this attribute cannot have an authoritarian structure, where information flows only in one direction: from the top downwards. It requires a participatory structure where feedback is not inhibited. A decidable system, as described here, is essentially a direct democracy [Max-Neef, 1988:32].

It is evident that the crucial choice, as usual, is made in the statement of the underlying premise which, in Max-Neef's case, is the principle of *coherence*. If coherence is chosen as the binding factor in the logic of a system, then synergy may be deduced as its principle of implementation. Once we reach this level of analysis, when synergy becomes the motivational energy which circulates through the social system, then different attributes begin to fall into place, such as self-reliance, basic needs, co-operation, compatibility, and participation. Synergy is also specifically addressed in attribute No. 2 above, which calls for "no self-destructing contradictions".

Max-Neef and his colleagues have arrived at these conceptual interpretations partly as a result of their personal involvement and

interaction with participatory action research (PAR) which he equates with the "capacity to act upon that which has previously been understood, and the only way of doing that is through the integration of the researcher with the object of his/her research". (More is said about PAR in Chapter V of this study). Unfortunately, PAR is not a topic that Chambers mentions in his works nor is it, to my knowledge, a methodology he and his colleagues choose to apply. Chambers et al only go as far as to encourage that the poor be treated as "clients" in a consultant/client relationship, which does not seem as effective as treating them as co-researchers and co-authors of 'last' realities, as PAR methodology does.

This is a good point in this section to effect a transition between the theoretical and the implementation aspects of these new emerging paths to participatory development. Implementation is the main focus of discussion in Chapter V, but the preliminary groundwork for that detailed analysis of different aspects is being introduced at this point as part of an emerging framework. Therefore, it is good to state in this context, what is meant by participatory development implementation.

Participatory development is radically different in approach, methodology, and operation... its central concern is with the development of the moral, intellectual, technical and manual capabilities of individuals. A development project is, therefore, regarded as a process for the expansion of these capabilities. This implies that the initiative in establishing the activities must be taken by the people themselves who should also be firmly in charge of their implementation and evolution. This in turn calls for an entirely different methodology in initiating and sustaining development activities [Ghai, 1988: 13-4].

The above quote is from " Participatory Development: Some Perspectives from Grass-roots Experiences", an analysis by Dharam Ghai, the director of UNRISD, of nine initiatives in different parts of the world. The following three structural aspects of implementation were found to be shared in common, though the formal characteristics varied from place to place:

a) A preparatory phase usually precedes the initiation of development activities proper. This phase is mainly concerned with promoting participation in a nascent group. But such processes of promotion are not once-for-all events. Rather, they are on-going and reflect the evolution of participation with the passage of time.

b) The formation of small primary groups is the modus operandi common to all initiatives that were studied. These homogeneous small groups, composed of members living in close proximity, who share similar socio-economic backgrounds, are the cornerstone for the introduction of processes of conscientization. Without them no participatory development could take place.

c) Another essential characteristic of participatory development is the presence of a special type of development workers. These are described in the literature under various names, such as facilitators, group organizers, catalysts, change agents, and animators. Whether an initiative ultimately succeeds or not is due in large part to the efforts of these crucial agents of change, whose approach and style of work has to fit appropriately the conditions of each locus of activities and those of the overall organization [Ghai, 1985:14-21]. The organization, in turn, has to appropriately fit national and international conditions through time. The personal and professional qualities of these agents is coterminus with the qualities of leadership that obtain in the organization or movement at any given time. This includes *all*

levels of leadership, whether this be the anonymous workers that set up the preliminary contacts before starting a new group in a village or urban neighbourhood, through all the intermediate levels, all the way to the director(s) or president of a particular set of efforts.

In trying to find ways of going beyond the frustrations of bringing about participation, David Gow and Jerry Vansant summarize a set of conditions to achieve effective implementation, in their paper "Beyond the Rhetoric of Rural Participation: How can it be done?". These authors' analysis is based on a mix of top-down and bottom-up efforts. The two case studies mentioned in this work are the Guatemalan Rural Reconstruction Movement (an offshoot of IIRR mentioned in Chapter II) and the Indonesia Provincial Development Programme. Both of these successful participatory approaches have already reached a stage in their development where they are operative at a national level and working in conjunction with established authorities. Consequently, the summary of conditions conducive to participation that these authors offer ranges through all phases, from the initial to the more mature (see Appendices II-a and II-b for the different phases in IIRR's conception of rural development). Their detailed operational steps for engendering effective participation include the following:

- adopt a process approach which is gradual and evolutionary and more suited than a blueprint approach;
- it is better to start with small, relatively simple activities that respond to local needs as perceived by the participants and that produce quick results that encourage further participation;

- it is important that some kind of commitment, in cash or in kind, be made by all potential beneficiaries so as to involve people personally and also cut through the mentality and relations of dependency;
- whenever possible, new participatory efforts should try to work along with existing formal or informal organizations, especially where these do not conflict with participatory processes;
- if they are coming into being in an environment of conflict and factionalism, participatory organizations may find it necessary to work with more than one group;
- an environment which encourages free-flow of information (both formal and informal) is the most beneficial for participatory initiatives;
- a great deal of care should be taken to promote the creation of appropriate organizational capacity so that participatory efforts may come to fruition; and,
- the key to any strategy designed to foster participation is found in local control or decentralization [Gow and Vansant, 1983:432-8].

When looking at participatory development implementation the unique dynamics of participation should not be overlooked. I refer here to the very *heuristic* character of participation. Participation, both as goal and as means, is unique in that it is an exploratory problem-solving process that utilizes self-educating techniques for motivation, implementation, and evaluation of feedback to improve system performance. Therein lies its power, which some encourage and others fear a lot.

Pierre Pradervand, in a report entitled Development Education: The 20th. Century Survival and Fulfillment Skill, puts it in the following words:

There is something extremely powerful and creative in the process of participation itself: a development of self-respect and self-government, a growing sense of dominion over one's life, of one's ability to express various talents one was not aware of possessing. It unseals a hidden fount of creativity in many individuals, and stimulates cooperation, solidarity and brotherhood. It fosters and strengthens local government and tends to make individuals and groups more resistant to all forms of manipulation. Above all, it is an auto-propelled and self-strengthening process: the more people participate the more they want to participate and expand their horizons [Pradervand, 1982:77, emphasis added].

Thus it can be verily said that, in the case of participation, the goal *is* the means, or vice versa. As a result of such auto-propelled and self-sustaining processes any discussion of participation is undeniably linked to power considerations. The central relevance of power is reflected in some operational definitions of participation, such as those dealt with at UNRISD, which designate it as "The organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control", or "Power is the central theme of participation. Participatory social action entails widely shared, collective power by those who are considered beneficiaries. The people become agents of social action and the power differentials between those who control and need resources is reduced through participation."¹²

Participation as empowerment can be directly and indirectly traced to its positive social functions: a) it brings about a different kind of treatment of powerless people by their governments, one that is not necessarily linked to their worth in productivity, utility, or importance to the state; b) it promotes mobilization, organization, and action by people themselves who become more

aware of their reality and become capable of altering it without always having to make use of intermediaries, such as political patrons or philanthropists; c) it provides the nexus between local communities and larger macro-arenas of decision making [Goulet, 1988:15].

In my view care should be taken not to narrow considerations of participation only to the poor and destitute, though they are certainly the first group (and reasonably so) that comes to mind, in both industrialized and less-industrialized societies. But stopping there would place unnecessary restrictions on participation's far-reaching scope. For example, *women from all socio-economic strata*, with very few exceptions, can be considered as a "hitherto excluded" group. When it comes to environmental considerations, whole populations — in fact, *most of humanity* — fall in this category.

As can be inferred from the above, political considerations invariably enter into discussions of participation and this essay is no exception. Though they do not constitute the main thrust of this presentation, which is written from an international development perspective, they nevertheless should be addressed, since they are like the weather or climate which fosters or curtails the extent of social participation. ¹³

As mentioned earlier, fear is one of the major responses faced by those who attempt to promote wide-spread social participation. This common reaction is due to an undefined lurking conscious or unconscious fear of an uprising of vast magnitude which is a characteristic of present *North as well as South* societies, whatever the structure of their body politic. Notwithstanding claims to democracy in all its variant forms, elected as well as

totalitarian national state systems tend to exclude the majority of their populations from access to power over their local, regional, and national space. This tendency is replicated at the global level in the international space. In this regard Pradervand remarks: "It is one of the most amazing aspects of contemporary politics that when one says 'power to the people' one is looked at like a cranky radical trotskyist, when that is the original meaning of the word *demo-cracy* [Pradervand, 1982:52].

Fear of de-stabilization of the body politic as we now know it reaches its maximum expression in the case of totalitarian regimes. This is usually, in fact, what is made explicit and justifies their claims to legitimate existence. What is far more difficult to detect, and subsequently agree upon the consequences, is its incidence in non-totalitarian regimes — those that in popular idiom we have grown accustomed to calling "democracies", as in the case of Western industrialized nations.¹⁴ A well-reasoned and extensive political science analysis of theory and implementation in industrialized societies is found in Carole Pateman's Participation and Democratic Theory, in which she sheds light on the role of participation in both classical and recent theories of democracy. On the issue of stability her critique concludes that contemporary democratic theory has actually encouraged lack of participation or apathy. This has

. . . unrecognized normative implications, implications that set the existing Anglo-American political system as our democratic ideal, but it has also resulted in a 'democratic' theory that in many respects bears a strange resemblance to the anti-democratic arguments of the last century. No longer is democratic theory centred on the participation of 'the people', on the participation of the ordinary man, or the prime virtue of a democratic political system seen as the development of politically relevant and necessary qualities in the ordinary individual; in the contemporary theory of democracy it is the participation of the

minority elite that is crucial and the non-participation of the apathetic, ordinary man lacking in the feeling of political efficacy, that is regarded as the main bulwark against instability [Pateman, 1970: 104, emphasis added].

Pateman argues the important point that a lot of so-called theories of democracy are, at best, only theories of representative government. Her critique cites as examples both "classical" and contemporary theories of democracy. From this integral perspective the issue of representative government is only one among many considerations to be addressed by a democratic theory. Having made that distinction, she then sketches the parameters for a more holistic participatory theory of democracy. Her approach redefines the understanding of 'participation', 'democracy', and 'political' by making the considerations these terms address more inclusive than in previous theory. For example, she includes practices in the work space and the socio-cultural space in her considerations of genuine democracy.

Pateman traces the foundation of a participatory theory of democracy to Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, and G.D.H. Cole. In such a theory the justification for a democratic system rests primarily on the human results that accrue from the participatory process:

The theory of participatory democracy is built round the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another. The existence of representative institutions at national level is not sufficient for democracy; for maximum participation by all the people at that level socialisation, or 'social training', for democracy must take place in other spheres in order that the necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed. This development takes place through the process of participation itself. The main function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is therefore an educative one, educative in the very widest sense, including both the psychological aspect and the

gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures. Thus there is no special problem about the stability of a participatory system, it is self-sustaining through the educative impact of the participatory process. Participation develops and fosters the very qualities necessary for it; the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so. Subsidiary hypotheses about participation are that it has an integrative effect and that it aids the acceptance of collective decisions.

... One might characterise the participatory model as one where maximum input (participation) is required and where output includes not just policies (decisions) but also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is 'feedback' from output to input [Pateman, 1970: 42-3, emphasis added].

The main significance of Pateman's theory is that it emphasizes the demonstrable and explicit relationship that exists between *culture and body politic*. That this relationship is seldom — if ever — addressed is, in my view, one of the major shortcomings of political theory and implementation. By considering the interrelatedness of individuals and institutions this emerging participatory theory of democracy tends to approximate the real to the ideal, though much, much work remains to be done in the implementation of the former and the formulation of the latter.

From a participatory perspective representative democracies that are touted as models to be emulated are both unrealistic and outmoded. The main reason for this is that, at this juncture in time, it is mainly through participation that the individual as well as the body politic may evolve. That is, succeed in turning the present crisis from danger to opportunity.

In a participatory democracy conditions of political necessity such as stability and efficacy may be met with a much higher level of awareness than under present systems, thus making participation 'educative in the widest sense'. The stability of the system in participatory democracy is not based on

the exclusion, except for sporadic voting occurrences, of the majority of people (as contemporary theories of representative government prescribe and current states practice), but on people's fuller integration into the body politic. This fuller integration calls for a more encompassing theoretical and practical understanding of democracy. In participatory democracy stability is achieved through participation's heuristic nature, and efficacy enhanced by participation's capability to deal with discord and dissent in a more integrative way.

One cannot help but notice in Pateman's above quoted passage the striking similarities of thought and implementation between considerations of participatory development and those of participatory democracy. From the perspective of this study, they are one and the same thing. It is also worth noting that, from this perspective, the terms 'developed', 'less developed', or 'developing' would apply to different nations than the ones presently labelled as such if one were referring to a continuum of societal participatory acumen rather than to industrial prowess. When focusing on these considerations, we might find that so called 'primitive' societies, such as nomadic hunter/gatherer groups in Africa, Latin America, and Australia, exhibit more 'developed' characteristics than industrial world powers. I do not mean to suggest that we all adopt a nomadic lifestyle; what I wish to illustrate is that participatory modes of adaptation have evolved and been implemented quite successfully in the past, though these remnant societies are at present in danger of becoming extinct. Instead what I propose is that the enormous challenge we now face is to apply similar integrative participatory principles to our present levels of complexity and accelerated speed of change.

Basho's old saying come to mind: "I do not seek to follow in the footsteps of the men of old. I seek what they sought".

There are others who, like Pateman, equate true democracy with participation, and that include considerations of social and economic democratic norms as essential. In his latest book Global Politics in the Human Interest, Mel Gurtow presents the view of an emerging school of thought he calls global humanism. In reference to participation and culture, he states:

The crisis of *democracy*, or *participation*, should likewise be measured with due regard for ideological and cultural biases. Should we talk only about parliamentary democratic norms and exclude social and economic democracy? Global humanists think not. It is important, using the Western tradition, to measure democratic progress in terms of political competition, press freedom, constitutional rights and duties, and the manner and extent of representation. It is equally important to identify signs of participation and accountability else-where than in the formal institutions of government. Grassroots democracy in the workplace and the community is vital too, and in some societies is more meaningful to people's livelihoods than elections and constitutions [Gurtow, 1988:51, italics in the original, underlining added] ¹⁵

Under present critical conditions, when faced with increasing complexity there are two contrasting approaches which a decision-overloaded centre may adopt: it may further strengthen its central apparatus, adding more politicians, bureaucrats, technicians, and computers in a desperate attempt to cope with the overload, or instead, it may begin to reduce the overload by distributing decision-making capabilities to more people at the 'periphery' or 'down below'. We may well be reaching a point, this study suggests, where the latter is the only viable option.

If this is the case, then grassroots participatory organisations lay the indispensable foundation for a democratic society . Without such foundation, viz. a democratic culture, no sustainable democracy is possible. This is due to the fact that authoritarian cultures breed authoritarian regimes, who in turn perpetuate authoritarian cultures, and so on. . . In order to break these re-enforcing tendencies, it is necessary to work not only with institutions, but with the culture from which they emerge. If this is not the case and institutions, as so often in the past, are "implanted" as foreign organs in the body politic of other societies, such implants may never 'take' in an organic way, and consequently leave the patient in worse condition than before.

Such malfunctioning vestiges of colonialism abound. Max-Neef illustrates this relationship by posing questions, as follows:

One of the most pressing options, especially in Latin America, today, is that of dictatorship or political democracy. It would seem outrageous to say that this option is not highly relevant. Nevertheless, its importance notwithstanding, a still more important option should be tackled first. We could phrase it thus: "are the Latin American societies going to consolidate an authoritarian (and often repressive) culture, or are they capable of constructing a democratic culture: that is, a democracy of everyday life?" This question is, of course, of primary relevance. No political representative democracy can expect to last if it is constructed upon the foundations of an authoritarian culture. It will collapse sooner or later, as we have so often witnessed [Max-Neef, 1989:30, italics in the original, underlining added].

Grassroots democratic organizations lay the prerequisite foundation in terms of institutions only if, in turn, such organizations are made up of *individuals who live democratically with each other.* This starts inwardly with our own personal beliefs and externally manifests in our actions in the home, in schools, in the workplace, and from there extends beyond to the neighbourhood, village, or city, the nation state, region, and the whole globe.

One of the goals is to create the conditions so that we may bring up and educate children in non-authoritarian, participatory environments. To create these, we must begin by living this way, and in so doing contribute genuinely to cultural transformation.

A central consideration of such an approach is true respect for the dignity of the individual, particularly those that are 'last' and who tend to lack such essential respect. ¹⁶ This is of utmost importance in the case of professionals who are attempting to empower such individuals and groups. Furthermore, it is essential from the standpoint of true democracy. Saul Alinsky referred to this need when addressing members of community councils of the city of Chicago on the issue of how to transform citizen apathy into citizen participation as follows:

If you respect the dignity of the individual with whom you are working then their desires, not yours; their values, not yours; their ways of working and fighting, not yours; their choice of leadership, not yours; their programs, not yours is what is important and to be accepted.

. . . It is difficult for people to believe that you really respect their dignity (after all, they know very few people including their own neighbors who do) and that you really believe in and with them; but no more difficult than it is for you to really accept this thesis and surrender that little image of God created in our own likeness, which lurks in all of us so that we secretly believe that we know better what's best for the people. A successful organizer is characterized by the fact that he has learned to emotionally as well as intellectually respect the dignity of the people with whom he is working. In this regard an effective organizational experience is as much of a significant educational process for the organizer as it is for the people with whom he is working. They both must learn to respect the dignity of the individual, and they both must learn that in the last analysis this is the basic reason or purpose for organization, for citizen participation is one facet, and a most important one, of this basic philosophic precept of the democratic way of life [Alinsky, 1957: 8, emphasis added].

Alinsky's injunctions ring as true today as they did over thirty years ago because apathy, that major inner obstacle to people's participation and empowerment, cannot be transformed into participation unless people themselves feel motivated to act upon their situation. In order to feel motivated, individually and collectively, we must first have self-respect as well as respect others, and secondly we must believe that there is a realistic chance that if we act, our actions will bear favourable results. Respect and belief in efficacy are main components of participation as empowerment.

In contrast, apathy, the condition under which the majority of the world population now lives and a necessary component of the contemporary theory of democracy, is based on lack of self-respect and not believing that one can actually bring about desired change. This is true for the poor as well as the not so poor. In the case of the former apathy is the result of living conditions that perpetuate feelings and situations of powerlessness. In the case of the not so poor, such as the upper classes of more affluent societies where apathy is also widespread, the feelings of impotence may stem from trivializing one's life, living perennially involved in 'matters of secondary relevance'. One of the conditions aiding such involvement is the ubiquitous influence of television (which now starts at a very young age ¹⁷) in these societies since, as Pradervand notes, "making people aware via TV of complex situations over which they have no control is a main source of anomie and apathy [Pradervand, 1982:52, emphasis in the original].

It is always important to bear in mind that, as Alinsky mentions, participatory experiences are "as much of a significant educational process for the organizer as it is for the people with whom he is working." At the personal level this educational process aims at improving one's human

qualities, both intellectually and emotionally, while at the collective level it encompasses all efforts aimed at the betterment of the world we share. This is an essential difference between mechanistic, impersonal approaches and the emerging organic, more personal understanding of what development processes entail. The latter foster what the former avoided: eye-to-eye communication among equals — equals by the mere fact of being human — who get to know each other through working together at human betterment by changing themselves and the world they live in.

A direct link exists between the innumerable third system participatory attempts at human betterment and the creation of the prerequisite firm foundation for democratic culture to manifest. Ghai's study states this relationship as follows:

Grassroots participatory organizations may be regarded as foundations of a democratic society. They promote the democratic cause in at least three ways. First, a representative and pluralistic democracy presupposes that all major social and economic groups in the country have a voice and a role in shaping national policies.

. . .The second way in which these initiatives serve the democratic cause is simply by providing an example of an embryonic democracy at work. . .Some of the groups have devised original solutions to the problems faced by the organizations as democratic entities at all levels, namely those of accountability of leadership, prevention of the concentration of power in the hand of office-holders and active participation by all members in the management of group activities.

. . .Thirdly, the grassroots initiatives aid the democratic processes in poor countries by developing the intellectual, moral, managerial, and technical capabilities of . . . r members. . .Suffice it to say here that in the last analysis it is these human capabilities which are the ultimate determinants of the vitality and creativity of a truly democratic society [Ghai, 1985:32-4].¹⁸

In sum, the very nature of participatory initiatives makes them ideal vehicles for personal and collective betterment. They promote the practice of

pluralism and civic involvement by encouraging people to work together for a common cause, engendering self-respect and respect of others in the process. The cultivation of this civic culture is essential to individuals and to democracy since it combines both the evolution of personal and civic awareness, making a direct link between one's rights and one's responsibilities. Such linkage was highly praised by Aristotle and practiced in the ancient Greek *polis* ; it was also touted in Jefferson's version of the republic. Unfortunately, it is hardly made today. This breakdown between personal/community/ global levels of linkage and interaction has contributed greatly to our present crises. ¹⁹

A fact often overlooked by those who seek democracy these days is that representative democracy is a farce unless the electorate is well versed in the principles of citizenship. There is more to a citizen than the occasional casting of a vote, if one cares to vote at all. Democratic civic principles become an integral part of one's life only when one participates in communal efforts in the context of human-scale institutions. Since due to humanity's sheer numbers some form of representational democracy will be always with us, it is imperative that small, direct, and participatory democracies be fostered. They do not constitute a luxury; they are indispensable.

From the emerging perspective of societal transformation described in this study, as each individual develops one's own personal potential, one's inner and outer betterment begin to affect those one comes in contact with. This process leads to the transformation of an individual into a concerned citizen, one willing to spend a portion of one's time and energy in the service of one's community. It also begins to change the nature of our communities. Only by each one of us living democratically may we begin to create a true

democratic society. Each one of us, by our beliefs and norms of life, is the potential seed of participatory democratic organizations and institutions; this applies in dealing with family and friends or with strangers. At this juncture in time, whether this potential grows and blossoms into more truly pluralistic and democratic local and global culture(s) that fosters practices of self-governance is up to us.

Third system participation in development efforts usually emerges as a result of disillusionment with the inefficacy of top-down approaches. In their beginning stages these efforts evolve around what has been called "do-it-yourself" problem-solving in small-scale operations, such as tenants' associations, environmental or peace coalitions, defence of natives' rights groups, slum-dwellers cooperatives, or students' demonstrations. But once these initial alternative projects succeed, they have the potential for becoming agents of societal transformation of far wider scope. (This relationship between micro and macro arenas of development will be elaborated later in the study.) The suppression or misutilization of this potential as a development resource is of grave consequences. 20

Among the many reasons for the failure to adopt participatory paradigms and strategies of development at local and international levels is the difficulty of bringing about the above mentioned 'reversals' that Chambers enumerates, both within the discipline of development as well as in the personal approach of development practitioners. This approach is fairly new and only recently gathering momentum. Influential as well is the fact that paradigm shifts diffuse at their own pace and that this speed is not predictable. In addition, some so-called 'participatory' approaches turn out to

be not so participatory after all. This is experienced by the participants, who tend to withdraw their support. A third reason is the fear cited above which equates empowerment with subversion of the status quo or with having to live facing the unknown. Consequently participatory efforts have to contend with suppression, hostility, or harassment. And finally, like in all human endeavours, some participatory efforts fail due to lack of vision and/or skills to implement them. Functioning thus under severe constraints both from within and without, participatory efforts are nevertheless emerging from numerous grassroots attempts in different societies and locales.

To conclude it could be said that the roots or participatory framework of development presented in this study belong to the minority tradition.²¹ The main elements of this organic tradition whose building blocks are self-regulating communities is summarized in table form in Fig. 9, contrasting it to the dominant mechanistic position:

Table 1 Contrasting Frameworks

<u>Dominant Position</u>	<u>Minority Tradition</u>
Centralized authority democratic	Decentralized; nonhierarchical;
Bureaucratized	Small-scale community
Police	Local autonomy
Individualism (radical subjectivism or "deluxe nihilism")	Self-responsibility
Leadership by holding instruments of violence (such as police)	Leadership by example ("not leading")
Competitive communalism	Helping others; mutual aid;

Frequent encouragement to "produce more, consume more"	Simplicity of "wants"
More government regulation	Self-regulation; nonviolent in a "professional" way
Secular authority	Respect spiritual-religious mentors
Churches monopolize religious ritual	Community fully participates in rituals
Tends toward monopoly of ideology, whether religious or secular	Tolerance of a variety of approaches to being (religious experiences)
Nature perceived as "data" or as "natural resources"	More open communication with nature
Narrow definition of citizenship; all other inhabitants of place are slaves or disenfranchised	Broader definition of community (including animals, plants); intuition of organic wholeness

Source: Devall/Sessions, 1985:18-19

The next two chapters of this study will describe what could be considered various aspects of this emerging paradigm of participatory development and its implementation. It seems befitting not only to open but also to close this chapter with a significant quote from Chambers:

Whether the new professionalism and the new paradigm can spread and transform the development process on anything like the scale needed cannot be foreseen. But there is less and less reason to doubt that they could. Parallel efforts are needed — conversions of the cores and successes in the peripheries. New professionals, wherever they are, have support from much of the rhetoric of development, but the inertia of the normal has been shifted but little. If the new professionalism and the new paradigm do not become a mainstream in reality, the end of the century may see deprivation more awful in depth and scale even than today. But if they gather momentum and become a movement, there will be hope of major changes for the better. To achieve that momentum and movement is now, as we move towards the 21st. century, perhaps the greatest challenge facing the development professions [Chambers, 1986:31].

Notes to Chapter III

¹ *The* problem takes innumerable forms, but many are the authors who agree that these are branches which at their roots converge in the Western mechanistic world view. In "People are the policy: A Version for the 1980's", after exploring in detail the consequences of such world view William Dyson describes the present situation thus:

What seems to be now happening is that a host of excluded phenomena whether personal, human, qualitative, organic, natural, rhythmic, subjective -- all called "problems" -- have now risen to haunt us. So heavy is their impact that the world now rattles [Dyson, 1980:31].

Dyson describes the change now taking place as the exploration of what I like to call "the ultimate frontier", our inner space, as follows:

All continents are mapped. Men are now upon them, including Antarctica, for even now we have the technology to live there should we wish. And so, humanity is entering upon a new exploration, a new adventure — to explore ourselves, seeking out new realities, new ways of consciously perceiving the world, new cognitive maps, new ways of being here, new ways of becoming more and more "human" — more and more aware whole men and women [Dyson, 1980:37].

2 According to Robertson:

These two contrasting visions of post-industrial society have emerged quite clearly in the last few years. Some of their main values and tendencies are shown in these two columns:

HE

quantitative values and goals
economic growth
organisational values and goals
money values
contractual relationships
intellectual, rational, detached
masculine priorities
specialisation/helplessness
technocracy/dependency
centralising
urban
European
anthropocentric

SHE

qualitative values and goals
human development
personal and inter-personal values and goals
real needs and aspirations
mutual exchange relationships
intuitive, experiential, empathetic
feminine priorities
all-around competence
self-reliance
local
country-wide
planetary
ecological [Robertson, 1985:4-5].

³ These authors, working out of the International Labour Office in Geneva, confined their work specifically to rural development and wrote within this sectoral limitation: "In the context of rural participation we are not concerned in the first instance with how to achieve a totally participatory society. We are more concerned with how to bring about some meaningful involvement in the development of the rural sector on the part of those who depend on that sector for a livelihood." The present essay, in contrast, takes a more encompassing stance and presents possible implications involving personal and societal transformation.

⁴ In this regard I share Neil Postman's views that "Definitions, like questions and metaphors, are instruments for thinking. Their authority rests entirely on their usefulness, not their correctness." [quoted in Pradervand, 1982:2].

⁵ Chambers gives an explicit illustration of how this happens, as follows:

Foresters stick to trees, and moreover to trees in the forests and forest plantations they control. Animal specialists stick to animals — the animals about which they have been trained. Agricultural scientists stick to crops, those in which they have specialized. Economists stick to economic analysis in familiar forms. . . Professions are inbred and look inward. Normal is narrow [Chambers, 1985: 6-7].

⁶ Chambers' arguments are similar in mode to those presented by Brotkin, Elmandjra, and Malitza when they make a distinction between maintenance learning and innovative learning (see Chapter V), his analysis applying to the specific field of development while the latter's was stated in a generalized form. Chambers also refers to Korten's and Mayfield's categories -- blueprint versus learning process -- (Chapter V) by contrasting the personal psychological characteristics of development practitioners thus:

Psychologically, a closed and authoritarian personality fits blueprints: 'I like to know where I stand'; 'we have to know where we are going'; 'objectives must be clearly specified'; 'there must be a plan'. Managerially, the blueprint approach fits the [mechanistic] type of organisation. . . with clear and fixed definitions of roles, obligations, procedures and methods, hierarchical authority, punitive management style, and inhibited lateral communications. In contrast, the learning process approach requires and supports an open, democratic personality. It corresponds with the [organic] type of organisation. . . with flexible and changing definitions of roles, obligations, procedures and methods, collegial authority, and free lateral communications [Chambers, 1986: 22].

⁷ Chambers contrasts these opposites in table form, as follows:

First Values

Urban
 Industrial
 High cost
 Capital-using
 Mechanical
 Inorganic
 Large
 Modern
 Exotic
 Marketed
 Quantified
 Geometrical
 Visible and seen
 Tidy
 Predictable
 Hard
 Clean
 Odourless

Last Realities

Rural
 Agricultural
 Low cost
 Labour-using
 Animal or human
 Organic
 Small
 Traditional
 Indigenous
 Subsistence
 Unquantified
 Irregular
 Invisible and unseen
 Untidy
 Unpredictable
 Soft
 Dirty
 Smelly

Source: Chambers, 1985:80.

8 In presenting an agenda for research and action Chambers points to the following biases in first thinking which have led to neglected areas of research:

First Bias

Growth and spread

 Science and quantification

 Learning from above

 Employment thinking

Neglected last subjects

Economic decline and retraction from peripheries and their effect on last people
 Processes of impoverishment

 Indigenous technical knowledge
 Non-quantifiable qualities
 Individual household case studies

 Methods of learning from the last
 Psychotherapeutic techniques for introspective insights and making 'last-first' flips

 Strategies for gaining rural livelihoods

including seasonal activities, migration, the use of common property resources, etc.

Poverty defined as low income

Vulnerability, contingencies, the value and use of assets, including their characteristics, classification, usefulness, and sequences and manner of use by last people.

Source: Chamber, 1985:92.

9 A more detailed source of information on this topic is Conway's paper "Rapid Rural Appraisal and Agrosystems Analysis: A Case Study from Northern Pakistan", published by the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, 1985.

10 See also Note # 3, Chapter II.

11 This work was delivered as a key-note address at the SID World Conference in New Delhi in 1988 in the style of satire. One example is his pungent description of development professionals:

I have found many development experts in my life — having myself been one for many years — with a very simplistic mind and a very active personality. If I had to picture the archetype of such an expert in a comic strip, I would present it as a man with a somewhat perplexed expression in his face, carrying a fat attaché case full of answers, while actively looking for the problems to fit the answers [Max-Neef, 1988:31].

12 The first definition is from Wolfe, Marshall Participation: The View from Above, Geneva: UNRISD document, 1983, p. 3; and the second from Fernandes, W. and R. Tandon (eds.), Participatory research and evaluation, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 1981, p. 5. Neither of these sources appear in the bibliography since the works were not accessible to me. They were quoted as references in Goulet, 1988:1, and Oakley and Mardsen, 1984:26, both listed in the bibliography.

13 It has also been argued that one of the main characteristics of post-industrial society is a major shift where the political function is gradually superseding the economic one, bringing an end to an era in which the opposite was true. This is presented at length in The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting by Daniel Bell. He describes it as follows:

The decisive social change taking place in our time — because of the interdependence of men and the aggregative character of economic actions, the rise of externalities and social costs, and the need to control the effects of technical change — is the subordination of the economic function to the political order. The forms this will take will vary, and will emerge from the specific history of the political societies — central state control, public corporations, decentralized enterprises and central policy directives, mixed public and private enterprises, and the like. Some will be democratic, some not. But the central fact is clear: The autonomy of the economic order (and the power of the men who run it) is coming to an end, and new and varied, but different control systems are emerging. In sum, the control of society is no longer primarily economic but political [Bell, 1973:373, emphasis added].

14 It is interesting to note that Pradervand's comments refer to the seven Western nations he visited for the preparation of his report (The Netherlands, Belgium, German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, and Canada) He was acting as a special consultant to the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

15 It is timely to reflect, as I am writing these thoughts, that this year (1989) we have witnessed unprecedented displays of people's power, such as the mass demonstrations in Beijing and the unforeseeable events that tumbled totalitarian regimes throughout Eastern Europe.

16 A concise and poignant study of this topic is presented in Michael Ignatieff's The Needs of Strangers: An Essay on privacy, solidarity, and the politics of being human listed in the bibliography.

17 Surveys in the U.S. show pre-school children watching television an average of 30 hours per week, going up to 54 hours per week. In West Germany, 80% of all children state that T.V. is their favourite hobby [Large/Hall:28].

The following quote illustrates the extent of the problem posed by such extensive viewing. It is excerpted from a short article reviewing Kate Moody's book: Growing Up on Television (Times Books, New York, 1980). A summary of numerous studies, this work is excellent reading for concerned citizens in general and in particular, parents:

There is no doubt that the 'education' presented on TV contributes to a child's view of life and has long-reaching behavioural consequences. Surveys indicate that the average child watches 30 hours of television a week. By the time he has left high school he has spent 12,000 hours in classrooms and a startling 22,000 hours in front of the tube. A child may

have watched up to 2,000 hours of violence on television before he is 5 years old and could witness 18,000 killings, most without the benefit of remorse or grief, by the time he is 14. Kiddie viewers absorb up to 400 TV ads every week. Many 7 and 8-year olds spend 80 percent of viewing time watching adult programs — and a lot more adult-rated material is being shown on prime time now.

"What TV tells us about violence, sexuality, material goods, and human beings influences our feelings, behaviours, and judgments before we are taught by life experiences" [Breen/Breen, 1986].

18 Since Ghai's study focuses on nine development organizations in South societies, his considerations address mainly participatory efforts by the poor. I believe his observations are also valid in case of the not so poor, in both North and South societies.

19. The Jeffersonian values of liberty, democracy, and community, which constituted the pillars of early American society are being revived and revised at present by 'alternative' thinkers. Two such thinkers, Frank Bryan and John McClaughry, who live and practice their thought in Vermont, are proposing a novel approach to local governance in their forthcoming book The Vermont Papers (Colchester, Vt.: Chelsea Green Publishing Co., 1989). Vermont has an unbroken tradition of strong sense of community, it is unfettered by problems of urban industrialization, and it has a growing population of ex-urbanites who voluntarily have moved there seeking to change themselves and society. An excellent preview of the book is found in New Options, issue No. 58, April 28, 1989, describing the authors' proposal for the creation of "shires", inspired by the old English institution of decentralized political structure.

20 Most participatory development thinkers are at present quite explicit on this topic, as the following two quotes illustrate. Larry Minear's is from his testimony prepared for delivery before the U.S. Congress' House Committee on Foreign Affairs in February, 1989; Dennis Goulet's is from the final comments of his paper presented at the International round Table on Social Participation in Development, held at Laval University, Quebec, in May 1987:

Without popular participation, economic growth becomes trickle-down. Environmental sustainability is impossible unless people damaging the environment embrace the necessary choices. Poverty alleviation without the involvement of the poor may become welfare without end [Minear, 1989:6, emphasis in the original].

Alternative development strategies centering on goals of equity, job-creation, the multiplication of autonomous capacities, and respect for cultural diversity — all these require significant participation in macro arenas. For without it, development strategies will be simultaneously antidemocratic and ineffectual. Without the developmental

participation of non-elites, even political democracy will be largely a sham [Goulet, 1988:16, emphasis added].

21 In writing about the minority tradition and its relationship to direct action, Duvall and Sessions state:

There is a minority but persistent tradition in Western politics and social philosophy. It is also a tradition found in many other cultures and historical eras, including Native American cultures, and Eastern traditions including Taoism and some Buddhist communities. . .The essence of the minority tradition is a self-regulating community [Duvall/Sessions, 1985:18-9].

CHAPTER IV

SALIENT ASPECTS OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT PARADIGMS

This chapter describes under various headings some of the similarities or components found in common to numerous participatory development approaches. Therefore they are presented here as the salient aspects of what could be termed an emerging paradigm of development. As with all paradigms in their emerging stages not all the pieces fit tightly, but some patterns are becoming clearly discernible. From the survey of the literature of these numerous approaches it becomes clear that not every single aspect may be present at any one time in every location but rather that different individuals and groups, at different locations and working under different conditions and different time spans seem to have similar approaches to the problematique of development. This similarity is based on peoples' participation.

As mentioned in the introduction this study is concerned solely with efforts that stem from the third system or committed citizens, and whose main thrust is participatory in nature and scope. The different aspects of this participatory paradigm, though presented separately, attempt to depict a holistic collage or mosaic operating in a synergetic way. This style of presentation highlights different components, describing, analyzing, and contrasting them with the prevalent development approaches so as to sketch the constituents of a conceptual system, a paradigm of participatory development. The salient aspects or components have been disaggregated in this particular presentation not because they are isolated variables but because this approach makes the topic more manageable. Therefore, it is good to bear in mind while dealing with this material that the formulation of

holistic development paradigms does not render itself to atomistic thought, where the whole is equal to the sum of its quantifiable parts.

The following sections attempt to depict different aspects of these emerging organic, participatory efforts juxtaposing them, where necessary, to past and present more conventional attempts at development couched in a mechanistic world-view. These contrasting viewpoints portraying participatory and non-participatory responses aim to substantiate the central thesis presented in this essay: that participatory development paradigms could create the optimum conditions to enhance and sustain the well-being of individuals and communities, ranging from the local to the global scale.

Conscientization/ This is one of the preponderant and most crucial
Awakening components of participatory paradigms; it is to participation what participation is to development, that is, both a *means and an end*. Without it development as liberation, as processes and as goal, is meaningless. This constituent acts as an axis where transcendental and material life planes meet. Consequently it helps to satisfy the need, felt by individuals and societies alike, for the presence of a cosmological perspective which has declined or been lost in our world since the advent of mechanistic scientism.

The world view of mechanistic scientism, emerging and gaining ascendancy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fostered the Industrial Revolution and constitutes the underpinnings of mainstream existing development paradigms. Industrialization became the primary concern in development thought and implementation as this discipline emerged. As a

result, development has been viewed and practiced as synonymous with economic growth measured in aggregate terms, at worst. Or at best, following U'Thant's prescription when launching the United Nations First Development Decade: "development = economic growth + social change." This fundamental preoccupation mainly with economic concerns has two flaws: it is a very *limited* and *limiting* vision of what humans and society are and can become.

A good illustration of this type of thinking is rendered by how traditional economists view human beings and society. The view of human beings primarily as rational economic maximizers that underlies traditional economic thought is partial, biased toward some of the baser human propensities, such as greed, competitiveness, etc.. This bias is acknowledged by some economists:

Rational economic man is not altogether a pretty concept. The picture of man that it suggests is not attractive. Selfishness and calculation figure large in this image; love and generosity are overlooked. Hence let us emphasize once more that economists do not set forth this picture of man as an ideal. It is not their conception of how men should behave in their relations to one another, or even their description of how men always behave to one another. It is, rather, their generalization about *how men tend to behave in the pursuit of their economic aims*. [Heilbroner & Thurow, 1975:35, emphasis in the original].

Though this economic definition based on a generalization that grossly understates human capabilities is not meant to be the ideal, by being taken as a given from which a whole body of economic thought and practice is derived, it tends to perpetuate situations that are farther and farther away from the ideal, in the manner of a self-fulfilling prophesy. Thus, if we follow through with this rationale, we arrive at conditions described by these same authors as:

Just as maximizing man is partly a product of a market system, so is competitive man. In a traditional society, a man may not be inclined to

outbid or undersell another; in a command society, he may not be allowed to do so. In a market system, he is not only "supposed" to act competitively, but he is often *forced* to do so by the pressures exerted on himself by other maximizing, competitive individuals. [Heilbroner & Thurow, 1975: 35, emphasis in the original].

Not only supposed to, but forced as well. In other words, maximizing rational competitive human beings have not only become the ideal but this ideal is inescapable. How has this come about? What was intended as a limited generalization that approximates what is, has become what ought to be.¹ The study of what ought to be is usually the realm of ethics. One of Webster's definitions of this discipline is "a theory or system of moral values" and, in parenthesis, "the present-day materialistic". The ethics of materialism is what underlies most of present day economic thought, its meta-economic bases. This is what E.F. Schumacher denounces in his Guide for the Perplexed: "The [ethico-philosophical] maps produced by modern materialistic Scientism leave all the questions that really matter unanswered. More than that, they deny the validity of the questions." [Schumacher, 1977:4]

In seeking to address these limitations new approaches to development are emerging that are couched in usually locally determined terms, where development is viewed with vaster scope, as liberation or awakening. Liberation is oftentimes associated with people's cosmological belief systems, whether religious or secular, such as Christian, Buddhist, Marxist, etc. or any combination thereof. Its methods could be described under two broad and complementary categories: 1) the *awakening of awareness* regarding both cosmological and worldly concerns, and 2) the implementation of *actions leading to personal and societal transformation*. The ultimate aim of these processes equates development with *liberation or enlightenment*.

These approaches differ in their formal characteristics but are functionally similar in that they perceive development in an integral way and address it in its three dimensions: transcendental, personal, and material.

An example of this liberation theme emerged in Latin America in the early 1960's when underdevelopment came to be seen as a matter of countries maintained in a state of underdevelopment by a system of dependency on hegemonic centers. Concomitant with this understanding a great number of Christians reflected upon the connection between their faith and their actions. Leonardo and Clodovis Boff, two Brazilian churchmen, address this issue in their book Salvation and Liberation: In search of a Balance between Faith and Politics, where they write:

It is important to keep this perspective in view: the struggle of economic, political, and educational liberation goes beyond the scope of these areas. They have a theological dimension. Besides concretizing sociological liberation as such, they concretize the liberation given by God. In other words, in these realities, considered to be secular, there is a real, but hidden, theological element. Only faith enables one to see this element present with the economic, the political, and the educational. . .

This vision has permitted a theological reading of human efforts in the molding of more just and more humane situations. In proportion as economic and social structures foster a greater participation by all in the economy and in society and create a greater symmetry among groups of persons, in that same proportion they signify, to the eyes of faith, the presence of grace and the realization, in seed, of the kingdom of God [Boff & Boff, 1979:17-9, emphasis added].

This particular version of liberation aims at reconciling the Christian faith with the options that a Christian practitioner faces in her or his everyday life. Whether one agrees with this particular faith or not is not relevant in this context; what is important to note is the attempt made at reintroducing a cosmological perspective to mundane thoughts and actions, as

well as bridging the gap between the personal and the social. This marks a major departure from the widespread practice of applying objectifying, 'scientific' criteria to rule our everyday life and practicing lip service 'faith' only once a week in localized places of worship. This reconciliation between one's faith and one's actions, and its corollary ethical understanding of the personal/social nexus may be seen as the goals and means of development cum liberation. This aspect will be addressed in more detail in Part II of this research (Chapters VI and VII), dealing with the empirical case study of the Sarvodaya Movement of Sri Lanka, based on Buddhist beliefs that again translate development concerns into conditions that in this case lead to the Buddhist ideal, or enlightenment.

This aspect is crucial at the personal level since it deals with the meaning of one's life, as well as in paradigm formulation, since it addresses the perennial question of *what*: is development.

.....

Organic/ The field of development, being a reflection of what
Multidisciplinary happens in contemporary human societies, is per force
 multi-disciplinary. A view that acknowledges this
 simple premise is now being shared among development practitioners, one
 that integrates the efforts of academics/non-academics,
 professionals/laypeople, donors/recipients, and many other prevalent
 dichotomies that stemmed from compartmentalized modes of thought.

The birth of modern scientific consciousness can be traced to the discovery that the complexity of phenomena could be isolated into

compartments, then studied under special conditions called experiments, from which concluding generalizations emerged. Morris Berman describes this as:

Man's activity as a thinking being – and that is his essence, according to [this view] – is purely mechanical. The mind is in possession of a certain method. It confronts the world as a separate object. It applies this method to the object, again and again and again, and eventually it will know all there is to know. The method, furthermore, is also mechanical. The problem is broken down into its components and the simple act of cognition (the direct perception) has the same relationship to the knowledge of the whole problem that, let us say, an inch has to a foot: one measures (perceives) a number of times, and then sums the results. Subdivide, measure, combine; subdivide, measure, combine [Berman, 1981:34].

It is this mechanistic interpretation of reality and the application of these methods which has to be credited for having provided us with all our modern necessities or comforts. But it also accounts for the serious problems facing us as a result of these successes of the technological/industrial era. Our highly developed science and technology present us with the hazards of mass destruction in the form of environmental or nuclear catastrophes and have increased our vulnerability to specialization; "efficient" production systems have led to the dehumanization of work; affluence and material growth have increased our per capita consumption of energy and goods, leading to pollution and depletion of the earth's resources. Hence our present need for processes complementary to those that led us here to counterbalance the deleterious effects of our modern age. These would be based on *organic and holistic*, rather than mechanistic, views and practices which emphasize inter relatedness and non-manipulation instead of isolation and control.

As to the existential consequences of the mechanistic view, by relying primarily on this approach, singly as individuals and collectively as a civilization, we suppress or forsake other modes of being and knowing, what

Berman describes as participating consciousness. It would seem sensible at this stage of our development as human beings to attempt to acquire access to the entirety of our being, which would go beyond the confines of an atomistic world-view to one of holistic scope.

In terms of the field of development this aspect of paradigm change translates as a multidisciplinary approach, one that cannot rely on the preponderance of one or two disciplines in order to address the complexities of the task. This holistic view is applicable at the individual, national, regional, and global levels. It contrasts with previous approaches to development which assigned to disciplines such as economics or public administration, almost exclusive, preponderant roles. As a result we ended up with societies patterned after models of development that considered as "externalities" concerns as crucial as environmental degradation or active civic participation in planning and decision of issues related to development. Thus the emphasis on economics with the excessive use of methodologies of 'subdivide, measure, combine' have prevented us from seeing the forest for the trees in the theory and practice of development.

In contrast, participatory paradigms invariably treat development as an *integrative matrix* within which human activities take place. Such an approach tends to be all-inclusive, fostering the creative interaction of a wide spectrum of knowledge and functions. It is as if development considerations, previously thought of as two-dimensional straight lines, now become three dimensional spheres, where processes do not occur sequentially in a linear fashion but in a synchronous and systemic way instead. This holistic realm is, necessarily, multidisciplinary.

This is a decisive aspect in paradigm conceptualization and practice as well as individual experience; it determines the difference between linear and synergistic approaches. It is the major single characteristic responsible for the choice of style of development since it addresses the question of *how* does development take place.

.....

Human-centred Participatory paradigms are, by definition, concerned with humans as subjects rather than objects of development. This is a basic premise shared by all participatory approaches. As opposed to prevalent views that considered development equivalent with conditions of having more (which have led, in "developed" societies to such problems as consumerism with its accompanying ever-growing dissatisfaction, and giantism with its accompanying systemic unmanageability and alienation), the new approaches are favouring alternative solutions to these conditions. Without discontinuing concerns about quantity these approaches look into qualitative aspects of development, integrating both. They are broadening the scope of development to encompass not only considerations of *having* but also concerns about *being*. This is reversing trends prevalent since the Scientific and Industrial Revolutions where "the acid test of existence is quantifiability, and there are no more basic realities in any object than the parts into which it can be broken down" [Berman, 1981:45-6]. By disclosing the qualitative dimension, we per force introduce subjectivity, and thus human-beings, into centre stage

This is by no means an isolated event. The re-emergence of the human being as a central concern may be associated with at least two concomitant changes now taking place: 1) our changing world view and, 2) the breakdown of mechanistic delivery systems incapable of performing the societal functions they were designed for. In the first instance, the advent of quantum mechanics delivered a mortal blow to such essential notions of classical physics as the belief that the universe is ultimately describable in terms of matter and motion (this forms the basis for direct causality or determinism), and the belief that there is a "real world" out there whose phenomena are not altered by our consciousness (this forms the basis for subject/object dichotomy or the primacy of objectivity).

Yet as scientific inquiry entered the 20th. century these very premises which formed the cornerstones of scientific knowledge have been superseded by the uncertainty principle, which demonstrated that atomic and subatomic particles cannot be located precisely in space and time; in order to know their exact position one must give up determinants about their motion. Though such discoveries seem to be important only to atomic physicists, the major philosophical implication of this principle is that there is no such thing as an "independent observer". The implications of the uncertainty principle are far-reaching and of concern to all of us since they state that by the very nature of observing we alter the observed. This not only reintroduces subjectivity as a legitimate concern, but also points to the dissolution of the subject/object dichotomy, or in Berman's term, to the emergence of a new participating consciousness — "we are sensuous participants in the very world we seek to describe" [Berman, 1981:144-5].

If physicists seem too removed and the universe of atomic particles too abstract, we can turn to a similar presentation of reality disclosed through the life sciences. In their book The Tree of Knowledge: The Biological Bases of Human Understanding, biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela contribute towards the emerging science of cognition by scientifically arguing that the act of cognition is not simply the mirroring of an objective reality "out there". Rather, it is an active process, rooted in the biological structure of the knower, which actually brings forth the world of human experience. Maturana and Varela in this work conduct a guided tour of evolution that culminates with their explorations of "knowing how we know", where they conclude:

... human cognition as effective action pertains to the biological domain, but it is always lived in a cultural tradition. The explanation of cognitive phenomena that we have presented in this book is based on the tradition of science and is valid insofar as it satisfies scientific criteria. It is singular within that tradition, however, is that it brings forth a basic conceptual change: cognition does not concern objects, for cognition is effective action; and as we know how we know, we bring forth ourselves. Knowing how we know does not consist of a linear explanation that begins with a solid starting point and develops to completion as everything becomes explained. Knowing how we know is rather like the boy in Escher's *Picture Gallery*. The picture he looks at is gradually and imperceptibly transformed into ... the city where the gallery and the boy are! We are unable to locate the starting point: Outside? Inside? The city? The boy's mind? Recognizing this cognitive circularity, however, does not constitute a problem for understanding the phenomenon of cognition. On the contrary, it constitutes the starting point that enables us to explain it scientifically [Maturana & Varela, 1987: 244].

Fig. 9 *The Picture Gallery*, by M.C. Escher

Source: Maturana & Varela, 1987: 243]

The second factor that is contributing to the emergence of human beings as important actors in social exchange is that we seem to have completed a full cycle of such guidelines for action as "More advanced technology is all we need" or "Bigger and better institutions may solve our

problems". In the first instance technology may not always be affordable or, if it is, it may not be as satisfying as we envisioned. Insofar as institutions are concerned we have found that though they facilitate social interaction, they may also become so outmoded or outsized as to be counterproductive. So here we are, back to square one – rediscovering the relevance of human beings, *through whom* development takes place and *for whom* it is carried out.

In this view human beings are part of the solution rather than the problems of development. The following quote from Mayfield encapsulates this approach, which is not restricted only to rural development, though this was the topic that author was addressing:

In the final analysis rural development must be thought of as "rural people development." This concept must acknowledge that motivation and proper incentives are the key ingredients of change and growth in people, and that the release of such energy is usually sparked by a learning process that widens one's mental constructs, activates a consciousness of what is and what is not possible, and introduces mental and behavioral skills needed to solve the problems of these rural communities.

Rural development projects can change many things in a community, but if the people themselves do not change, self-sustaining development will be very difficult. In the final analysis development of a community is functionally correlated to individual development – their awareness, sensitivities, knowledge, and skills. [Mayfield, 1985:146, emphasis added]

Without such individual development there cannot be any resultant state of collective development, and participatory approaches are precisely emphasizing this aspect of human centredness which, basic as it seems, keeps being overlooked or underemphasized. The questions *who develops, who bears the costs and who accrues the benefits* are central issues in

development. Participatory approaches bring such questions to the foreground, since it is people themselves who function at different levels of involvement, making the answers to these questions more transparent.

.....

Development -from- Below This element of participatory paradigms focuses primarily on *territorial* forms of social and economic organization, where development is viewed

as an integral process of widening opportunities for individuals, social groups, and territorially organized communities at small and intermediate scale, and mobilizing the full range of their capabilities and resources for the common benefit in social, economic, and political terms. [Stohr, 1981:39-40]

This strategy of development, starting from smaller and culminating in larger and larger groups, tends to *attain unity by diversity*. Though it may first appear as an oxymoron or as a destabilizing threat, this is an organic principle that focuses on endogenous motivation and capabilities while at the same time not losing sight of whatever integrating factors can be brought to bear so that distinctly different units may function as a cohesive whole, just as a hand has different fingers or a family various members. As a result, at the aggregate level, an organic system may fulfill functions of broader scope. The emphasis here is in the allowing of different autochthonous qualities to become a multifaceted whole.

This contrasts markedly with monolithic approaches to development from-above where, through 'invisible hands' or imposed mechanisms, development is seen as generating from few, distinct clusters of dynamism or

'motors' , viz. the industrial sector in local economies and the more industrialized nations in the world. The aim here is towards uniformity in order to replicate those conditions elsewhere through a 'trickle down' effect that would eventually spread the benefits enjoyed by those above to those below. Almost four decades of this approach to development have left a lot of practitioners and populations dissatisfied , since instead of spreading material or psychological well being it has mostly produced rising expectations transmitted via world-wide media and elites, while at the same time curtailing the capacity of the largest sectors of populations to fulfill these expectations.

Development from Above or Below? . a collection of essays published in 1981, documents the increased disparities both between social strata and between geographical areas, with accompanying ever-increasing dependence that took place as a result of development strategies from above. Walter Stohr's essay in this collection presents the thesis that development doctrine in the past has alternated between different combinations of development from above and from below in parts of Europe, spanning from the Greek polis to the present.

Individual stages have at times gone to extremes on either side, and swung back again. This description does not intimate any historical determinism or any automatic (inescapable) historical periodicity; but there appears to be some association – though with varying intensity – between on the one hand predominantly rationally guided periods, rapid technological innovation, large-scale societal interaction patterns, large-scale formal organizations, emphasis on urban activities, a neglect of man-environment relations, a sub- or over-utilization of natural resources, and the decline of rural activities. These periods have many features of what we here call development 'from above'. On the other hand, predominantly metaphysically guided periods seem to be associated with social control of technological innovation, a narrowing of societal interaction scales, a preference for informal organization, an emphasis on rural activities, love of landscape and nature, and a general emphasis on man-environment

relations. These periods have many features in common with what is here called development 'from below' [Stohr, 1981:59] .

Stöhr goes on to enumerate the conditions that prompted these changes, such as

- conditions of dominance and dependence exceeding the conflict resolving capabilities of society;
- growing resistance to cultural penetration and institutional uniformity;
- destabilizing effects of rapid changes in technology and transport/communications services;
- growing disparities in quality of life;
- lack of integration in resource utilization (human, institutional, and natural), leading to over- or under-development of social systems;
- neglect of provision of basic needs for whole populations, and lack of solidarity; and,
- increasing instability as a result of absence of common societal norms [Stohr/Taylor, 1981:59-60].

This list bears close resemblance to conditions in the world today, and since in the past changes have been often accompanied by bloodshed and violence, Stohr points to this danger and proposes a smoother transition via a change of development paradigm.

One could view this challenge as an opportunity to learn from past mistakes and attempt to re-build from the local and regional spaces up. Spatial considerations could add a very useful dimension to participatory paradigms as illustrated in Table II. This table contrasts, from a spatial

perspective, the from above and from below paradigms' views on the topic of growth, an issue central to development theory and practice.

Table II

Spatial Perspectives and Growth

<u>From Above</u>	<u>From Below</u>
<u>I. Urban growth based on:</u>	<u>I. Urban growth based on:</u>
a. mostly inputs and demands from other distant cities	a. inputs and demands from within city and its hinterlands
b. hinterlands developing under selective requirements of urban centres	b. cities providing support for integrated requirements of hinterlands
c. heavy coastal patterns of urbanization characteristic of export-led economies	c. organic patterns of urbanization due to emphasis on basic needs
<u>II. Economic growth based on:</u>	<u>II. Economic growth based on:</u>
a. selective resource withdrawal	a. integrated resource mobilization
b. optimizing criteria based on world market	b. emphasis on local/regional context
c. surplus transferred out of region where it originated	c. surplus equitably distributed locally

In this approach individuals and communities sharing spatial proximity provide the stimuli for the formulation and implementation of change. Development 'from below' is intimately linked to participation, as the following excerpt from Inquiry into Participation - a research approach describes:

Bureaucracies, complex technologies and industrial enterprises all tend to be anti-participatory by nature, and to impose conditions that make little provision for popular participation, yet their failure to serve humane values and to improve the quality of life seems due to this very lack of participation by those directly affected. For this reason, there seems to be more hope for participation arising from uncontrollable pressures from below than from the programmes imposed by the bureaucracies from above [Pearse & Stiefel, 1979:26].

Spatial considerations are also applicable at the level of our individual experience. Max-Neef, in From the Outside Looking In: Experiences in Barefoot Economics, presents a relationship between the spatial magnitude perceived by an individual and the amount of information stored by the brain, concluding that

subjective space influences people's behaviour in a very determinant way. The human agglomeration of large metropolitan centres may merely imply small metrical distances between people, but in effect the amount of spatial information [re contents of that space] is so vast, that bonds of communication become very difficult or impossible. People are, in fact, separated by large subjective spaces. In small towns the opposite is the case, as anyone's experience will confirm.

I therefore conclude that for the purposes of both analysis and planning, urban solutions which start from exclusively metric spatial conceptions do not correspond to the *real* problems affecting people [Max-Neef, 1982:136-7].

As a result, he proposes the alternative of the preservation or creation of smallness inside bigness (as in the case of *barrios* or *quartiers* of some older established cities) or the revitalizing of smaller cities which are struggling at present just to survive.

In sum, the development from below aspect of participatory approaches fuses the two meanings of the term *grass roots*, as defined by Webster's: 1) society at the local level, and 2) the very foundation or source. That is to say, *local communities are the very foundation of developmental change*.

.....

Self-determination/ It follows from the above that another salient aspect
self-reliance of participatory development is its fundamental
 emphasis on *decentralization*. This is an outcome of concerns with, or the
 search for, optimal human-scale conditions of living. E.F. Schumacher is to be
 credited for being one of the pioneers focusing attention on the problem of
 scale, presenting us with the option that "small is beautiful". Its beauty has
 the attribute of simplicity and its smallness that of manageability - two sorely
 needed solutions for today's problems at almost any level of human
 interaction. This ever-present option, the shift from giantism to smallness,
 broadens the scope of creativity and at the same time enhances functional
 adaptability. It is an attitude "that does not believe that big problems require
 big solutions; instead what is required is a great number of small solutions."

This attitude is explicitly endorsed in the Cocoyoc Declaration [included
 in Appendix I (c)], circulated as a U.N. General Assembly document (A/C.
 2/292), looking at self-reliance as: "The ideal we need is a harmonized
 cooperative world in which each part is a centre, living at the expense of
 nobody else, in partnership with nature and in solidarity with future
 generations." Though this ideal has probably existed in many parts of the
 world at all times as a form of social behaviour, it made its appearance as a
 concept in the field of development in the West in the decade of the 70's (the
 exemplary success of the Chinese development model based on self-reliance
 since 1949 notwithstanding, since China's particular conditions such as size,

resource endowment, and history could not be replicated elsewhere and its totalitarian social structure not necessarily preferred elsewhere).

Self-reliance as a strategy of development could be viewed as the natural outcome of the evolution of dependency thought which began in the mid-60's with Prebisch et al at the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). This group laid the foundations for centre/periphery analyses which by now, if not fully accepted by all, are nevertheless considerations that cannot be done without in development thought and implementation. In its beginning stages dependency exponents operated for years within a simple tautology: the Third World is poor because it is dependent and the characteristics it displays are signs of dependency. As an incipient school of socio-economic thought it comprised a heterogeneous conglomeration of different approaches [evidenced in the works of authors such as Furtado (Development and Underdevelopment: A Structural View of the Problems of Developed and Underdeveloped Countries, 1964), dos Santos (Dependence and Social Change, 1968), Vaistos (Intercountry Income Distribution and Transnational Enterprises, 1974) and Cardoso/Falleto (Dependency and Development in Latin America, 1979)] that extensively depicted conditions of underdevelopment rather than development and demonstrated the development of underdevelopment (Frank's Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, 1967). Having matured from this mostly *descriptive* phase, the emerging interest in the practice and consequences of a self-reliance strategy for development could represent the beginnings of a systematized *prescriptive* stage, now in its formative phase.

In a collection of essays entitled Self-Reliance: A Strategy for Development, Johan Galtung writes:

Just as the basic key to the politics of dependency is to tap the periphery of resources, through mechanisms of capital-drain, resource-drain, body-drain and brain-drain, *the key to the politics of self-reliance is to regain control over resources* – over capital, raw materials, labour, and the most precious of them all: human creativity. The whole theory of self-reliance hinges upon one fundamental hypothesis: that together these resources constitute a reservoir, partly drained away, partly misdirected, largely under-utilized that is *sufficient* for the satisfaction of human basic material needs all over the world – even after a short time-span of, say, five to twenty-five years. The necessary condition for this, though, is local power control and mass participation. These are conditions that at the same time give one of the keys to the satisfaction of basic *non-material* needs: being the subject of one's own need satisfaction, not an object, a client at the end of a new dependency chain, topped by managers of various kinds. In short, a very different world. . . [Galtung, 1980:357, italics in the original, underlining added.]

A very different world indeed, and the questions still remain as to how we get from here to there...? From a self-reliant perspective there is no pat answer, no standard pre-conceived model; if one raises such questions one would receive, instead, an invitation to participate. Here we find ourselves in a similar position to studying the science of human cognition, where one attempts to know how does one know. The only valid approach to find out about self reliance is starting from the questioner's individual or group knowledge and position in a particular place at a particular time, since in a truthfully self reliant approach, nobody else's answer would do. This is not to be interpreted as advocating the perennial re-invention of the wheel; instead it simply means that such an approach relies on prior general knowledge up to a point, after which it is important to allow particulars to determine the best paths and outcomes, since the very creative act of doing so is equated with development. In self-reliant development what is continually re-created is the potential for creativity. And though no standard answers may be

forthcoming, one may be certain of at least so much: participation will be an indispensable component in the crafting of it.

One of the most convincing arguments found in the literature advocating a self-reliant approach comes from a U.N. report published in 1981 by the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs which states:

"Given the paucity of capital and technological resources, and the scarcity of social services, a solution to the twin problems of poverty and dependency, it is increasingly believed, can be found within a general policy that places stronger emphasis on a strategy of self reliance. Such a strategy necessarily leads Governments to capitalize on the resources that developing countries possess in greatest abundance: human resources. Under the growth based strategy, people are primarily viewed as part of the problems of development and not as part of the solution. Resources have to be allocated to provide them with food, shelter, clothing and a broad range of social services. Within the context of a strategy of self-reliance, people, through their physical and intellectual efforts, become an important resource in helping to solve these and other problems. Such a strategy, moreover, because it is predicated on sustained collaborative relationships, can be instrumental in promoting a more participatory society. [UN Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1981: 4, emphasis added]

Useful indicators of the extent of implementation of such an approach to development would include:

- the appropriate maximization of human and natural resources;
- the balanced implementation of rights/responsibilities ratios in social, economic, and political matters;
- the marked decline in conditions of vertical dependence whenever possible and their transformation into conditions of horizontal interdependence;
- the increased overall well-being and empowerment of presently neglected populations (both rich and poor); and ,
- the multiplicity of benefits accrued by persons and populations

individually and collectively in charge of their own destinies.

These could be described as integral constituents of an emerging approach to *sane stewardship* in human affairs.

.....

Equity Considerations of the distribution of benefits (or ills, if that were the case) of participatory development efforts are invariably concerned with reversing the present trend of an ever-widening *gap between rich and poor* sectors of humanity, at local, regional, and global levels. The blatant failure of strictly neoclassical economic development efforts aimed at creating growth centers from which benefits would trickle down by invisible self-adjusting mechanisms is only too evident.

From the abundance of references found both in mainstream and alternative development sources that could be utilized to demonstrate these widening gaps, I have chosen a work by Maurice Guernier, published in 1980, entitled: Tiers Monde: Trois Quarts du Monde. The first chapter of this work presents a summary of twenty-five years of development, from 1950-1975, and constitutes a source of sources, since the arguments presented are based on data from reports by: 1) the World Bank (1978 and 79); 2) a report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), conducted by Interfuturs, a task force studying the prospects of industrialized nations and the Third World; and 3) an official United Nations report on future trends for this century conducted by Wassily Leontief.

Using World Bank's figures Guernier shows that though in relative terms growth rates for the Third World have been remarkable, in absolute terms this translates as minimal change for the neediest sectors of the population, a meagre \$3/year/capita for that half of Third World nations whose growth rates were below 2%. As to equitable distribution, he cites the example of two countries, Venezuela and Mexico, whose oil revenues place them in the higher income categories among other nations in the Third World, where the internal distribution of this growth was shown as follows: 4.5% of their respective GNP's reached the poorest 20% of the population, while 62% and 30% (respectively) went to the richest 20% of their population. These two countries are by no means unique; pronounced skewed distribution is the rule, not the exception, in the Third World. World Bank 1978 statistics showed that 1800 million human beings out of the 2000 million then comprising the population of the Third World lived in conditions of great poverty, where 800 million experienced conditions of absolute poverty and severe malnutrition all supposedly waiting for the trickles to come down. Since it will never be known what would have happened had the world pursued a different path of development for that twenty-five year period, it is useless to speculate. But one thing is indeed clear: this path did not prove very successful in reducing gaps, instead, it exacerbated them, not only among nations but also within them.

Guernier also quotes figures cited by Enrique Iglesias, Secretary General of ECLA, showing a break-down of the Brazilian miracle, where 10% of the population received 2/3 of the benefits leaving merely 3% for the poorest 40% of the population.

Fig. 10 The Brazilian Miracle?

Source: Guernier, 1980:20

Based on the differential at the starting point, Guernier documents the gap in GNP/capita for the past and projects to the future thus:

Dire que les progrès sont remarquables parce que le taux de la croissance industrielle de certains pays du Tiers-Monde est supérieur à celui de Nord est une tromperie. Il faut savoir en effet qu'une croissance de 7% appliquée à 100 \$, comparée à une croissance de 5% appliquée à 5000 \$, ne permet pas de réduire la différence du produit entre les deux pays: pendant des décennies, le fossé va encore s'élargir malgré l'hypothèse extrêmement favorable des taux choisis.

En 10 ans 100 \$ à 7% deviennent 200 \$
et 5000 \$ à 5% deviennent 8145 \$

Le fossé entre riches et pauvres que était de 5000 - 100 = 4900 \$
devient, donc 10 ans après 8145 - 200 = 7945 \$
Après 20 ans, le fossé passe à 12800 \$
[Guernier, 1980:15]

This tells us that, even allowing for very favorable hypothetical growth rates of 7% and 5% respectively for the Third World and for industrialized nations, the gap in GNP/capita between these nations twenty years later would not be smaller but 2.6 times larger. The following graph gives a pictorial representation of this trend, citing figures in US dollars for GNP/capita from

1960 to 1990, where the gap that was \$5500 per capita in 1975 becomes close to \$10,000 (in 1975 values) by the year 1990 :

Fig.11. Trend in GNP/capita from 1960 to 1990
Source: Guernier, 1980:18

The study conducted by OECD economists cited growth rates of 5.4%/year for the Third World countries versus 4.2%/year for OECD countries for this twenty-five year period. Guernier shows that due to the different birth rates in these two parts of the world (2.4% versus 1%), a more realistic figure is GNP *per capita* , in which case one obtains growth rates of 3.2% in the

industrialized nations compared to only 3% for the Third World. In dollar figures this becomes \$116 compared to \$8.5 per year, respectively. But, more importantly, the gap between rich and poor nations which, according to this study, was estimated at \$ 2,191 for 1950, by 1975 had become \$ 4,878.

Simply stated, the above figures may be taken as indicators of mal-development. Since 1950 the initial differentials in standards of well-being measured in GNP/capita, which admittedly is a very rough aggregate estimate of very limited integral scope but the only one available at this time, have not become smaller. Yet this was the purported aim of development based on models espousing engines of growth and take-offs to replicate conditions enjoyed by the richer societies. Though hard for some to acknowledge, these mechanistic approaches to development did not deliver as expected. In the case of the evidence cited above it is clear that they did not take into account what is, in retrospect, so evident: viz the different starting points, the polarized internal structures already in place, and the high rates of population growth characteristic of the destitute.

If we want to bring these figures up to date, they have to become the backdrop against which a new actor comes onto the scene, the international debt. The present combined Third World debt figure is approximately \$ 1 trillion, give or take a few billion. Such a staggering figure defies the imagination but it is interesting to put it in perspective. It represents approximately:

- one eighth of the combined GNP/year generated by OECD countries
- one half of the public debt of one single country, the United States, in

• one-third of the yearly sales of the top 200 transnational corporations.

One may also compare individual figures, such as the approximate size of the public debt for France (\$62 billion), considerably larger than that of Argentina (\$54 billion) and about the same as that of Chile, Peru, and the Philippines combined. The size of a national debt is not the problem; it only becomes a menace to the financial system and the general public when it cannot be 'serviced', i.e. interest payments fall into deep arrears or stop altogether. At the risk of stating the obvious it should now be mentioned that a country's public debt is directly connected with its internal economy and its links with other economies in the world. Rather than entering upon lengthy comparisons about different strategies that most industrialized countries pursue to deal with their public debts, including the unique approach being utilized by the United States, let us now have a look at how the Third World debt is being 'serviced'.

So far the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been in control of these extreme anti-participatory processes. And in so doing it has become a channel for funnelling public money (Third World's as well as industrialized nations' funds) to private banks.⁶ Generally, the IMF's strategy for Third World economies usually consists of a few or all of the following prescriptions

- devaluation of the currency (to discourage imports and encourage exports);
- drastic reduction of government expenditure, particularly social spending and elimination of food and other consumption subsidies;
- privatization of government enterprises and/or increases in prices charged by them (electricity, water, transportation, etc.);
- 'demand management' (meaning reduction of consumption) through caps on wages, along with restriction of credit and higher taxes and interest rates in an effort to reduce inflation. [George, 1988: 92]

Singly, or in conjunction, these measures aggravate the conditions of the poorest sectors of already impoverished populations. For the sake of analysis, we may look at the first of these measures in detail (similar critiques could be extended to the rest) as follows: though wages steadily decline (where there are wages to be had) since existing unemployment and underemployment are aggravated by these 'contractions', and middle classes (where they existed) steadily are disappearing, the IMF's insistence on export-led growth is unabated. True to its *raison d'être* as stated in the first article of its charter, the 'growth of international trade' figures high among the IMF objectives. Nothing too wrong with that. Where we seem to be running into trouble is in the fact that though the IMF is at present in the position to dictate export led growth for the South, it does not have the political will nor the mandate to ensure that the North will buy what the South produces. And if it does, at what price. This crucial oversight is similar to the Fund's choice to ignore consequences of its prescriptions by not incorporating criteria regarding social equity as part of its policies.

What about about the delayed costs of debt, which will undoubtedly weigh heavily on the South for generations? For example, in the area of infant mortality rates (IMRs) U.N. statistics are beginning to register a perverse increase. This reverses the trend of decades of efforts that had yielded a trend of slow decrease. These higher figures may be correlated in time with runaway indebtedness and IMF austerity schemes [George, 1988: 133]. In addition, a complex web of innumerable delayed costs will have multiple repercussions in the future of those who survive, both in their individual and collective well being, but this is not the place to expand upon these matters further.

Suffice it to say that to continue upon this course of action, i.e. the perpetuation and aggravation of conditions of severe inequity, is inviting disaster. This applies to both debtor and creditor nations.

When the debt crisis hit Mexico in 1982... the effect on the United States was immediate and devastating: between the end of 1981 and the end of 1982 US exports to Mexico dropped by \$10 billion. Every billion dollars in exports sustains 24,000 jobs, so the Mexican crisis alone cost the US 240,000 jobs in just one year [George, 1988:64-5, emphasis added].

In addition to unemployment, the disastrous costs of the present debt situation include widespread financial instability, increased threats to security, and escalation of environmental depletion within as well as among nations.

Though admittedly lengthy due to the complexity of its consequences, this description of the international debt is included to illustrate the obsolescence of mechanistic approaches to development that, based on exogenous paradigms and necessitating increasing inputs of foreign funds, paved the way for the present debt situation.⁷

As a result of such conditions a large number of governments in the South find themselves unable to provide for the present needs of their citizens, let alone finance national development plans. These conditions have thus fostered the appearance of third system efforts that attempt to fulfill these functions. In such efforts at participatory development considerations of equitable distribution are commonly found, where the participation of those concerned in the development processes is the strongest guarantee to ensure that their interests will be taken into account. Participatory strategies shorten the distance between decision makers and decision takers, those

effecting policy and those affected by it.⁸ This seems to be the most effective mechanism to achieve a lesser degree of skewness in distribution. As a result, these efforts favour the enunciation of basic needs, and the steps taken to deal with them, to be the right/responsibility of those most affected by them.

.....

Basic Needs/ In the last decade much has been written about the
Human Needs necessity to pay heed to the basic needs of groups and populations as a response to the growing sense of discontent with development models that tended to neglect taking into account the deterioration of living conditions experienced by the majority of populations in the South. One way to demonstrate the effects of such deterioration is through quantitative measurement, such as the on-going efforts to define and gather data about Quality of Life Indicators (QLI). Another approach is to acknowledge that this issue has a high qualitative component and that appropriate analytical tools need to be sought to help us understand the complexities involved. The most comprehensive study on this topic that I have come across is the one presented in Human Scale Development: An Option for the Future where Manfred Max-Neef et al write:

A development policy aimed at the satisfaction of fundamental human needs goes beyond the conventional economic rationale because it applies to the human being as a whole. The relations which are established between needs and their satisfiers make it possible to develop a philosophy and a policy for development which are genuinely humanistic.

The very essence of human beings is expressed palpably through needs in their twofold character: as deprivation and as potential. Understood as much more than mere survival, needs bring out the constant tension between deprivation and potential which is so peculiar to human beings.

Needs, narrowly conceived as deprivation, are often restricted to that which is merely physiological and as such the sensation that 'something which is lacking is acutely felt'. However, to the degree that needs engage, motivate and mobilize people, they are a potential and eventually may become a resource. The need to participate is a potential for participation, just as the need for affection is a potential for affection.

... To understand human beings in terms of needs, that is, conceived as deprivation and potential, will prevent any reduction of the human being into a category of a restricted existence. Moreover, if needs are conceptualized in this way, it is inappropriate to speak of their being 'satisfied' or 'fulfilled'. They reflect a dialectic process in as much as they are in constant movement. Hence, it may be better to speak of realizing, experiencing or actualizing needs, through time and space [Max-Neef et al, 1989:26].

Having set human needs in this context, viewing them not only as deprivation but also as potential both at the individual and collective levels, this work then establishes an important distinction between satisfiers [of needs] and economic goods. Satisfiers applies to states of being, having, doing, and interacting.⁹ Economic goods, on the other hand, are objects and artifacts that affect the efficiency of a satisfier, thus altering the threshold of fulfillment of a need, whether in a positive or a negative sense. This distinction lays the foundation for the treatment of well being, that is development, in a more realistic and organic sense. It provides the analytical tools making possible the transition from mechanistic models that deal only with 'homo economicus' to a more encompassing concern for 'homo synergicus'.

Having isolated the four above mentioned existential categories, the authors complemented these with nine axiological categories, subsistence,

protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creativity, identity, and freedom. The combination of these two sets of categories is represented as a matrix of needs and satisfiers (Appendix III). The authors did not intend this to be a normative tool; rather, it is offered merely as an example, since individuals and groups are encouraged to devise their own personal or collective matrix. Such a matrix is instrumental as a planning, implementing, and evaluating device, but above all, the process of formulating it makes operational at local levels an individual's or group's development strategies. At the same time, due to its intrinsic characteristics, this matrix formulation becomes educational, creative, participatory, and generates critical awareness. In other words, the method itself instigates synergistic effects.

What Max Neef et al present in this study is the centrality of *synergy* to development, treating it as a far more valid indicator than the mainstream economic concern with efficiency. Efficiency is usually associated with notions of maximization of productivity and of utility in economic discourse. In development practices it translates as concerns with the conversion of work into capital, the formalization of economic activities, the indiscriminate utilization of 'state of the art' technologies, and above all, the maximization of rates of growth. Consequently development has been equated with striving to reach the material standard of living of the industrialized countries in order to have access to a growing basket of goods of increasing diversity.¹⁰ The authors question whether this emulation is well-founded considering that: 1) there is no evidence that people in more industrialized nations are living their needs in a more integrated way, and 2) that the abundance of resources and of economic goods has not become a sufficient condition to solve the problem of

alienation.¹¹ Other valid considerations would include ecological concerns (Our Common Future, 1987), social and psychological constraints (Social Limits to Growth, Fred Hirsh, 1976), and more encompassing ones such as the fulfillment of human capabilities and aspirations as well as the meaning of human life. Are the more industrialized nations models to be emulated when it comes to their experiences in such crucial matters?

One should hasten to add that development strategies focusing on human needs do not exclude conventional goals such as economic growth so that all people may have access to goods and services. The difference lies in that, contrary to mainstream paradigms of development, this approach *concentrates the goals of development in the development process itself*.

In other words, fundamental human needs can and must be realized *from the outset and throughout the entire process of development*. In this manner the realization of needs becomes, instead of a goal, the motor of development itself. This is possible only inasmuch as the development strategy proves to be capable of stimulating the permanent generation of synergetic satisfiers [Max Neef et al, 1989: 45]

To this effect this team of researchers has classified five types of satisfiers, based on the categories listed in their proposed matrix but with a somewhat higher degree of specificity. This typology operationalizes synergy as the guiding criterion for preferred action by listing satisfiers in an increasing order of their capability for synergy generation as follows

- 1) **Destructor or violator** satisfiers display a paradoxical nature. By being applied with the intention of satisfying a specific need, not only do they annihilate the possibility of its satisfaction as a question of time, but they also hinder, by their side effects, the adequate satisfaction of other needs. These paradoxical elements seem to be preferentially related to the need for protection. This need may instigate aberrant human behaviour, insofar as its lack of fulfillment is accompanied by fear. A special attribute of destructors is that they are always mandatory. For example: Arms buildup is a satisfier that supposedly satisfies the need for protection and hinders the satisfaction of other needs for subsistence, affection,

participation and freedom; bureaucracy supposedly satisfies the need for protection and hinders the satisfaction of other needs as understanding, affection, participation, creativity, identity and freedom.

- 2) **Pseudo satisfiers** are elements that stimulate a false feeling of satisfaction for a specific need. Not as aggressive as violators or destructors, they occasionally hinder, in due time, the possibility of satisfying the originally targeted need. Their special attribute is that they are generally induced through propaganda, publicity, or other means of persuasion. Examples:

<u>Pseudo satisfiers</u>	<u>Need they apparently satisfy</u>
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Over utilization of natural resources	Subsistence
Status symbols	Identity
Formal democracy	Participation

- 3) **Inhibiting** satisfiers are those that due to the way in which they satisfy (or usually oversatisfy) a specific need, they seriously hinder the possibility of satisfying other needs. They are characterized, with a few exceptions, by being ritualized, in the sense that they usually emanate from deeply rooted habits. Examples:

<u>Satisfier</u>	<u>Need</u>	<u>Needs whose satisfaction is inhibited</u>
Paternalism	Protection	Understanding, participation, freedom, identity
Obsessive economic competition	Freedom	Subsistence, protection, affection, participation, leisure
Authoritarian school room	Understanding	Participation, creativity, identity, freedom

- 4) **Singular** satisfiers are those geared to the satisfaction of a single need, while being neutral regarding the satisfaction of other needs. They are characteristic of plans and programmes of development, cooperation, and assistance. Their principal attribute is that they are institutionalized, so that whether in State or civil organizations, they are generated through institutions, whether these be ministries, public service entities, or diverse enterprises. Examples include:

<u>Satisfier</u>	<u>Satisfied need</u>
Food distribution programmes	Subsistence
Commercial insurance	Protection
Spectator sport events	Leisure
Voting	Participation

- 5) **Synergetic** satisfiers are those that, by the way in which they satisfy a specific need, they stimulate and contribute to the simultaneous satisfaction of other needs. Their principal attribute is that they are counterhegemonic in the sense that they tend to invert dominant rationales, such as cooperation for competition. Examples:

<u>Satisfier</u>	<u>Need</u>	<u>Needs whose satisfaction is inhibited</u>
Breastfeeding	Subsistence	Protection, affection, identity
Popular education	Understanding	Protection, participation, creativity, identity, freedom
Preventive medicine	Protection	Understanding, participation, subsistence
Direct democracy	Participation	Protection, understanding, identity, freedom

[Max-Neef et al, 1989:32-37].

The satisfiers belonging to the first four categories, since they are usually imposed, induced, ritualized or institutionalized, are highly exogenous to the third system. They are traditionally top-down, while the fifth category is a product of volitional acts originating from the bottom up, with a preponderance of inputs from the third system. The authors recommend the repetitive use of this typology from local to national and regional levels so that participants in this exercise may become aware of their deprivations and potentials. This could be a preliminary step to deciding which material resources would be most adequate to meet their varying conditions at different times.¹²

It is worth mentioning that besides its practical aspects, this typology represents an example of newly forged analytical tools now being devised so as to qualify and quantify data and conditions relevant to new paradigm approaches that are necessary prerequisites to theoretical formulation and skillful implementation.

.....

Ecology / Environment The relationship between humans and environment, though critical at all times, has only recently entered into discussions of development. This is not surprising since the mechanistic and anthropocentric world view which gave rise to mainstream development paradigms generally assigned to nature and the environment one of two positions. Either they are to be utilized/exploited as in the term "natural resources" or to be ignored/not accounted for, as in "externalities". The former usually is assumed in association with extractive phases and the latter resorted to when dealing with the consequences of such interactions. These attitudes echo of Descartes' views as put forth in his Discourse on Method (1637).

[My discoveries] have satisfied me that it is possible to reach knowledge that will be of much utility in this life; and that instead of the speculative philosophy now taught in the schools we can find a practical one, by which, knowing the nature and behavior of fire, water, air, stars, the heavens, and all the other bodies which surround us, as well as we now understand the different skills of our workers, we can employ these entities for all the purposes for which they are suited, and so make ourselves masters and possessors of nature [Deval & Sessions, 1985:41 emphasis added].

It is largely as a result of these views that we now face environmental trends that are radically altering our planet and are threatening numerous species, including our own, due to ecological imbalance. Only massive, concerted effort might be capable of reversing such trends. The most explicit description of the urgency of present conditions and of viable pathways to begin to tackle our present predicament is found in Our Common Future and its proposal for the implementation of sustainable development in 'developing' as well as industrial nations. The WCED Commissioners' call for action states:

The onus lies with no one group of nations. Developing countries face the obvious life-threatening challenges of desertification, deforestation, and pollution, and endure most of the poverty associated

with environmental degradation. The entire human family of nations would suffer from the disappearance of rain forests in the tropics, the loss of plant and animal species, and changes in rainfall patterns. Industrial nations face the life-threatening challenges of toxic chemicals, toxic wastes, and acidification. All nations may suffer from the releases by industrialized countries of carbon dioxide and of gases that react with the ozone layer, and from any future war fought with the nuclear arsenals controlled by those nations. All nations will have a role to play in changing trends, and in righting an international economic system that increases rather than decreases inequality, that increases rather than decreases numbers of poor and hungry [WCED, 1987:2].

The interconnectedness of multiple variables such as poverty, development, environment, and security (viz. their ecological significance) is made clear over and over again, throughout the Commissioners' analysis and recommendations. An example of such a series of connections runs as follows

- since the costs of servicing the international debt keep escalating due to policies adopted by industrialized nations, where the debtor nations have no recourse but to comply with lending banks' demands, then. . .
- these debtor countries are forced to increase their export earnings in order to raise the funds to pay interests on their debts, so that. . .
- farmers then overcultivate and overgraze land, with ensuing consequences such as soil erosion and in cases desertification, which leads to . . .
- so called 'natural' disasters such as droughts or floods, decrease in quantity and quality of arable land, which in turn. . .
- will make it impossible for debtor countries who are getting poorer to service their debt, let alone repay it, and while trying to do so
- deprive their citizens of funds usually allocated to health, education, economic development and social services so as and divert these for debt servicing purposes, which will tend to. . .
- aggravate the deteriorating conditions where critical thresholds might make it necessary for. . .

- the industrialized nations to have to intervene with massive financing in order to avoid a collapse of the world economy accompanied by. . .
- the irreversible destruction of our local and global ecosystems, as we all end up in far worse positions and with more depleted resources.

In another instance the Commissioners show that:

First, environmental stresses are linked one to another. . .
 Second, environmental stresses and patterns of economic development are linked to one another. . .
 Third, environmental and economic problems are linked to many social and political factors. . . It could be argued that the distribution of power and influence within society lies at the heart of most development and environment challenges. Hence new approaches must involve programmes of social development, particularly to improve the position of women in society, to protect vulnerable groups, and to promote local participation in decision making [WCED, 1987:37-8, emphasis added].

Though overly simplified, these examples illustrate the Commissioners' pragmatic stance. They repeatedly state in their reasoning the benefits of an enlightened self interest for all those concerned. Their endeavours are reminiscent of those of General Marshall after World War II, when he proposed a plan for the rehabilitation of the devastated European continent. There was a considerable dose of enlightened self-interest in the Marshall Plan, since the United States needed the markets of a prosperous Europe as well as its resources to ensure its own post-war growth.¹³ And it is to this enlightened self interest that the Commissioners address their recommendations on issues of population and human resources, food security, species and ecosystems, energy utilization, industrial production, urban planning, management the global commons, and security and peace. Their conclusion states:

In its broadest sense, the strategy for sustainable development aims to promote harmony among human beings and between humanity and nature. In the specific context of the development and environment

crises of the 1980's, which current national and international political and economic institutions have not and perhaps cannot overcome, the pursuit of sustainable development requires:

- a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making,
- an economic system that is able to generate surpluses and technical knowledge on a self-reliant and sustained basis,
- a social system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development,
- a production system that respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development,
- a technological system that can search continuously for new solutions,
- an international system that fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance, and
- an administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction.

These requirements are more in the nature of goals that should underlie national and international action on development. What matters is the sincerity with which these goals are pursued and the effectiveness with which departures from them are corrected [WCED, 1987:65].

As the above quote reflects, citizen participation figures high in the list of requirements for sustainable development. In fact, community participation and local initiatives are considered throughout the report as the keys to sustainable development. Furthermore, grassroots small-scale development is viewed as holding the best hope for environmentally sound growth.

An aspect of environmental considerations not taken into account by the WCED Report is the personal dimension of ecological concerns, as mentioned in Chapter 11. In this regard the best thinking available deals with the emerging movement of deep ecology, whose activist manifestation is commonly known as the Green movement. Their most visible signs of success include the creation of West Germany's Green political party, whose slogan states "We are neither left nor right, we are in front". A singular characteristic of Green politics as it is now emerging in the more industrialized societies (the movement is also found in Australia, Belgium, and

Great Britain, and to lesser extent in the U.S., Canada, and Japan) is that it goes beyond the scope of a conventional party since its adherents incorporate personal work (viz. "work on clarifying one's own character") with political and social activism. Personal work

... is the work we call cultivating ecological consciousness. This process involves becoming more aware of the actuality of rocks, wolves, trees, and rivers – the cultivation of the insight that everything is connected. Cultivating ecological consciousness is a process of learning to appreciate silence and solitude and rediscovering how to listen. It is learning to be more receptive, trusting, holistic in perception, and is grounded in a vision of nonexploitative science and technology. The process involves being honest with ourselves and seeking clarity in our intuitions, then acting from clear principles. It results in taking charge of our actions, taking responsibility, practicing self-discipline and working honestly within our community. It is simple but not easy work.

... Deep ecology is a process of ever-deeper questioning of ourselves, the assumptions of the dominant worldview in our culture, and the meaning of truth and reality. We cannot change consciousness by only listening to others, we must involve ourselves. We must take direct action.

... The Greens present a promising political strategy because they encourage the cultivation of personal ecological consciousness as well as address issues of public policy [Deval & Sessions, 1985:8-9].

Appendix IV includes the platforms of: a) a California-based network of Greens and of b) the Japanese Green Party plus c) a self-scoring questionnaire [Deval & Sessions, 1985: 22-3 & 36-7].

This aspect of a holistic development paradigm dealing with ecology and environment emphasizes the interconnectedness of cause and effect in what has been called a 'seamless web'. Couched in an organic worldview it cannot help but perceive such web everywhere and its modes of thought and implementation tend to reveal this understanding. The Subversive Science: Essays Towards an Ecology of Man describes this in the following words:

Ecology deals with organisms in an environment and with the processes that link organism and place. But ecology as such cannot be studied, only organisms, earth, air, and sea can be studied. It is not a discipline: there is no body of thought or technique which frames an ecology of

man. It must be therefore a scope or a way of seeing. Such a *perspective* on the human situation is very old and has been part of philosophy and art for thousands of years. It badly needs attention and revival. Man is in the world and his ecology is the nature of that *inness*. He is in the world as in a room, and in transience, as in the belly of a tiger or in love. What does he do there in nature? What does nature do there *in him*? What is the nature of the transaction? [Shepard, 1969:1].

Therefore, it is useful to make clear the distinction between environmental concerns and an ecological perspective. One could have, for example, an environmental impact assessment (EIA) of a development project or programme, to ensure that no environmental legislation is transgressed or even that resources not be over-exploited. But though EIA's represent a great step forward they are usually concerned with issues of pollution control and conservation; they are of limited scope and are not to be confused with the incorporation of an ecological perspective into programmes. In order for this to take place, the multifaceted web of interconnections must be constantly explored, from the envisioning phases on. An ecological approach is holistic. It attempts to take into account as many considerations as can be integrated regarding nature and humans so as to approximate the complexity of the world the programme or project is meant to serve.

.....

Women Much discussion has ensued, especially since the UN Decade of

Women (1975-85), regarding the integration of women in development theory and implementation. Such concerns were the result of the deterioration of women's condition due to planning and practices implemented during the First and Second Development Decades.¹⁴ These prevalent conditions are universal and so bad that Elise Boulding referred to

women as the Fifth World, since in all societies, North or South, East or West, they work the hardest and have the lowest per capita income [Boulding, 1980].¹⁵ In "Women in Development: An Alternative Analysis" Patricia Maguire refers to these deteriorating conditions, summarizing the errors that led to them as follows:

Development appeared to have a negative impact on women, eroding whatever power and authority they had in traditional relations. Development could no longer be considered a neutral or neuter process. As Evelyn Sullerot (1971) observed, "As a civilization asserts itself and redefines itself, the gap between the relative status of men and women widens.

Examples of development projects widening the gap have been well documented. Projects have introduced purportedly appropriate technologies, such as oil presses in Nigeria, tortilla-making machines in Mexico and sago-pressing machines in Sarawak. Yet the machines were made available to men rather than women, even when the technology was a substitute for traditional women's work. As a result, the gap between men and women's earning power, and hence status, further widened.

... The adverse impact of development on women [may be attributed] to three types of planning errors. There were errors of omission or failure to utilize women's productive roles; errors by reinforcement of values which restrict women to household, childbearing and child-rearing activities; and error by addition, superimposing Western values regarding appropriate work for women [Maguire, 1984: 8-9].

One could point to similarities in processes that worsen living conditions for women today with those that obtained with the advent of the Industrial Revolution, a time when women's potential and position were undermined and curtailed. These similarities are based on the shift from subsistence based on land to one based on capital, from practices based on organic perceptions of nature to ones of "power over nature", which were at the core of the process of industrialization. And it is precisely an indiscriminate emphasis on industrialization which was, and still is, at the core of mainstream development efforts.¹⁶ This exposition of the changes

brought about by industrialization is not to be interpreted as a suggestion endorsing a return to pre-industrial modes of production, a re statement of the debate of traditional versus modernization dichotomy. Instead, what is being suggested is that we can benefit from the lessons learned by countless human beings and a historical perspective that allows us to differentiate between advantages and disadvantages and not make the same mistakes. This can only take place if people are well-informed and inquisitive, so that at junctures where personal and collective decisions are made, this information is joined with awareness of causes and consequences. We would then be in a better position to consciously make the transitions from pre industrial, to industrial, and to post industrial.

What does this last statement entail re the incorporation of women in development? It means we need to allow women to participate fully, *in their own terms*, at local, regional, national, and global levels of interaction. In my view, this is the crucial concern with regards to development, similar to the issue of equality that is addressed by the women's movement. What is meant here is not that women wish to be equal to men trait by trait; this is a rather simplistic approach. What most feminists (whether they be women or men) seek is the equality for women to be who they are on women's terms, rather than men's. The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women issued at the world conference that marked the end of the UN Decade for Women highlights equality and defines development in the following terms:

Equality is both a goal and a means whereby individuals are accorded equal treatment under the law and equal opportunities to enjoy their rights and to develop their potential talents and skills so that they can participate in national, political, economic, social and cultural

development and can benefit from its results. For women in particular, equality means the realization of rights that have been denied as a result of cultural, institutional, behavioural and attitudinal discrimination. . .

The role of women in development is directly related to the goal of comprehensive social and economic development and is fundamental to the development of all societies. Development means total development, including development in the political, economic, social, cultural and other dimensions of human life, as well as the development of the economic and other material resources and the physical, moral, intellectual and cultural growth of human beings. It should be conducive to providing women, particularly those who are poor and destitute, with the necessary means for increasingly claiming, achieving, enjoying and utilizing equality of opportunity. More directly, the increasingly successful participation of each woman in societal activities as a legally independent agent will contribute to further recognition in practice of her right to equality. Development also requires a moral dimension to ensure that it is just and responsive to the needs and rights of the individual and that science and technology are applied within a social and economic framework that ensures environmental safety for all life forms on our planet [UN Document 2, 1985:7].

Equality of opportunity and access is directly related to personal time as well as space. In order to know who we are, what we need/want – i.e. our own terms of reference – it is important to have access to personal time and space. If women and men had equal access to personal time and space, the structure of society would inevitably change for the better. Personal time and space is a phrase that abbreviates wide-encompassing and far-reaching concerns dealing with understanding, learning, education, livelihood, leisure, and so on. This is not to be trivialized as a narcissistic endeavour of small social significance. If more personal time and space were available to women the skewness that now characterizes social interactions would recede, since women would make use of it to free themselves from the high levels of stress under which they now live and to empower themselves as they saw fit.¹⁷ Each woman would use it according to her individual needs, her particular circumstances in the society in which she lived, and conditions in the world at large. Some might use it to share their experiences with other women, which

might lead to organizing and taking action collectively. Some might use it to withdraw from outward activities and look within. Some might seek nature, others cultural events. What *all* women would be doing is reducing stress and achieving a sense of harmony in their lives. In order for this to happen each woman must participate fully, in her inner world as well as the one we share with others. Women must have access to their inner identities in ways that are meaningful to them. From such inner strength will outward change then evolve. It is changes springing from such sources which are truly meaningful, transformative in every sense. 18

In Going Out of Our Minds: The Metaphysics of Liberation Sonia Johnson writes her personal account of this kind of exploration, discovery and empowerment where she states:

We — all women— are in a jail cell. With the door standing wide open. It's always been wide open. But any time any woman gets near the door, we all panic. We have believed for too long what the fathers have told us — that we will die if we go through that door, and even worse, that if any one of us goes through that door, they will kill us all.

... At breakfast one morning several years ago with some friends, I mentioned my theory of the open prison door. 'You are wrong, one of them said flatly. There's no freedom beyond that door for many women. If you can't get a decent job, if there's no child care, if you're subject to battering, rape, incest, if you're Black or Hispanic, old or poor, there's no freedom. And you make women feel guilty that they're not succeeding when you say it's so easy if we'd just choose it. You make it sound as if it's all our fault that life is so difficult for us.

What I tried to make clear to her that morning is that that door doesn't open *into patriarchy*. The doors to power in the dominant system *are* tightly closed against us (for which we ought to be profoundly and forever grateful, or we'd be truly caught in the most dreadful trap). The door that is open is a door to *somewhere else*, to a different world, a different place. It opens to our own power. This is the door we're afraid to go through.

... But something is beckoning us, something real and urgent. Another way, another path, another door. A door patriarchy says isn't there;

insists isn't there, which is evidence of its existence. That which doesn't exist doesn't have to be denied [Johnson, 1987:48-9].

To put these remarks in the proper perspective it seems necessary to mention that Sonia Johnson has a history of active involvement in the women's movement in the U.S. As an activist she participated in numerous events ranging from the organization of women's conferences to staging acts of civic disobedience and fasting as a public act of love for 37 days at the Illinois legislature for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. She was a candidate for presidency of the National Woman's Organization (NOW), and ran for President of the United States on the Citizens Party ticket in the 1984 elections. From the depth of such experiences she comes to her understanding of power as follows:

Horizontal violence among conquered people is buttressed by our belief in the lie our conquerors tell us about power. They assure us there is a scarcity of it, and that what little there is, is already parceled out.

The truth is — and everything in society is geared to keep us from recognizing this — there is plenty of power, all the power any of us needs or can possibly use. Not the patriarch's brutal counterfeit, but the authentic power of the spirit. And when any of us finds within herself and exerts even the teeniest bit of this kind of power, all of us are empowered. We all win. The more genuine power, non-patriarchal, womanly power she finds and uses, the more there is for the rest of us. And the more of us who behave powerfully, the greater and fuller the communal reservoir of power for all women to draw from. Like love, we generate our own power from within. The more power each of us produces, and the more we pass it around, the more of it there is. It multiplies [Johnson, 1987:51-2].

True power, like knowledge or love, is not depleted by sharing — instead, it grows. Assumptions of scarcity do not apply. It is from this "own power from within" that the new paradigm shift is emerging.¹⁹ And this cannot be accomplished without the full participation of women in personal and societal development. Since the course we are on is leading us to the brink of extinction, many thinkers are engaged in looking for alternatives that would

actually thrust us safely forward along the lines of the larger holistic paradigm change described in Chapter 1. They belong to many disciplines which cross-fertilize rendering more and more encompassing theoretical frameworks. One such interdisciplinary framework of analysis is a recent version of cultural transformation theory put forth by Riane Eisler in The Chalice and The Blade: Our History, Our Future, which proposes that underlying the huge variety of diversity in human culture are two basic models of society. She describes these two models as dominator and partnership systems. In the first, what is popularly called patriarchy or matriarchy, one half of society is ranked over the other. In the second, linking rather than ranking is the principle involved so that diversity is not related to either inferiority or superiority. By making use of these two models one may transcend conventional polarities and realize in the larger picture that emerges that all modern, post Enlightenment secular or religious movements for social justice, up to the present feminist, peace, and ecology movements, have as common motivation the transformation of dominator into partnership systems [Eisler, 1987:xvii xx].

Eisler proposes the term *andocracy* for our present dominator system, where one half of humanity is ranked over the other and rules by force or threat of force. She presents the term *gylany* for a partnership system linking both halves of humanity, where the advancement of one is not achieved at the expense of the other. She also makes explicit a distinction regarding the issue of hierarchies. This is a topic that is very alive and generating a lot of interpretations ranging from those that advocate complete eradication of hierarchies to those that favor their use based on the redefinition of their form and function. 20

[There is] a critical distinction between two very different kinds of hierarchies that is not made in conventional usage. As used here, the term hierarchy refers to systems of human rankings based on force or the threat of force. These *domination hierarchies* are very different from a second type of hierarchy, which I propose be called *actualization hierarchies*. These are the familiar hierarchies of systems within systems, for examples, of molecules, cells, and organs of the body: a progression toward a higher, more evolved, and more complex level of function. By contrast, as we may see all around us, domination hierarchies characteristically inhibit the actualization of higher functions, not only in the overall social system, but also in the individual human. This is a major reason that a gylanic model of social organization opens up far greater evolutionary possibilities for our future than an androcratic one [Eisler, 1987: 105-6].

These criteria are presented in the context of this study of participation since they could be useful in the design, implementation, and evaluation of programmes and projects addressing the issues of women in development, commonly known as WID. In looking at WID issues one must distinguish between two major approaches: attempts at integrating women in development schemes conceived by others as opposed to those conceived by women themselves. The latter have the greatest potential for personal and societal transformation but, unfortunately, are not yet very widespread. In fact, even in the case of the former approach progress in alleviating conditions of inequality is slow in coming.²¹ Women are gradually becoming keenly aware of what it is they are to integrate into. Elise Boulding writes in "Integration into What? Reflections on Development Planning for Women":

What we are in danger of doing now is inflicting the diseased solutions of the first world on the diseased conditions of the third world, and as usual women will get the worst of both.

The loss of autonomy of first world women, and the role of technology in that loss of autonomy, must be understood before any further development programs are constructed. This is all the more important because the goal of "integration of women into development" is exactly what was realized in the first world. And look at where first world women are.

...Integration has meant systematic marginalization, accomplished so effectively that the majority of first world women must enter the paid labor force to maintain their household according to the standards modernization rhetoric has taught them to think of as required. The only work available to them is low-paid, low-status work. Only upper middle class women can command the salaries which the average middle class men can command [Boulding, 1981:14 5].

Thus, though the contribution of women as a source of individual and societal paradigm shift at this historical moment is of utmost significance, it is doubly important with regards to development. It is in this context that some of the most inspiring changes are taking place vis a vis participation. From a woman's perspective, inequalities are synonymous to exclusion from full participation. For the few who are allowed to participate in a world run by androcratic values and rife with contradictory expectations and demands placed on women, the sacrifices and stress are draining them of access to themselves, their families, or both. ²² Hence the issue of participation, central to different theoretical schools of thought such as liberal feminism or feminist political economy in addressing WID issues, becomes essential in a holistic feminism analysis of these issues. In such analysis feminism is an ideology that offers a holistic concept of how a society should be shaped in order to help all people realize their potential [Anand quoted by Karl, 1984(a):69]. The need for this approach of holistic feminism in development is summarized in the following statement from Women in Development: A Resource Guide for Organization and Action:

The longer the development bureaucracies call for "integration of women in development," the more many women are criticizing what that has meant and will mean for women. The point, they say emphatically, is *not* to increase women's role in the modernization process that the developing world is undergoing. Rather, when the reasons why women have been excluded are examined, it will become apparent that what is needed is an overhaul of the entire development process and economic structures. For them, participation of women

means direction of that process by women: in fact, by all those involved
[Roodkowsky, 1984:20, italics in the original, underlining added].

In order for structures to be transformed, the basic relationship between women and men must undergo profound transformation. Because of the personal/societal nexus, these transformations work both ways. At the personal level women are aiming for experiences of partnership, both within the family and at the work place, which are closely related to the need for personal time and space mentioned earlier in this section. These considerations, at the societal level, take the form of practices related to legal rights involving personal safety, property, dowry, custody of children, or working rights such as equitable pay, job sharing, flexibility of working hours, and leaves of absence both for men and women due to births in the family. These are valid concerns which are now finally making headway in changing women's and men's lives individually and collectively.

Women's potential as change agents makes them central to considerations of development, though the full recognition of their importance is yet to come. In Women and the Environment in the Third World, authors Irene Dankelman and Joan Davidson list several important reasons for why women are the key agents of environmental change:

- women have both knowledge and expertise in management of local resources. For example, they know far better than foreign professionals the best use to be made of local vegetation and local natural cycles;
- women have a remarkable ability to work well together, as evidenced by numerous women's groups that have implemented effective change;

- women can pass on to their children sound environmental habits ecological attitudes, so that present remedial action may turn into long lasting protection; and last but most importantly,
- the crucial task of ecologically caring for the environment is likely to be associated with improvements in women's independence and status, therefore there is a significant convergence of interest between ecologically sound sustainable development and the development of women [Dankelman /Davidson, 1988:173:4].

Not only is this true in the case of environmental considerations but in other areas as well, since women are also involved in issues of livelihood, technology, education, health, nutrition, sanitation, and population to list the most obvious.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section with a brief description of the Chipko Movement in India to illustrate some of the ways in which women are changing their self-perception and also the world around them. This description also points to the need to focus specifically on how women's lives are affected by development since their realities are different from men's

The Chipko Movement came into being as a result of the dichotomy of women's and men's interests. In the area of Uttar Pradesh where it originated development plans and tribal welfare schemes had not alleviated conditions of poverty but had brought on unwanted problems instead. Because of commercial exploitation of forests, large areas of hillsides were exposed to erosion causing landslides that flooded entire villages where no such calamities had happened before. Men in the area began shifting from

subsistence agriculture and craft work in their villages to paid labour in the camps, road construction, or other related commercial activities. This placed the women in the area in a very disadvantaged position. They now had to grow all the food themselves in addition to walking further and further to collect firewood, fodder, edible plants and fruits, as well as water from perennial springs and creeks which had dried up or become more scarce. In addition, they had to assume full responsibility for the subsistence of family members left under their care when the men went away to do paid labour. But very little of the income thus generated reached their families back at villages due to higher expenses incurred in living far from home and their practices of personal consumption. As a result of the worsening of their condition the women in several villages organized themselves and physically resisted the felling of forests by embracing the trees. Their actions were successful in that not only were wooded areas saved but also afforestation programmes were begun to ameliorate the deforestation that has already taken place. Since they accomplished all this in spite of the double opposition of males in their households as well as those in position of authority in their village councils and the ministry of forestry, a lot of latent capabilities have been released.

Some of the very pertinent issues that women raised concerned their representation in village councils. They emphasized that women should be consulted before any decision is taken for deforestation or afforestation or for development activities. . . Women activists in general movements soon develop some consciousness regarding women issues [Sharma/Pandey/Nautiyal, 1985:191].

What began as a very direct and brave gesture of simply hugging trees to prevent their destruction is gradually leading these women to do what they feel is right in other areas of their lives. In the release of these latent capabilities we can detect another instance of what Hirschman calls the principle of conservation and mutation of social energy (mentioned in

Chapter III) — these women now share a *vision of change* that did not exist before in their personal lives or their communities. This shared vision is the seed of fundamental change.

.....

Having presented in this chapter some salient aspects in the conception of participatory paradigms of development, Chapter V which follows will address several salient aspects of the implementation of such paradigms.

3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
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NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹ The description of this situation also serves to illustrate an instance of how "paradigms of development reflect the belief systems from which they emerge and create and re-create in the so-called real world the consequences of such world views", one of this essay's underlying assumptions mentioned in Chapter I.

² Changing Images of Man, the study conducted at the Stanford Research Institute's Center for the Study of Social Policy describes in more detail these conditions and offers the following prescriptions:

Many of our institutions seem to have inadvertently reached a critical size beyond which they are virtually uncontrollable in any coherent fashion. This fact of life was aptly described by Richard Bellman, in accepting the first Norbert Wiener prize for applied mathematics (1970):

"I think it's beginning to be realized that our systems are falling apart. We don't know how to administer them, We don't know how to control them. And it isn't at all obvious that we can control a large system in such a way that it remains stable. It may very well be that there is a critical mass -- that when a system gets too large, it just gets automatically unstable. "

We see these problems in our educational systems, in our legal systems, in our bureaucratic systems, in our transportation systems, in our garbage collection systems, and so on. The inability to sustain stable subsystems (let alone the macrosystem) suggests that a strong thrust toward decentralization would be a plausible concomitant to the transformationalist image of humankind. Relatively autonomous subsystems would enhance diversity in our society, which is increasingly confronted with and underlying (and, at times, overriding) homogeneity of physical structures, life-styles, and living environments generally. Relatively autonomous subsystems (whether in government, business, education, or elsewhere) that are oriented toward human growth would give many more citizens a greater sense of significance and meaning in a more approachable institutional environment. [SRI:230-1]

³ On the issue of creativity it is worth citing the views of two additional authors on this topic:

. . . Unfolding people's creativity requires a reversal of authority. Starting from the base of society, each unit should be able to initiate its own course of action, and solve all the problems it is able to solve. This is the essence of self-reliance and self-management. Problems beyond the reach and perspective of primary communities would be solved by larger units - from the village to the world - according to the nature of the task and in such a manner as to ensure the participation of those concerned, as well as the accountability of those exercising power.

. . . There is nothing new in the idea of the reversal of authority. It has been that of the democratic social movement for ages. What is new is the multiplication of the signs of a revival of local action, all over the

world. The new affirmation of local action, despite difficulties, contradictions and limitations, is a significant marking of an emerging new order [The Third System Project, 1981:73].

And Discarded also must be the presently dominant hypothesis that, in order to achieve this [development], poor communities must produce more commodities for demand for the rich ones (the export-base concept) at reduced cost and return to their own factors (mainly labour and natural resources) and in return, must receive transfers of capital, technology, and organizational skill ('development aid') from the more developed countries. Many of these factor transfers, along with withdrawal of natural resources and unequal terms of trade, actually weaken rather than strengthen the comparative development potential of less-developed areas. They also reduce the respective communities' capacity to mobilize their own capital, technology, and organizational skills, thereby making them increasingly dependent on more developed areas [Stöhr, 1981:44].

⁴ But even GNP/capita is a very poor indicator to address issues of equitable distribution as the following passage makes clear:

The Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Analysis (IBASE) claims that the average income of the wealthiest class was 225 times that of the poorest classes in 1978, whereas it was 'only' 178 times greater in 1970. A mere third of the Brazilian population is able to afford the recommended dietary intake; the other two-thirds suffer from greater or lesser degrees of malnutrition, according to reliable estimates. Not a single Latin American country has disclosed statistics on distribution of wealth since the late 1970s. The last to do so, according to World Bank tables, was Mexico, in 1977. Many have never done so at all — and this is not because, they lack competent statisticians ! In such a context one must recognize that the big development-bank economists who rely on per capita figures — which are nothing but *averages* — are not telling us anything much worth knowing about Latin America. If you have your head in the oven and your feet in the freezer, you are not, 'on average', comfortable. An average GNP of \$2,000 is cold comfort for the thousand who, figuratively, have 10 cents compared with the lucky one with \$1,900 [George, 1988: 120].

⁵ The interconnections between what this essay calls the 'mechanistic model' of mal-development and the international debt are eloquently described by Susan George in A Fate Worse Than Debt as follows:

For many years, in many quarters (and still today), it was assumed that 'emerging nations' had a single goal and must follow a single path to reach it. Never mind the appalling poverty of imagination displayed: people in authority both in the North and in the newly decolonized countries wanted the South to become 'like' the rich, industrialized (often ex-colonial) powers.

The model is consequently imitative. It mimics without understanding

and copies without controlling. Lacking roots in the local culture or environment, it quickly droops and withers if not sustained by transfusions — of foreign capital, technology and ideas. It goes for growth, usually without asking, "Growth for what? For Whom?" Industrialization is frequently its centrepiece, sometimes export agriculture relying on industrial inputs. The rich countries of the North nearly always built up their own industries on a strong agricultural base; the model conveniently forgets this and favours instant industrialization over food security. Those who designed it were particularly scornful of small-scale peasant agriculture, the source of livelihood for most of the people of the countries concerned.

The model is costly. It neglects resources that the local environment could provide and the skills that local people could supply, counting rather on imports, at escalating prices. It neglects not only peasants but anyone who does not belong to a thin layer at the top of society, identified as the 'modernizing' elements. They will be the targets of development, and their wealth and consequent investments are expected to provide the motor for further growth. Eventually — it is not clear when — everyone in the society will benefit through the 'trickle down' process. 'Modernization', like 'development' itself, is a myth word in whose name any destruction, and any expenditure, may be undertaken with impunity.

The model is outward looking. It never seeks to enhance the specific, generic, original features of 'undeveloped' countries and their peoples, treating them rather as if they were a kind of undifferentiated clay to be moulded to the standard requirements of the world market and of world capital, to the uniform tastes of international bureaucrats and national ones trained in their image. Hunger is one result. People who will not, or cannot, become consumers in the global food system will not get enough to eat. Militarization is another. Masses of miserable people with little to lose are prone to revolt. Armed forces (including the police) in Third World countries are used as often internally as against outsiders.

Debt is a further outcome of the mal-development model. Elites borrowed to put it into practice and now expect their poorer compatriots to bail them out [George, 1988:14-5].

⁶ George cites the example of the settlement package to settle the Mexican threat of default in 1982 by IMF's managing director, Jacques de Larosire:

The Mexican rescue fund was typical: the IMF's share was \$1.3 billion; governments paid in \$2 billion; the banks put up \$5 billion in "involuntary loans: Note, however, that in the Mexican case public money (yours and mine) made up 40 per cent of the total package, compared with the bank's contribution of 60 per cent. Between 75 and 80 per cent of Mexico's debt is, however, owed to banks, which collect a proportionate amount of the interest. The IMF thus works as a *channel for funnelling public money to private banks* — it matters little that these funds transit through the national accounts of Mexico. In this

sense the Fund enforces taxation without representation on the citizens of the industrialized countries [George, 1988:49].

⁷ Susan George's A Fate Worse Than Debt (Pelican Books, 1988) was the main source for the above discussion of this topic. It is highly recommended, not only for its trenchant and invigorating qualities which make it captivating reading, but also for her suggested "creative reimbursement" schemes. She calls for a 3-D solution: debt, development, and democracy.

⁸ Roger Walsh describes this situation in the following words:

In summary, today's large, complex societies frequently act to separate decision makers from the consequences of their decisions. To use the language of sociologists, we appear to have moved in the direction of low-synergy cultures. The degree of synergy is determined by the extent to which a person's decisions benefit both self and others simultaneously. The lower the synergy in the culture, the greater the conflict. If we consider the planet as a whole and the nations as individuals in its global culture, then it is apparent that this global culture is also one of low synergy. Individual nation states function largely as laws unto themselves and are reinforced for dominating resources and one another [Walsh, 1984:28].

⁹ The Spanish terms used in the original are: ser, tener, hacer, and estar.

¹⁰ The following quote (originally published in Harper's Magazine) is a literary caricature included here to provoke the smiles it deserves but also as an illustration of the social critique of the consequences of overdevelopment that is taking place in industrialized nations about the implications behind "the growing basket of goods of increasing diversity":

We were ordinary folks once, our dreams were simple: a few chickens, a tarpaper shack to call our own, and extra pair of overalls into which to change on Sundays, a crystal radio. But now something new has been loosed among us, loosed as the H-bomb was loosed, and we are red hot in mid-mutation. Instead of being satisfied with a ham sandwich, we want for a snack goat-cheese pizza with sun-dried morels; instead of all-cotton, we wear for our tennis athletic socks of lapin fur; instead of refrigerator ice, we plop hearts of glacier cubes into our Cartesian well water.

The search now is for the very best, the most rare, the empyrean, the nonpareil. We need not ask anymore who or what it is that has inherited the earth: we *know*. It is the walking wallet with the coal-black eyes, in search of underwear handwoven by Tibetan virgins, in search of silk foulard toilet paper, badger-bristle johnny-mops, microchip-controlled shoelaces of braided platinum wire that make a fine little beep when they come untied, fish-tank gravel of pulverized moonrock, coffee beans certified to have ripened in the very first shaft of morning light at the tippy top of a sacred mountain in Kenya, ham from the hock of a pig that has drunk only spring water and that has been read Japanese love poetry at bedtime from piglethood on [Freundlich, 1988: 110].

¹¹ Another valid answer to this question is offered by Ignacy Sachs:

The [development] crisis is essentially of maldistribution among and within nations, and not one of scarcity. The gross world product per capita averaged \$881 in 1970 and has been increasing at an annual per capita rate of about 3%. Projecting on this basis, real goods per capita would double every 23 years. As Nathan Keyfitz ["World Resources and the World Middle Class", *Scientific American*, Vol 235, No. 1, July 1976, pp. 28-35] put it: "To dispose of twice as much wealth as one's parents, four times as much as one's grandparents, surely cannot be regarded as unsatisfactory, provided of course that this rate can be sustained and the total is evenly divided up." Both assumptions, however, are highly unrealistic on political grounds; scarcity of resources and the paralysing effects of environmental disruption are likely to prove lesser obstacles which is not tantamount to saying that they be disregarded.

Defining rather arbitrarily the 'world middle class' to be those who are above the equivalent of the US poverty line, Keyfitz found that about one in every seven world citizens belongs to this category, most of them, but by no means all, concentrated in the industrialized countries. The problem is that, on a very conservative calculation, each one of them uses five times more resources than those below the poverty line. Thus in 1975 the 'middle class' was equivalent to a 'consumer population' of about 0.6 billion, as compared to 3.4 billion poor people. If the 'world middle class' were to triple over the next 25 years, which corresponds to its rate of growth from 1950 to 1970, it would increase by the year 2000 to 1.8 billion and have the impact on resources of nine billion, as compared to the 4.6 billion poor people. These purely illustrative figures show that the strain on resources is likely to come not so much from the demographic increase of poor people (non-consumers) as from the expansion of the 'consumer population'. Attainment of middle class life-style for the majority of the world's population is clearly an impossible goal. The children of the already affluent will have the first claim on the 20 million annual entries into the 'world middle-class club', to be compared with an annual increase of 80 million in the numbers of poor by the end of the century. Inequity is thus organically built into this imitative development model which reveals, as an example to emulate, the dubious achievements of the industrialized countries with respect to the growth of mass consumption and the endless broadening of artificially stimulated material needs. [Sachs, 1980 (b): 45-6]

¹² It is unfortunate that Max-Neef et al refrained from including a need for transcendence in their matrix for considering it "still not so universal though in the future it might become so". Such an omission ignores fundamental considerations of human and cosmological values that, being the essence of the human condition, cannot be dispensed with at any stage of development.

¹³ A call to solve the present international debt situation can point to similarities to conditions in 1945. The present state of affairs has been likened

to war in terms of its devastating effects. Susan George offers the following quote by Luis Ignacio Silvia, a Brazilian labour leader, at the 1985 Havana Debt Conference:

Without being radical or overly bold, I will tell you that the Third World War has already started — a silent war, not for that reason any the less sinister. This war is tearing down Brazil, Latin America and practically all the Third World. Instead of soldiers dying there are children; instead of millions of wounded there are millions of unemployed; instead of destruction of bridges there is the tearing down of factories, schools, hospitals, and entire economies. . .It is a war over the foreign debt, one which has as its main weapon interest, a weapon more deadly than the atom bomb, more shattering than a laser beam. . .[George, 1988:234].

George describes the tactics being used as FLIC — Financial Low Intensity Conflict. Such a strategy is not meant to achieve total victory, i.e. total payback of the loans, since this would impoverish debtors beyond hope of any recovery, which could lead to the collapse of the international financial system. Rather, these tactics of attrition are being used to reinforce the status quo of the global political balance of forces. [George, 1988:233-4].

An article in *The New Yorker* gives the following illustration: not long after Costa Rica's President Oscar Arias presented his peace plan for Central America, the Reagan Administration imposed "unusually harsh restrictions on Costa Rican exports and hindered Costa Rica's efforts to obtain the loans it needed to service its debt of four and a half billions dollars." The article concludes that:

But even if much of the debt is cancelled, there is scant prospect for genuine improvement unless debt relief is linked to new and creative development strategies that will help the impoverished majority in the Third World help themselves. Only then is real growth likely, and only then will the silent war have truly ended [The New Yorker, July 4, 1988: 16].

14 These concerns were also the result of the ascendancy of the women's movement in its multiple forms throughout the world but this topic is too vast to be addressed in this study.

15 Some of the figures published by the International Labour Organization of the United Nations show that "Women do up to 70% of the world's agricultural labour, earn 10% of the world's income, own less than 1% of the world's property, receive 1% of the world's credit, head 1 out of 3 families in 74 developing countries and represent 2/3 of the world's illiterate people [Inter Pares Bulletin, 1986:n.p.].

16 Two authors who explicate this in more detail are Elise Boulding and Carolyn Merchant. In "Integration into What? Reflections on Development Planning for Women" Boulding states:

It was Mary Beard who first pointed out that it was the decline of land as the primary source of capital and its replacement by industrial capital

in the post-feudal era that eroded the power base of European women, leaving them dependent and politically helpless by the nineteenth century. The landed power base had operated, particularly for women of the upper classes, from the time of the first cities in the Middle East. Since few wept the passing of the aristocracy, women or men, the significance of the underlying phenomenon of the decline of land and its prerequisites as capital for women in countries of all degrees of industrialization has been missed.

. . . A careful reading of the Firth and Yamey (1964) study of fourteen preindustrial societies "makes it clear that in each of these societies women are engaged in the following activities: (1) farming; (2) trade; (3) craftwork; and (4) handling of money, credit transactions, savings and investment activity. In none of these societies do women fail to accumulate and invest capital, whether in the form of land, livestock, gold or other commodities." [Boulding, 1981:9-10] .

Carolyn Merchant, a historian of science, conducts an extensive exploration of this topic in her The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution, where she shows "how the mechanistic world view sanctioned the exploitation of nature, unrestrained commercial expansion, and a new socioeconomic order that subordinated women." The following passage is a partial summary at the end of one of its chapters:

Between 1500 and 1700 an incredible transformation took place. . . A subsistence economy in which resources, goods, money, or labor were exchanged for commodities was replaced in many areas by the open-ended accumulation of profits in an international market. Living animate nature died, while dead inanimate money was endowed with life. . . Nature, women, blacks, and wage laborers were set on a path toward a new status as "natural" and human resources for the modern world system. Perhaps the ultimate irony in these transformations was the new name given them: rationality.

In 1500 the parts of the cosmos were bound together as a living organism; by 1700 the dominant metaphor had become the machine. Although the mechanistic analysis of reality has dominated the Western world since the seventeenth century, the organismic perspective has by no means disappeared.

. . . Some philosophers have argued that the two frameworks are fundamentally incommensurable. Although such a perception of the dichotomy is too extreme,

. . . a reassessment of the values and constraints historically associated with the organic world view may be essential for a viable future [Merchant, 1980:288-9].

¹⁷ There are innumerable instances described in the literature of the double burden placed on women who must not only contribute to the survival needs of the family but do all childrearing and domestic chores as well. The following quotes, the first referring to Bangladesh and the second to

Vietnam, illustrate these conditions:

Her work starts at sunrise and may finish as late as nine or ten in the evening. There are few opportunities for rest. A time allocation study shows that the average peasant woman spends 43% of her time on activities related to farm production, about the same on actual household work, and about 11% on childcare and other family related matters [Fuglesang/Chandler, 1987:34] .

Women have been greatly affected by the economic changes. The mere fact of the multiplication of harvests — two yearly harvests of rice and one of vegetables — has meant that the women are occupied all the year round in production tasks. A considerable amount of the work in the garden is carried out by women. They are therefore occupied from 10 to 14 hours and, at least in this village, have little time to do other things.

This has several consequences. First, there is little participation by women in cultural and political activities. Meetings of the women's mass movement are not very frequent. This is not surprising, as women are now more heavily engaged in economic tasks without, however, having been relieved of their duties [Karl, 1984 (b):82].

Though the above examples refer to conditions in rural settings in less industrialized countries, women in more industrialized societies and in urban settings share the same double burden with the concomitant loss of time for themselves. An article dealing with this problem is mentioned in Ref. 26 of this chapter.

¹⁸ This at times is neither easy nor simple, and the following words may provide encouragement:

Being pioneers is lonely and scary. Believing in ourselves is hard, especially when what we are doing can't immediately be seen from the outside. Patriarchy has no real concept of revolution from the inside out — which is the only genuine revolution. It values appearances above everything. So it is difficult for us to believe that we are *doing* something, let alone taking the most radical action possible, as we rid ourselves of our deeply ingrained slave habits of heart and mind. Those with conventional, patriarchal minds laugh at us. We simply must not care [Johnson, 1985:343].

¹⁹ I personally believe that power from within is accessible to all — men and women alike since it is not dependent on physical traits. It is related to levels of realization of the balance between *feminine and masculine principles*, or the *ying* and the *yang*, inherent in all phenomena. If the absolute level of reality is not describable in words but is an experience of no-boundary wholeness, the relative level is the expression of dyads: light and dark, space and form, expansion and contraction. These dyads are non-hierarchical; since one cannot exist without the other they are a dyadic unity. Women and men are incarnate dyadic unities, their relative minds are each manifestations of both feminine and masculine principles. What is problematic then is the *lack of balance* in the manifestation of these as pairs of opposites when, instead, they could harmoniously complement each other.

The mechanistic, objectifying world view emphasizes matter over its dyadic counterpart (whether this be mind, spirit, soul, or heart). As a result of this hierarchical preponderance a skewed world view ensued. At the personal level this skewness harms both women and men, since neither can be inwardly whole. Outwardly, it is all-pervasive in social processes that give priority to men over women, since men seem to identify with it more readily, to the detriment of humanity as a whole. This is not the place for an elaborate discussion of this topic, but suffice it to say that from observation, experience, and reflection I am led to conclude that one of the most beneficial paradigm changes available to us at this juncture is the manifestation of this balance, both at the personal and the social levels of experience.

²⁰ What Eisler does not address is what would be the manifestation of actualization hierarchies in a human/social context as opposed to "molecules, cells, and organs of the body". This is an issue that needs ongoing investigation both at personal and collective levels, since it is central to our understanding and behaviour.

²¹ In her study "Understanding Technology Transfer, Community and Gender in Africa" Patricia Stamp quotes the following figures:

In spite of valuable research efforts, a 1985 study of aid and women by Staudt shows that only 4.3 percent of regional bureau funding for USAID projects in Africa went to projects that were either specifically directed at women, or had a component including women, while only four of 45 agricultural projects designated women as beneficiaries. The pattern uncovered in USAID, where sufficient resources are allocated to mount a WID programme but not to carry it out effectively, is chartered for the United Nations and other organizations as well. Between 1974 and 1980, a period which included half of the UN Women's Decade, only 4 percent of projects involved women's participation, and of these, half had only a minor level of participation by women [Stamp, 1987:34].

²² For a succinct account of the problems encountered by women in these conditions one can refer to "Thanks, But No Thanks", an article that recounts the experiences of some of the 33 women who graduated ten years ago with MBAs from Western University's School of Business Administration. "They had the brains, the drive and the credentials to make it to the top of Canada's corporate elite. But today, most of them are seeking their challenges elsewhere" [Maynard/Brouse, 1988:26].

CHAPTER V

SALIENT ASPECTS OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT IMPLEMENTATION

The actual implementation of most approaches to development along the lines described in Chapter IV is taking place under a wide diversity of local conditions. These range from conditions of "benign neglect", where the local established authorities do not consider the incidence of third system efforts worth incorporating into the macro perspectives of their national policies [most widespread] to cases under repressive regimes [least frequent] whose devastating effects foster the emergence of horizontal 'leaderless' forms of organization to provide the services denied to people by those in power or in extreme cases, to ensure mere survival, as in the case of Chile described at length in 'Another Development Under Repressive Rule' [Max-Neef, 1985:46].

But encouraging changes are also taking place, where one or several aspects of a genuinely participatory grass-roots development programme or project has not only been sanctioned but actually adopted or enhanced by those in power. Such is the case of the People's School System, a programme of the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR) which is being used by municipal and provincial authorities in the Philippines [Mayfield, 85:62]. Also the case of the reformed revival of traditional local *panchayat* institutions in West Bengal in India where autochthonous local development appears to be successfully supported by the state [Stohr, 1981:69]. Another instance is the National Plan for the Development of Microenterprises instituted by Colombia's National Planning Ministry (DNP) in 1984. Under this plan the DNP commits itself to establishing nation-wide strategies and creating a favorable policy environment for the long term incorporation of

microenterprises in the private sector of the economy. The Colombian government left the administration of the microenterprise assistance programmes in the hands of NGOs (private foundations and associations of solidarity groups) but pledged itself to removing the bureaucratic structures working against the incorporation of microenterprises in the private sector of the economy [Flaming, n.d.: ACCION International pamphlet]. Such occurrences are bringing to the fore questions which less than a decade ago only a few visionaries would have considered worth posing, for example:

- can small-scale development become large-scale policy?
- can the state and grass-roots efforts at development work in tandem?

The most important consideration when looking at the implementation of participatory development paradigms is how to integrate 'bottom-up' efforts with 'top-down' strategies, so that synergy linkages may be created between these micro and macro aspects. Sheldon Annis is an author who has pursued these topics in some depth. In a study he conducted which was jointly funded by the Inter-American Foundation and the World Bank Annis suggests that the creation of such linkages could be the right role of the World Bank in the future. His vision encompasses not just the Bank's funding of grassroots organizations through its 'poverty lending' efforts but points to its capabilities for addressing broader policy issues. These would encompass the Bank's exploration of how its project and sectoral lending affect national policies which tend to foster – or inhibit – grassroots development. Such explorations would go beyond the confines of solely economic concerns to encompass analysis of the human and organizational components of the World Bank's funding. If these issues received due attention, then the Bank could become instrumental in setting lending priorities by providing incentives to

governments which opted for national and regional 'top-down' policies that complemented the 'bottom-up' efforts of local groups [Annis, 1987:27-9]. Were the World Bank to adopt such an orientation, this would indeed be a great step forward in the implementation of participatory development! ¹

The main reason behind the crucial importance of complementarity between micro and macro approaches to development is explicitly stated by Annis when he points out that, despite geographic and historical differences, participatory approaches to development are predicated on people's ability to organize themselves, not only in response to their needs but also in response to incentives. He concludes that the growth of organizations is driven as much from within as from without [Annis, 1988:211-2].

Here again we have the individual/collective nexus. And this nexus is the pivotal point where implementation takes place. This chapter will look at different aspects of the implementation of a participatory development paradigm. It will have as an underlying assumption the understanding that implementation means process, and that the most vital process is that of transformation, as discussed in Chapter I describing individual and societal paradigm change. The most elemental transformation is the one where an individual becomes conscious of her/ his consciousness – this is the inner paradigm change. Only through transformed individuals may society be transformed. The transformation of external paradigms, such as the one addressed here as a participatory development paradigm, is predicated on the inner one taking place. The inner one precedes it chronologically, but since it is not a one-shot affair, the outer shifts gradually manifest and start to take place concurrently from then on.² This is quite a pervasive process; it has

been said that " As soon as we begin working for a different kind of world, the world changes for us."

The material that follows in this chapter is a description of these changes which constitute some of the common elements found in the implementation of participatory development. These different aspects will include the role of the state, networks, peace/security, communication, learning/education, women, as well as the role of NGO's.

But before addressing societal transformation from these different angles, it might be useful to have a look first at an underlying unifying issue – power. The issue of power must be addressed because just as transformation is the process of paradigm change, *power is the process of implementation*. To implement is to be able to do or be capable of doing something, of putting into effect. In some languages, such as Spanish and French, power and to be able are one and the same word (*poder* and *pouvoir*, both derived from the Latin *potere*, also root of the English word).

In a chapter entitled "Right Power", Ferguson sheds new light on the process of social transformation that she sees taking place in American society:

At first glance, social transformation seems a foolhardy, even perilous ambition for any group to undertake. There is a necessary and critical chain of events. First, profound change in individuals who care deeply about social change, who find each other, and who acquaint themselves with the psychology of change, with insights into our universal fear of the unknown. They must then devise ways to foster paradigm shifts in others; they must perturb, awaken, and recruit. This aligned minority, knowing that changes of heart and not rational argument alone sway people, must find ways of relating to others at the most human and immediate level.

If they are not to fall into the old traps (power plays, desperate compromises, self-aggrandizement), they must live by their principles. Knowing that means must be as honorable as ends, they go into political battle stripped of conventional political weapons. They must discover new strategies and new well-springs of power.

And this aligned, principled, sophisticated, committed, and creative minority must also be irrepressible. It must make waves large enough to set off a re-ordering of the whole system – fluctuations, in the language of the theory of dissipative structures. Difficult? Impossible? Seen another way, the process cannot fail *because it is also the goal* [Ferguson, 80:205, italics in the original, underlining added].

This understanding, though arrived at independently by those engaged in processes of social transformation, is a crucial factor that is shared in common by all approaches and in all societies. 3 Process as synonymous with goal is one of the main characteristics of personal and societal paradigm shift. Ferguson also offers us a detailed contrast of the differences in assumptions representative of the old and new paradigm of power and politics, as follows:

Table III

Assumptions of the Old Paradigm of Power Politics	Assumptions of the New Paradigm of Power Politics
Modeled after Newtonian view of the universe. Mechanistic, atomistic.	In flux, the counterpart in politics of modern physics.
Compartmentalizes aspects of human experience.	Attempts to be interdisciplinary, holistic. Searches for inter- relationships between branches of government, liaison, cross - fertilization.
Prizes conformity, adjustment.	Pluralist, innovative.
Choice between best interest of individual or community.	Refusal to make that choice. Self-interest and community interest reciprocal.
Entrenched agencies, programs, departments.	Experimentation encouraged. Favors frequent evaluation, flexibility, ad hoc committees.

Quick-fix or pay-later programs.	self-terminating programs.
Emphasis on external, imposed reform.	Emphasis on foresight, long-range repercussions, ethics, flexibility.
Humankind as conqueror of nature; exploitative view of resources.	Emphasis on transformation in individuals as essential to successful reform.
Left versus Right.	Humankind in partnership with nature. Emphasis on conservation, ecological sanity.
Government to keep people in line (disciplinary role) or as benevolent parent.	"Radical center" — a synthesis of conservative and liberal traditions. Transcendence of old polarities, quarrels.
Emphasis on freedom from certain types of interference.	Government to foster growth, creativity, cooperation, transformation, synergy.
Either pragmatic or visionary.	Emphasis on freedom for positive, creative action, self-expression, self-knowledge.
Party- or issue-oriented.	Pragmatic <i>and</i> visionary.
Aggressive leaders, passive followers.	Paradigm-oriented. Politics determined by worldview, perspective of reality.
Solely "masculine", rational orientation, linear model.	Leaders and followers engaged in dynamic relationship, affecting each other.
Vested interests, manipulation, power brokerage.	Both rational and intuitive principles, appreciation of non-linear interaction, dynamic systems model.
Government as monolithic institution.	Respect for the autonomy of others.
Power <i>for</i> others (care taking) or against them. Win/lose orientation.	Government as consensus of individuals, subject to change.
Impetus towards strong central government.	Power <i>with</i> others. Win/win orientation.
	Favors reversing trend, decentralizing government wherever

	feasible; horizontal distribution of power. Small focused central government would serve as clearing house.
Institutionalizes help, services.	Encourages individual help, voluntarism, as complement to government role. Reinforces self-help, mutual-help networks.
Change is imposed by authority.	Change grows out of consensus, and/or is inspired by leadership.
Emphasis on programs, issues, platform, manifesto, goals.	Emphasis on a new perspective. Resistance to rigid programs, schedules.

Source: Ferguson:1980:210-2

It is within the context of such an underlying power paradigm shift that we can now turn our attention to several complementarities in the process of implementation of participatory development paradigms. These should be considered illustrative and are not intended to be an exhaustive exposition, since due to time and space constraints considerations such as the function of aid or the issue of human rights, and many others of equal importance will not be addressed in this discussion.

Role of the State Though some may question the necessity of including considerations about the role of the state in a discussion of grassroots development strategies it is important to remember that these strategies do not take place in a vacuum. They operate within the context of given societies and are influenced as well by international forces. In this regard the state may play a variety of roles: it may chose to ignore, persecute, or favour "bottom-up" efforts at development. From the perspective of participatory development efforts the task at hand seems to gradually change

the prevailing conditions so that symbiotic, rather than adversarial relationships, could emerge.

In such a climate both the state and third system efforts have areas where they are distinctly different and also areas of great commonality of interests. In the actual implementation of these efforts by present grassroots organizations an inter-penetration takes place as the organizations demand services and concessions from the state, and the state attempts to re-define its areas of political and bureaucratic control.

If established socio-economic and political elites function within the context of an old-paradigm understanding of power, they will fear and resent loss of control and competitive professionalism vis-à-vis other states, institutions and enterprises, or power blocks. In such instances they might still be inclined to make concessions — even if for the wrong reasons — to grassroots organizations engaged in decentralist and participatory processes. Foremost among these is the fact that a lot of states, but not exclusively those in the South, lack the means and expertise to comply with the growing needs and demands of their citizens.

Such is the case with newly formed, resource-poor ones who still suffer the vestiges of colonial damage (most African states), or those who were once promising economies but are now becoming poorer under the burden of international debt (such as most nations in Latin America). In such instances grassroots development may be looked upon as the silver-lining solution in the cloud of poverty, since it can be understood as "letting the poor pay for services themselves". Other reasons may include political obligation,

expediency and propaganda (since people's organizations can be used to provide services in high-profile, government sponsored campaigns), and increased efficiency due to the motivated participation of the recipients of services.

But if a state, instead of opting for an imitative/mechanistic development paradigm, were to choose a participatory development paradigm devised by its own citizens along the lines described in the last chapter, what would be some of the most important considerations it would have to bear in mind in order to implement/complement the efforts of its third system? What would be its facilitative and its regulative functions based on full mobilization of its territorial units' natural, human, and institutional resources? These questions can be addressed from a wide variety of perspectives:

- fairly equal access to land and natural resources
- revitalization of old or introduction of new equitable decision-making structures
- granting a higher degree of self-determination to rural & other peripheral areas
- choice of regionally adequate technology
- assignment of priority to projects which serve the satisfaction of basic needs
- the introduction of national pricing policies favouring peripheral products
- provision of national or international assistance only in cases where local resources are insufficient
- export-based activities promoted only if they lead to increase in living levels of all sectors involved
- restructuring of urban and transport systems
- improvement of rural-to-rural and rural-to-village transport and communications facilities
- creation of more egalitarian societal structures based on a collective consciousness [Stohr,1981:64-7].

One cannot avoid thinking that maybe now, when the level of crisis and disarray is so acute, why not seize the opportunity to think and act creatively, to go beyond the models and world-views that have led us to our

present predicaments? To explore such possibilities in more detail, let us focus on one area, for example, the pressing phenomenon of over-urbanization confronting many societies today. "Globally, urbanization has accelerated since World War II. In 1950, less than 30% of the world population lived in cities; by 2000, half of the world population will be urbanized. . .The quality of life in them will be very low, the potential for political instability great" [Barnaby, 1988:111].

In looking at the present living conditions in urban centres of the world in La Ciudad Legal y la Ciudad Ilegal (The Legal and the Illegal City), Jorge Hardoy and David Satterthwaite of the International Institute for the Environment and Development (IIED, Buenos Aires and London) analyze the findings of numerous IIED research teams over the last several years and also provide a historical context for the growth of cities in the past and offer predictions and suggestions for the future. The squalor of life in urban slums or rural enclaves forgotten by governments intent on looking the other way, unwilling and/or unable of taking care of the basic needs of their people, is well-documented in this work.⁴

Hardoy and Satterthwaite focus on the legal structure of the majority of South societies, which is obsolete and incapable of responding to present-day needs of the majority its citizens. The legal guidelines now in operation – such as for access to land or municipal and business codes – exclude them. Mostly derived from periods of foreign colonization, guided by foreign cultural influences, and geared to technical and financial foreign assistance, the law does not take into account even the most basic needs of low-income members in these societies. In fact, the vast majority of city dwellers in the

South could not survive if they had to comply with existing codes and regulations. These authors question the validity of laws that have to be transgressed in order for low-income people to build their own dwellings, attempt to earn a living, or obtain food and water. In more and more societies certain sectors of the population may meet these indispensable human needs only through 'illegal' acts [Hardoy/Satterthwaite, 1987:67-9].

Much benefit would ensue if the state fulfilled its obligations to its citizens in these countries by providing realistic statutes that reflect the needs of the majority of the population. The creativity and resourcefulness of third system efforts has to be accommodated, sooner or later, if sustainable development, or in certain cases mere survival, is to take place. The least governments could do, if they cannot help their citizens, is to remove existing obstacles that prevent them from helping themselves. More positive, yet, would be to establish synergistic linkages with grass-roots organizations to arrive at concerted solutions, as in the case portrayed here addressing the crisis of rapid over-urbanization.

In my view this is a good example of a problem that needs to be addressed both at macro and micro levels. From a macro perspective this would entail a shift from mechanistic development models based on industrialization and export-led economies, which contributed to creating the present crises experienced in most major urban centres in the South, to participatory development strategies favouring decentralization, a stronger subsistence base, and appropriate technologies, aiming at eventually reversing the skewed demographic patterns resulting from the previous imitative models. At the micro level these governments could facilitate the availability of credit,

establish equitable price structures, provide adequate infrastructure support through education, transportation, storage, and marketing. A great wealth of creativity and resourcefulness could be tapped by governments willing to allow, and fostering the participation of, their concerned citizens in organic processes of development.

In addressing the specific problem of urbanization, Hardoy and Satterthwaite indicate that some governments, though very few and far between, are beginning to pay heed to community groups, as in the case of the kebele in Ethiopia, of the minibrigades in Cuba, the group activators in Mozambique, and the associations for local development in the Republic of Yemen. In delineating the respective roles that the state and grass-roots organizations need play, these authors conclude:

The minimum guarantee that a government ought to offer its citizens is coherent action, a relationship between what is promised and what is done. At the same time, community groups should have greater and deeper participation, without the state presenting unnecessary impediments to their actions. This would allow the government to learn from the real builders and planners of from 40 up to 60 per cent of the majority of Third World cities. Thus, the debate of whether to favour grandiose projects or community projects, of whether it is necessary to reduce or increase the density of metropolitan areas, and many other aspects related to the construction and administration of the cities would acquire a real dimension and would be connected with daily urban life [Hardoy/Satterthwaite, 1987:95].

Fig. 12

Source: Development. Seeds of Change, 1980:4

In closing this section a word of caution might be appropriate regarding the role of the state in the context of participatory development. I have attempted to portray some possibilities for synergistic collaboration that might prove useful between government and citizens, as in the case of legal reform to address the over-urbanization crisis. It is important not to interpret these suggestions as meaning that the burden for actions leading to the alleviation of poverty rests solely on the poor – nothing is farther from my intent. I concur with Harday and Satterthwaite in that given that the poor are already mal-nourished, badly educated and hardly trained, with little or no access to sanitation and health care, in many cases deprived even of the right to earn a decent living, how could one expect them, in addition, to assume full

responsibility for creating their human habitats? Rather, this section attempts to illustrate one of the many possibilities where enhanced collaboration is called upon, as in the case of acknowledging and respecting the needs and resourcefulness of the majority of urban dwellers, largely ignored or disempowered in earlier paradigms of development.

Networks One of the most empowering vehicles of personal, socio-political and economic transformation is networking. Networks are all pervasive yet not necessarily visible, covering vast territory yet maybe not occupying a single plot of land, hardly noticed as an institution yet powerfully effective.

Networks represent non-violent processes of change in the locus of power that are now taking place. When most institutions are faltering, these twentieth century versions of kinship have appeared as a new step in human evolution. They are effectively combatting alienation and providing intellectual, emotional, economic, and spiritual support. They have tremendous potential for altering the course of institutions, especially government. They are an open system in constant flux yet coherent, capable of endless and worldwide transformation.

This organic mode of social organization is more biologically adaptive, more efficient, more conscious than the hierarchical structures of modern civilization. The network is plastic, flexible. In effect, each member is the center of the network.

Networks are cooperative, not competitive. They are true grassroots: self-generating, self-organizing, sometimes even self-destructing. They represent a process, a journey, not a frozen structure [Ferguson, 80:213].

Networks epitomize participation. In Lifeway Leap: The Dynamics of Change in America, two anthropologists who have been studying social movements since the 60s, Luther Gerlach and Virginia Hine, contrast two prevailing tendencies to explain change in society: either by master-planning strategies, or by networking, a process they described as *participatory futurization*. In the former rational planning and implementation by experts from above is emphasized. By contrast, participatory futurization relies on innovative explorations at grass roots level which aim to bring about long-range goals emerging from the process of experimentation itself [Gerlach/Hines:304].

Writing four years later Hines summarizes the further findings of their research in an insightful article for the journal of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, entitled "The Basic Paradigm of a Future Socio-Cultural System". They again invalidate the master planning approach and engage in a fruitful exploration of the pervasiveness of participatory networks. Here not only grassroots organizations but even top levels of global decision makers are shown to participate in networks.

Hines refers to present-day networks as SPINs (Segmented Polycephalous Ideology Networks) and explains their title as a description of their characteristics. They are segmented because, as opposed to conventional organization charts easily depicted in hierarchical order with controlling boxes above, below, or to the sides, the organization chart of a SPIN would look like a badly knotted fishnet, with innumerable nodes or cells of different sizes, linked directly or indirectly with all the others. These nodes may assemble at

any given time in any variety of patterns to form a segment because of ideological or tactical reasons. This is one of the important characteristics of SPINs: factionalism.

Factionalism allows for rapid growth in movements and facilitates the task of bringing about changed responses from the "establishment" in a more effective manner than any one segment on its own could do. It is also conducive to the formation of coalitions and discourages attempts at supremacy of any one segment. This is why it is so difficult to eliminate them; in contrast to bureaucracies whose parts are highly specialized and vital for the functioning of the whole, the segments of SPINs are autonomous and mostly self-sufficient. Hierarchical bureaucracies may be decapitated or render inoperative if a vital organ is injured. Not so with SPINs. The elimination of one or several segments does not alter their capacity to keep functioning; it just alters their formal configuration

Decentralization is the second characteristic of SPINs. Leaders tend to be primus inter pares (first among equals), charismatic people who magnetize loyal followers. But as a segment grows, other organizational leaders also emerge at local levels who interact with others like them. If the most visible and charismatic individual were to die or be sent to jail, the linked segments would survive well in spite of the loss.

Though segmentation and decentralization provide adaptability they can also lead to disintegration. What, then, are the binding forces that keep SPINs from disintegrating? The third and fourth characteristics explained by Hines are the unifying factors: a range of horizontal linkages and a range of

shared assumptions, or ideology. These horizontal linkages take place because individuals involved in social change usually participate in more than one way. They belong to different cells of different but somehow related organizations, and they act as conscious or unconscious bridges among them. Another form of linkage is the "ritual activity" — rallies, conferences, marches, demonstrations, silent meditation sessions, workshops, joint activities of all types. These are significant unifying events that shorten distances among segments, and bind the self-sufficient units unto a larger whole.

But the most binding factor is that fourth characteristic of SPINs: a system of shared assumptions. This feature is qualitatively at a different level than the preceding three which were organizational. The commitment to these shared assumptions is indeed the most unifying principle of all. This should not be understood as lack of dissent or conflict. On the contrary, many segmented organizations engage in lively debates or undergo schisms, such as when part of the leadership of the Sierra Club broke off and formed Friends of the Earth. But both come together when acting in the defense of the environment.

The segmentary mode of organization has been a social adaptation in many pre-industrial societies. Hines posits that it has made a powerful comeback and that it might well be the basic pattern of human adaptation in the future:

...it is precisely the sort of pattern consistent with a vision of "the global village," "debureaucratization," "decentralization," and "re-humanization." In very practical terms, our research data suggest that the SPIN type of structure does several things: it encourages full utilization of individual and small-group innovation while minimizing the results of failure; it promotes maximum penetration of ideas across

socio-economic and cultural diversity; it is flexible enough to adapt quickly to changing conditions; and it puts a structural premium on egalitarian, personalistic relationship skills in contrast to the impersonalistic mode of interaction suited to the bureaucratic paradigm [Hines, 77:20].

What the author goes on to argue is that despite the lack of attention they receive, SPINs are, de facto, very much a part of our present reality. Not only are they pervasive at the grassroots levels, but they comprise the supranational level of decision-making which at present rules our world: the international financial institutions, the multinational corporations, the national governments, and the representatives of powerful families in Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, South Africa, the Philippines and Asia. The global management network is made up of upper level decisions makers of these four major components and its characteristics resemble those of grassroots SPINs. They have linking mechanisms such as interlocking directorships, shared subsidiaries, common shareholding, and the interchangeability of their personnel is well documented. Major decisions are arrived at through making use of "project teams" that cut across bureaucratic hierarchies. These ad hoc teams are shaped and reshaped according to needs and comprise members of different levels within a bureaucratic hierarchy or from comparable levels in other corporate or governmental hierarchies. These teams favour types of interaction more characteristic of networks than of formal hierarchies. Their linking activities take place in exclusive social clubs, playgrounds and policy organizations (for example, the Business Council, the Council of Foreign Relations, or the Committee for Economic Development). The ideology they share in common is a set of sustainable assumptions and a set of rules of acceptable behaviour of the structures within which they function. As a result of such tacitly understood ideology the decisions arrived at bear so similar actions that there appears to be collusion

even though the members themselves might feel they have conflicting positions [Hines, 77:21-2].

Thus networks may be seen as *the* basic socio-cultural adaptation of our times, serving the needs both of the powerful and the powerless. They are used to maintain the status quo or to change it, depending on the set of basic assumptions of the binding ideology. Networks are emerging at different levels of local, regional, and global structures and are essential to third system development efforts.

Peace/ Many are the voices that demand at this time a complete re-
Security appraisal of the meaning of peace and security. Our world is now living under conditions of *unstable peace*, where peace is regarded as a normal state of affairs and outbreaks of war confined to varying degrees of intensity (temporal and spatial) are tolerable and acceptable by society at large.

As a result of this limited understanding of peace the number of war deaths has risen 22 times since the eighteenth century, while the number of human beings has risen fourfold. Since World War II to the present there have been 120 wars, each gradually getting more savage than the one before. In this century alone 99 million people have died in war. [Barnaby, 1988:16].

Is this unstable peace a desirable state of affairs? If these are the costs and consequences of unstable peace, why not change our understanding of peace? We could opt for *stable peace*, personally and collectively, where the probability of war could be so low that it would not enter into the plans or expectations of the concerned parties. We could banish war as an accepted mode for settlement of disputes with the same determination with which we outlawed duels. At one point in the not-so-distant past, the custom of settling disputes by duelling became unacceptable, legitimacy was withdrawn, other forms of social conduct supplanted its use, and it has not recurred ever since. The task is formidable but so are the benefits!

A provocative description of our present conditions of peace has been made by Ivan Illich in "The Delinking of Peace and Development" where he portrays our present conditions as *pax economica*, and denounces mechanistic development as its main perpetrator. Pax economica is primarily a mechanism to protect production under assumptions of scarcity. Among its characteristics are environmental violence and the destruction of physical, social, and cultural spaces that are subsistence, rather than market, related. Mechanistic development is intricately linked with the imposition of pax economica at the expense of every form of *people's peace* [Illich, 1981:411-5]. People's peace is directly linked to autochthonous, participatory development, since it is both the ground providing the right conditions as well as the fruition of its accomplishment.

When analyzing the conditions conducive to the creation of stable peace, development considerations are unavoidable. So are security ones. There cannot be stable peace without sustainable development. Sustainable

development cannot flourish unless under conditions of stable peace. This understanding is reflected in the final document of the United Nations International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development(1987) which states:

Security is an overriding priority for all nations. . . . Security consists of not only military, but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects. . . Real economic growth as well as just and equitable development, and particularly the elimination of poverty, are necessary for a secure and stable environment at the national, regional and international levels. They can reduce tensions and conflicts and the need for armament. . . The development process, by overcoming non-military threats to security and contributing to a more stable and sustainable international system, can enhance security and thereby promote arms reduction and disarmament. Disarmament would enhance security both directly and indirectly. [UN Doc, 87:3]

The last decade of the twentieth century hopefully might witness a redefinition of security, a renewed understanding which is coming to mean security of the foundations of peace – consensus, law, social justice, and sustainable development. "Security covering this wide range of elements can no longer be achieved through military force –if it ever was – nor can it be achieved unilaterally. Security for one's own country must take into account that of one's neighbours. Security in the broad sense can, in today's world and tomorrow's, only be achieved with other countries; it can no longer be achieved against them" [Barnaby, 88:213].

These views are made explicit in publications by the London Centre for Internatioanl Peacebuilding, also propagated by such groups as Generals for Peace and Disarmament. They are offered here in outline form in their entirety, since they encompass and complement almost every aspect of the emerging paradigm of participatory development. This new conceptual understanding isolates four inter-related constituents within the overall scope

of security: inner security, human and civil security, economic security, and environmental security. These are described in terms of: A) what they depend on, and; B) what they seek to accomplish, as follows:

I. Inner security

A. depends on:

1. spiritual security
2. concern for the foundations of peace:
 - a. consensus
 - b. ecological wisdom
 - c. economic justice
 - d. defense of rule of law

B. seeks:

1. sense of identity – personal, local and global
2. sense of responsibility
3. love of others
4. spiritual community
5. consensus & co-operation
6. conflict resolution
7. freedom of belief
8. access to ideas
9. access to creativity
10. participation
11. responsiveness to change, diversity and growth
12. harmony with Gaia

II. Human and civil security

A. rests on:

1. economic, environmental, & spiritual security
2. eradication of structural violence within society

B. seeks to provide:

1. adequate life & health expectancy
2. secure
 - a. home & shelter
 - b. food & water supplies
3. security of:
 - a. land & tenure
 - b. income & sustainable livelihood
4. social security
5. human rights security
6. participatory governance
7. access to:
 - a. rewarding work
 - b. law and justice
 - c. education
 - d. equality of opportunity for sexes, religions, ages

III. Economic Security

A. depends on:

1. re-creation of real wealth at local, national & regional levels
2. conversion to a steady state economy

B. seeks:

1. fairer economic order & terms of trade
2. greater wealth distribution
3. manageable currency among states
4. end to the arms trade
5. diversion of military spending to:
 - a. development, &
 - b. environment
6. conversion of debts into wealth
7. new economic indicators: eco- and social accounting
8. new development models:
 - a. endogenous
 - b. need-oriented
 - c. self-reliant
 - d. ecologically sound
 - e. socially transforming
9. security of local economic base
10. community-centred economics

IV Environmental security

A. depends on:

1. ecologically wise economy
 2. sustainable livelihood for all
 3. re-integration of:
 - a. human, &
 - b. natural systems
 4. security:
 - a. of gene base
 - b. of ecosystems & species
 - c. from toxic pollutants
 5. waste management and re-use
 6. access to efficient, clean energy
 7. management of non-renewables
 8. protection of:
 - a. global commons
 - b. water cycle
 9. end to environmental refugeeism
- [Barnaby, 1988:212-3].

This expanded outlook of inter-related security concerns provides the foundation for working towards the creation of conditions of stable peace – or the other side of the same coin – sustainable development. From this holistic perspective, both personal and collective levels of security are addressed; covered as well are the different dimensions that security concerns must address if they are to truly foster stable peace – within and among human

beings and their environment. This comprehensive, holistic perspective bears testimony to an emerging paradigm shift: now taking place alongside more mechanistic considerations of security issues. If these organically linked concerns are ignored or only partially accepted and implemented, there is not much chance that conditions of stable peace/sustainable development will come about in our world.

The peace movement is present in most societies in the world today where concerned citizens are making contributions towards the creation of a peaceful world in a thousand and one ways. This is not the place for a description of its growth or activities; suffice it to present here one example as an illustration of the participatory nature of their efforts and what is being attempted. In September of 1988 a group of concerned citizens calling themselves The Great Peace Journey assembled in New York to attend a Global Popular Summit. "The aim of this Summit is to outline concrete proposals for world peace to be presented to the UN. It will reinforce the right of people from all nations to participate in, and influence, world peace policies." [Barnaby, 88:-244-5]

Since 1985 the organizers of this Summit had contacted the governments of 105 UN member states and presented them with a questionnaire about their willingness to take concerted action towards peace .⁵ The questionnaire addressed issues of disarmament, arms trade, development, and peaceful settlement of disputes, and required "Yes" or "No" responses. Of the nations interviewed, 84% answered "Yes" to all five questions. Though a faint glimmer, this is a positive step towards the participation of people stressing their government's duties to abide by the UN

Charter they have all signed, which declares as part of their obligations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

This is one among a multitude of efforts put forth each day by countless anonymous individuals, belonging or not to innumerable organizations. The following quote praises their unsung efforts and makes explicit the inter-relationship between war and poverty:

The way to deal with this dual challenge facing us (of war and poverty) lies not in some blind faith in technology and its continuous expansion but rather in bringing the human community back at the centre of the development process. . .The saviours of peace (if they succeed) will be . . .ordinary men and women, in their consciousness, in their comprehension of the multidimensional and interrelated nature of the problem, in their courage, their capacity to overcome fear and insecurity, their willingness. . .to collectively create the conditions and the compulsions for peace [quote by Omom-Fadaka, in Barnaby, 88:234].

Lastly, but most importantly, it is to be mentioned that the internal conditions for peace are a necessary prerequisite for the creation of external ones. Internal here applies to one's own state of being. In the words of Thich Nhat Hanh, Chairman of the Vietnamese Buddhist Peace Delegation during the war, poet, and Zen master, : "Peace work means, first of all, **being peace**. . . Every day we do things, we are things, that have to do with peace. If we are aware of our lifestyle, our way of consuming, our way of looking at things, we will know how to make peace right in the moment we are alive" [Hanh, 87:80, emphasis added].

Thich Nhat Hanh now conducts training for peace activists and meditation students in Europe and North America, instructing them :

If I have a feeling of anger, how would I meditate on that? How would I deal with it, as a Buddhist or as an intelligent person? I would not look

upon anger as something foreign to me that I have to fight. . . I know that anger is me and I am anger. Non-duality, not two. I have to deal with my anger with care, with love, with tenderness, with nonviolence . . . In Buddhism we do not consider anger, hatred, greed as enemies we have to fight, to destroy, to annihilate. If we annihilate anger, we annihilate ourselves. Dealing with anger in that way would be like transforming yourself into a battlefield, tearing yourself into parts. . . If you struggle in that way, you do violence to yourself. If you cannot be compassionate to yourself, you will not be able to be compassionate to others. When we get angry, we have to produce awareness: "I am angry. Anger is in me. I am anger." That is the first thing to do. . . [Anger] is a destructive energy. We cannot destroy the energy; we can only convert it into a more constructive energy. Forgiveness is a constructive energy. Understanding is a constructive energy. Suppose you are in the desert and you have only one glass of muddy water. You have to transform the muddy water into clear water to drink. . . so you let it settle for a while, and clear water will appear. In the same way we have to convert anger into some kind of energy that is more constructive, because anger is you. Without anger you have nothing left. That is the work of meditation.

. . . So the destructive energy of anger, because of understanding, is transformed into the energy of love. Meditation on your anger is first of all to produce awareness of anger, "I am the anger," and then to look deeply into the nature of anger. Anger is born from ignorance, and is a strong ally of ignorance [Hanh, 87:40-1].

Unsurmountable as such inner and outer tasks may appear, many are ready to take on the challenges. Thousands of aware and concerned individuals participate in peace training programs and retreats that emphasize the inner significance of peace – among them one may mention those by Hanh, Joanna Macy, and the United Nations University for Peace. To these participants this is their ultimate statement that life is, indeed, worth living.

To this effect not solely inner but outward conditions need change. Insofar as the latter are concerned, what is needed is concerted effort and political will. A work that presents us with an unusual and provocative example of what human beings accomplished when there was the political will to un-learn destructive technologies is Noel Perrin's Giving Up the Gun:

Japan's Reversion to the Sword, 1543-1879. In a well-documented and articulate manner Perrin describes the history and consequences of Japan's attitude towards the use of firearms. Through a gradual series of cutbacks their use became unacceptable, not because of lack of knowledge, since the country was very advanced in metallurgy and other related crafts (including the craft of waging war), but as a *conscious effort not to diminish the human stature* that Japanese society had achieved. The author portrays the codes of conduct and the high degree of sophistication achieved by the Japanese, in spite of the fact that the society did not go through an industrial revolution until after the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1867 and that they lived in a period of autarky for about three centuries.⁶ He concludes:

What the Japanese experience does prove is two things. First, that a no-growth economy is perfectly compatible with prosperous and civilized life. And second, that human beings are less the passive victims of their own knowledge and skills than most people in the West suppose. 'You can't stop progress', people commonly say. . . This is to talk as if progress — however one defines that elusive concept — were something semidivine, an inexorable force outside human control. And, of course, it isn't. It is something we can guide, and direct, and even stop. Men can choose to remember; they can also choose to forget [Perrin, 79:91-92].

Communication When engaged in processes of social transformation,
most individuals must, perforce, communicate.⁷

When two people are truly open to communication, they exchange their previous (and separate) understandings of reality. Though communication usually entails an exchange of understandings about reality by conveying information, in the broadest sense, in order for understanding to occur, we must exchange states of being. This is ultimate communication, which

transcends thought and speech and body language; it also transcends ego boundaries. From this transcendent space, true understanding and exchange may then emerge. Such exchange is relative communication.

In this relative context, communication and implementation go hand in hand. Without proper communication there could be no adequate implementation. This section will focus on relative communication only, denoting it simply by the term communication, for the sake of brevity. In so doing, no attempt is made to deny the reality of ultimate communication as essential, though unfortunately, hardly ever experienced or acknowledged.

The importance of proper communication, in *intent, manner, and content*, cannot be emphasized enough. Content is very revealing, both in what is expressed and by what is left unsaid. Manner is the portrayal of the communicator's attitudinal and emotional state. Intent is sometimes obvious, sometimes impossible to discern. In the implementation of participatory paradigms of development the ideal: a) intent is to motivate others to participate (respecting their terms and timing); b) manner is open or spacious, and inclined to sharing awareness, and; c) content is information that is non-restricted, direct, and understandable to the other party.

If the intent is to motivate others to join us in the common effort of participatory development, then what manner of communication is most suitable for this task? In a typology describing communication patterns of interaction, James Mayfield distinguishes among three systems, based on different assumptions and yielding different results. He calls them one-way,

two way, and shared awareness types of communication. Only the latter one can truly be called participatory and the following description shows why.

One-way communication is almost exclusively top-down. One assumes that if one says or explains something once (to an administrative subordinate or a peasant in the field), then, that is all that is needed. They would understand and carry it out. This approach has the advantage of being very quick but great drawbacks. The recipient of such message does not have opportunities to ask many questions, share concerns, and truly understand, so that the subordinate might do an unsatisfactory job or the peasant might not cooperate. Two-way communication assumes that not until the sender and the receiver both exchange information and ideas and explain how they interpret each other's message, or until several briefings and meetings have taken place, will communication take place. The advantages of this system is that both the subordinate and the farmer now may better understand what is trying to be achieved, thus better enabling them to do their share. But among the disadvantages one finds in this approach are the fact that it is more time consuming and also that it does not encourage the recipient to express concerns or feelings. Personal, religious, emotional, or political issues, even though they might be quite relevant to the project dealt with, are not shared (by definition) in this setting.

The third type of communication, shared awareness, addresses this problem by fostering trust and respect. It assumes that communication has not taken place until people are free to share how they really feel about the project. Shared awareness means a compenetration with the other's point of view, with her/his concerns, values, and ways of looking at the world. The

advantages of such communication are more realistic and yield better results from joint action, since both parties will understand each other's needs and thus may incorporate them in planning and implementation. The problems encountered in attempting to promulgate shared awareness systems of communication are twofold: they require much more time than the previous two approaches, since people have to open to each other, get to know each other. Bosses may not be interested in their employees as people, or rural extension experts may not be capable of mingling with peasants; in the hurried and hassled rhythms prevalent in most places today, they might not have the time. They might also not be capable of doing so, due to lack of sensitivity, communication skills, patience, or commitment. Some have not even learned how to listen [Mayfield, 1987:94-9].

Despite these difficulties it is essential in participatory efforts to foster shared awareness modes of communication. They are necessary in the home, the work-space, the village or city, the nation, and cross-culturally.

Rural development facilitators (RDFs), even when they are from the same country and, presumably, the same cultural background as the villagers, cannot assume that communication will be easy or natural . . . RDF-peasant communication should be systematically planned, and this planning requires timely information on the peasants' psychocultural dispositions, meanings, and frames of reference. Yet, the most likely question is, how is one to know these cultural meanings, . . . characterized as the "hidden dimension"? A careful reflective inquiry mode is needed, in which enough trust has been developed and through which a common set of meanings between the RDF and the peasant can be established. (Mayfield, 1985: 89)

This "mode of reflective inquiry" necessary as it is within one culture, is imperative between cultures. Andreas Fuglesang's work, About Understanding – ideas and observations on cross-cultural communication, addresses the nature of this problem from different perspectives. The author shows how

communication is related to concept formation, and how different cultures conceptualize differently. This is best exemplified in our use of language:

...In English and other European languages, we objectify events.⁸ This is the reason why we make some events *fixed points* by calling them *objects*. The same applies when we, in a sense, hold firm a *continuous happening which we perceive* (which is not a thing) by putting the word *event* instead (which is a thing). Let us look at some practical examples. We objectify the time between sunrise and sunset by calling it a *day*. We even push our luck and talk about seven days just as we talk about seven stones in a row. This is extraordinary since seven stones can be clearly perceived, and seven days cannot be perceived. The day, *today*, can be perceived, at least to some extent, but the remaining six days *exist* purely in our imagination and cannot be perceived from anything in reality.

...In the Hopi language, the western *length of time* is not regarded as a length, rather, it is a relation between two events in lateness. The Hopi language does not objectify. The Hopis have no language habit that cloaks the subjective experience of *becoming later*. As a consequence, an expression such as *seven days* literally cannot be used. . .The sentence 'My brother stayed seven days' would be equivalently expressed in an operational manner, as an event, 'My brother left after the seventh day' [Fuglesang, 82:68-9, italics in the original, underlining added].

Fuglesang's analysis proceeds further along the following lines: when we define the boundaries of an object or a concept (since a concept is nothing but an object we handle with our inner hands), it becomes certain to us. It assumes a form. In the case of concepts, this is a logical form which endures or we change with our thoughts. Thinking is how we process information and acquire certainty. Certainty is what we mean whenever we say "I know". . . "I know my name, the street where I live, the keyboard my fingers are pressing". Certainty is essential to functioning and survival. Illustrating his thesis by making use of African societal customs, Fuglesang shows that traditional folk knowledge is what provides this feeling of certainty for members of those cultures. Yet this is the knowledge that mainstream

approaches to development condemn, rather than respect. "How can there be a knowledge that is universally valid?" he asks.

And, by extension, I question: how can there be a universal version of the concept of development? And if there are multiple ones, how else than by participatory approaches to development are these differing relative realities to be genuinely formulated and implemented? These are questions that this paper fondly asks and seeks to answer. It postulates that though ultimate reality is universal, relative reality is not.⁹ Though relative realities about the concept of development may be different, ultimately they are not better or worse. In essence, development is the relativity of relative realities. And these, in turn, are only relatively better or worse insofar as they address *desired change*. Here is where one needs to distinguish between desired versus imposed change. Desired by whom?, for what purpose?, towards what end result?

No discussion of communication as relevant to development can ignore to look at the influence of the media today. At the close of our century there is hardly any place left on our planet where the ubiquitous and domineering presence of the media is not felt. Many are the voices speaking for desired change in communication patterns as well as content in the media, calling for an end to the supremacy of top-down, centre-biased approaches which are conducive to imitative homogeneous values and lifestyles, despite local conditions of heterogeneity.¹⁰ In addition, a lot could be achieved if the media were viewed as a public service rather than a marketable commodity.¹¹ Technological innovations could be sought to enable two-way communication to take place, instead of the prevalent modes through radio and television

which turn people into passive listeners and viewers. "Alternatives for Survivors (Part I of Building Blocks for Alternative Development Strategies)" illustrates some of the initial steps that could be taken in this direction as follows:

The centralizing potential of modern communications technology gives tremendous power to those who control it — power to influence and shape people's images of their fellow women and men and of the world around them, their access to knowledge, their tastes and desires, their aspirations to a better life. Its impact on the formation of young people's outlook is especially significant. Its imposition of a one-way flow from 'creators' to passive receivers of information has a deadening effect on the vitality of society. In general, this communication power is in the hands of representatives of the market or of the state, with the priesthood of professional communicators exercising considerable influence; in either case, people are only at the receiving end.

Most international channels of communication are North to South. Third World countries know about each other, their cultures, their problems, their struggles, their victories, primarily through Northern media. The South has no direct access to the North, where people know about the South only what the power structure allows or wants them to know [Third System Project, 1980:90].

Among the recommendations included in this report is the democratization of third system access to the media and making the media (national or transnational) accountable to society; the demystification of the journalistic profession; the attempt to always make communication a two-way process, and; the support of alternative grass-roots channels in the form of local and global networks [Third System Project:90].

In certain places some of these guidelines are becoming a living reality. For example, the programmes issuing out of the Chasquihuasi Centre of Communications in Santiago, Chile. The Centre produces a radio programme, "Third World News", which is distributed in cassette form to over 150 radio stations in seventeen countries in Latin America. Most of these are small, local

radio stations catering to the needs of citizens outside the big cities. Some translate this programme into Indian languages; some use it to stimulate conscientizations and the formation of participatory action groups over specific issues, thus demonstrating the viability of the Centre's objectives to:

- facilitate widespread broadcasting of information about development plans and programmes among those sectors, specially poor rural dwellers, who are the targeted beneficiaries of such efforts;
- support the creation of a regional consciousness and identity by means of the sustainable broadcasting of information pertinent to those efforts;
- support the creation of a Third Worldist consciousness and identity by means of sustained information about the problems and achievements of people in other regions of the Third World; and
- provide a vehicle for the increased broadcasting of the actions and achievements of a variety of organizations (international, national, non-governmental, religious, communitarian, etc.) which, in spite of working towards an integrated, democratic, and self-sustainable development, are unable to communicate with the vast majority of people [Salinas/Gomez, 1987:5].

The content of this news service gives priority to topics such as basic needs (nutrition, health, housing, employment, education, popular culture and environmental protection) and the activities of groups working with these needs. Programming is geared to include news about groups usually not included in mainstream radio reporting: women, children, Indians, peasants, workers. Topics about childhood range from the advantages of oral rehydration to legislation about children; women issues give priority to topics relevant to poor women; news about unions portray salary negotiations; and so on. News about multinational corporations cover such issues as health and drugs, cultural industries, harmful insecticides, showing ways in which countries in the region are attempting to protect themselves from abuses in the hands of these giant economic interests. The economic news focus on the

resources of the Third World such as agricultural, mineral, and fishing, and their position in the world economy. Sugar, coffee, copper, tin, and tuna fish have been the subject of programmes about commodities. Discussions on energy range from news about OPEC to appropriate alternative technologies. Political news cover such topics as human rights, disarmament, and international co-operation. The Centre has received grants from the Sweedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Catholic Foundation for Overseas Development (CAFOD, England), and Development and Peace (Canada). It is now in the process of generating its own funds by selling its "Third World News" to subscribers at \$20 per month, though some contribute as little as \$5 or, if too poor, have free access to it [Salinas/Gomez, 1987:8-10]. There is tremendous potential for paradigm shift if this type of third system programming were to spread both within and across North as well as South societies.

Learning/ Closely associated to communication and fundamental in its own
Education right are the processes and the content of learning and education in the world today. It is relevant to distinguish between what is meant by the terms learning and education. Learning is a process that could be equated with life itself; if we have this attitude, as long as we are alive, we learn. Learning allows us to become more knowledgeable, to live life more fully. It is the process that allows us to adapt by adopting new values, new methodologies, new skills which are essential in a world of change. It is far more encompassing than schooling and education. Learning is significantly

influenced by an individual's inherent capabilities, family up-bringing, work and play, peer groups, communications media, pace of life, access to information, and one's transcendental values, among other things.

The necessity to address issues relating to learning and education when addressing our present human predicament is unavoidable. There is a great need for open public debate on these topics to reverse the deterioration of our human condition. These needs are brought about by the complexity of global issues and the accelerated rate of change that individuals and societies are subject to as we approach the end of this century. In order to create a forum for the initiation of such a debate the Club of Rome sponsored a Learning Project in 1979 which hosted several conferences on this topic. The record of these deliberations was published by James Brotkin, Mahdi Elmandjra, and Mircea Malitza in a book entitled No Limits to Learning: Bridging the Human Gap.

The Club had published seven years earlier the report for its Project on the Predicament of Mankind entitled The Limits to Growth, an extensive study of the disastrous consequences of blind exponential growth and the finite availability of physical resources. In seeking to create conditions conducive to global equilibrium the report had warned that some of the most crucial issues could not be resolved by seeking technological solutions. It became increasingly clear that maybe human beings were in this predicament because we failed to understand what we were doing, to perceive the meaning and the consequences of our actions. As a result we were becoming increasingly at odds with the so-called real world. This schism was called

the human gap.¹² When attention is focused on this gap, learning becomes of utmost importance since it goes hand in hand with understanding. Therefore, it precedes and underlies all other global or local issues. Of all issues, it is the most basic since it conditions our human capacity to deal with all other issues. This study concluded that we are curtailing our own learning capabilities by creating artificial constraints that underutilize our human potential since for all practical purposes, there appears to be no limits to learning [Botkin/Elmandjra/Malitza, 79:9].

What is aimed for, then, is a new learning perspective. A perspective that is capable of adapting to different cultural identities while at the same time promoting global harmony. This perspective is what the conferences' participants called *innovative learning*. Innovative learning is indispensable to create the synergistic linkages that encompass perception, sense of meaning, integrated context, and human relations and values.

Innovative learning may be described in brief in terms of its two main features: *anticipation and participation*. "Whereas adaptation suggests reactive adjustment to external pressure, anticipation implies an orientation that prepares for possible contingencies and considers long-range future alternatives. . . The essence of anticipation lies in selecting desirable events and working toward them; in averting unwanted or potentially catastrophic events; and in creating new alternatives" [Botkin/Elmandjra/Malitza, 79:12]. Anticipation requires both learning from experience and 'experiencing' other possible situations. It is through this type of learning that new configurations come into being as alternatives that did not exist before. Creativity and inventiveness are at its core.

The second feature of innovative learning is participation. There are many reasons why anticipation is to be complemented by participation. Among them is the need to reconcile differing anticipations so that the necessary consensus to pursue a desired course of action is achieved. This is due to the prevailing trends demanding fuller participation in our world today:

One of the most significant trends of our time is the near-universal demand for participation. This demand is being felt on the international level as well as at the national, regional, and local levels. . If participation is to be effective, it will be essential that those who hold power do not block innovative learning. Participation is more than the formal sharing of decisions: it is an attitude characterized by co-operation, dialogue, and empathy. It means not only keeping communications open but also constantly testing one's operating rules and values, retaining those that are relevant and rejecting those that have become obsolescent [Botkin/Elmandjra /Malitza, 79:13, emphasis added].

Participatory processes, no matter what their aim or setting, cannot dispense with a climate of co-operation, with practices of dialogue and exchange, and with the experience of empathy as a mode of understanding among participants.

The authors contrast the process of innovative learning with its complementary one, *maintenance learning*. This latter type is based on pre-determined boundaries and agreed-upon procedures; it is the kind of learning that is indispensable in closed situations where assumptions remain fixed. Maintenance learning is primarily analytical and rule-based and is essential, since it grants inner cohesion when conditions are stable. Though essential,

it is insufficient in 'border conditions', it falters when meeting the unexpected.

There are also differentials in the conditions leading to implementation of these two kinds of learning. Maintenance learning tends to create solutions whose source is usually an administrative or scientific authority. This is the old-paradigm pattern of imposing measures first, and hoping that eventually the public, through assimilation, will come to understand and accept them later. In contrast, "A key premise of innovative learning is that proposed solutions are judged prior to their adoption. . . Thus a key aim of innovative learning is to enlarge the range of options with sufficient time for sound-decision making processes. Without such innovative learning, humanity is likely to rely solely on reactive learning, making new shocks inevitable" [Botkin/ Elmandjra/Malitza, 79:44] . The misuse of power and structural impediments are the main obstacles to the implementation of innovative learning, and the costly effects of failing to promote it are *irrelevance* and *waste of human potential*.

There could be some critics inclined to state that such deliberations are fine as topics for discussion at elitist conferences but that they would fail to pass the test of implementation in the field. Not so in this case. Dr. Yen's approach in the IILR's People's School System (described in Chapter 11) represents the practical implementation of a similar theoretical base. It has decades of very successful operation, and it is always willing to learn further. The processes employed by the People's School System are the same as the ones suggested by The Club of Rome, though the names differ. In analyzing the

IIIR's approach, Mayfield describes them (as David Korten does) as *"the blueprint versus the learning process"*:

Much of rural development theory has relied on a blueprint approach in which careful pre-planning results in a highly structured plan of implementation with contingencies accounted for and procedures and basic routines accurately defined.

. . . The learning process approach assumes a system of people interacting over time - generating ideas, trying out and implementing such ideas, identifying problems, and correcting errors in a mutually beneficial way. In non-defensive ways, weaknesses, problems, and mistakes are all treated as useful information, discussed openly and candidly.

. . . All participants (leaders and followers) face the reality of their situation, learn from their mistakes, openly seek new solutions, neither seeks to place blame or to refer his or her problems to others (outsiders or perceived superiors). Such a process is not common in typical bureaucratic environments nor will it be commonly found in typical groups of peasant farmers. Yet such has been much of the process found in the IIIR approach to the People's School. Initial efforts by RDFs working with problem-solving groups in the villages of the Philippines seem to confirm that such a learning approach is not only possible but absolutely critical if such groups are to become autonomous and self-sustaining [Mayfield, 1985, 121-2, emphasis added] .

This is an approach in which "knowing more" does not necessarily imply "knowing better". Instead what is emphasized here are the interactive patterns that must be experienced and the sharing of imaging and experiencing, so that both farmers and rural development facilitators feel helped, trusted, and understood. This creates the appropriate conditions for innovation and creativity to flourish in a participatory environment.

The IIIR's attitude to problem solving is also akin to Paulo Freire's pedagogy in that before even approaching the stage of problem solving it considers imperative that one understand one's reality, whether natural, personal, cultural, or historical. In Freire's terms this dialoguing with others

is "to problematize". Through such processes an awareness is awakened and collectively shared, usually with the help of a catalyst/outsider. Through such processes, *conscientization* begins to emerge. Conscientization is the ability and power to perceive critically *the way one exists* in the world *with which* and *in which* one finds oneself. Rather than a static reality, the world is a reality in process, in transformation [Freire, 1986:70-1]. Needless to say, so is the perceiver of such a world.

Applying these principles of learning to devise approaches to formal and non-formal education is of utmost importance in the implementation of participatory paradigms of development. The following passage illustrates why by referring to a national pedagogy of self-reliance:

A self-reliant nation is a nation of self-reliant people. Self-reliance cannot be dispensed or dictated; it must be learned, and the learning process starts with the individual. It is a slow cumulative process, stretching through generations and susceptible to reverses. Much therefore depends on the type of education that is available to help people learn to think for themselves. By education in this context is not meant the conventional academic schooling but a pedagogy of self-reliance: learning to participate, to assume responsibility, to take decisions, to be less dependent, to communicate, to serve others, to receive messages critically, to depreciate waste and appreciate sustainability and the needs of future generations... above all learning through and throughout life [Third System Project 1980:24, emphasis added].

There can be little hope of genuine participatory processes gaining ascendancy in human society if most people are patterned by family and cultural interactions that discourage inquisitiveness and participation. In this regard there is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education approaches, in both content and manner, either try to integrate the learner into the logic of the prevailing system in a conforming fashion, or they foster

the ability to perceive and derive meaning by dealing critically and creatively with reality, so as to fully participate in inner and outer processes of transformation. Only the latter approach can truly foster the practice of freedom.

One of the most evident failures of present-day schooling is that children are not being taught innovative learning – the emphasis is almost exclusively placed on maintenance learning, despite the fact that one of their greatest needs is the capacity to adjust to accelerated change and complexity. In all societies where children attend school they are placed in classrooms, cut-off from the real world they are supposedly studying, and fed programmed information presented to them through letters, numbers, and sometimes pictures on a screen. They progress through this system by competing with each other in testing events designed to communicate to instructors that they have been successfully programmed by regurgitating what has been fed to their minds.¹³ There is very little creativity, hardly any image literacy. "Image literacy involves the individual's ability to combine the materials of inner and outer experience worlds, drawn from all the senses, to shape new patterns of 'reality'. Children do it all the time, but it is called daydreaming, and they are punished for it" [Boulding, 1988:86-7]. The aim of this discussion is not to deny the necessity to transmit maintenance learning, but rather to point to the deficiency in our present day efforts at education to train minds and bodies in innovative learning processes. This neglect is a major contributing factor to the difficulties we are experiencing, personally and collectively, in finding satisfaction and meaning in the complex and fast-changing world of the last decades of this century. It also prevents us from being better prepared to go through transitions, whether small or major,

desired or uncalled for. This neglect is representative of the obsolescence of old-paradigm approaches to education that are constraining our capacity to deal adequately with change. Though the Industrial Revolution fostered innovation and creativity several centuries back, the original generalized experimentation phase ended a long time ago, and what we are left with is inadequate to meet the demands of the new set of conditions that industrialization and mechanization brought about. ¹⁴

Elise Boulding is an author who addresses this much-needed change in her prescriptions in Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World. In this book Boulding makes clear that we need to recover *all* our ways of knowing; number and letter literacy are not enough. To these should be added imaging and oral traditions, as well as focusing attention on how the mind knows. In her analysis of how we know she distinguishes among the actual learning process, learning settings, and agents of learning. She also discusses the faculties available to creative learners: the emotional/affective or feeling faculty, the intuitive faculty, and the cognitive/analytic faculty. She cites new insights into what is entailed in learning by mentioning studies of categories of people who have been ignored as 'thinkers' – minority groups, the handicapped, and particularly that 51% minority, women. ¹⁵

Another aspect of learning is connected with the mind's ability to know about itself, to know how it knows, or to abide in its natural state. One way to achieve this is through the practice of formless meditation. The reason for engaging in these practices is to reach the existential state which is the substratum that accommodates our mental activities, such as perceiving,

feeling, and thinking. This state is an exclusive human characteristic accessible to all human beings – our capacity for self-cognition. Abiding in this stratum one experiences ultimate freedom, since in this mode of being one is not bounded even by one's own constructs. It is an experience that allows us to become mindful of our mental constructs and our actions, personally and collectively.¹⁶ It also leads, as a result of direct experience, to insights on the nature of reality. The purpose of this type of meditation focuses the mind, stills distractions and leads to one-pointed concentration, calm, simplicity, and vast understanding. In addition, there are numerous practices of meditation with form, where the practitioner focuses attention on an altruistic concept or representation. These are contemplative exercises used to free oneself from self-centredness and egoistic concerns. Both approaches have in common the underlying assumption that it is not only sensible but also beneficial to look into the nature of one's mind, our basic learning agent, so that the mind may learn about and *know itself by being*, instead of always being engaged in *knowing other* (whether *other* be an internal or external event). Meditative practices of this sort are the means whereby we may attain Elgin's self-reflective and Berman's participatory modes of consciousness described in Chapter I.

The benefits of such practices tend to pervade all spheres of one's life, since they relate to our basic state of being. They also provide direct access to understanding *how* one understands or knows, the essence of inner paradigm shift, which is the same "how" for all human beings. Consequently, they are very suitable practical means for experiencing both one's individual characteristics as well as one's universal similarities with fellow beings. A further relevant outcome is that they foster fuller participation of the

individual in her/his inner personal world and the external one she/he shares with others.

The topics of learning, knowledge, and participation are also the central concern of an emerging form of research, called *participatory action research* (PAR). It arose out of the recognition that grass-roots knowledge is as 'valid' as certified scientific knowledge. In the words of Orlando Fals-Borda, a Colombian social scientist who was one of its earliest proponents

Popular knowledge, folklore or popular wisdom is not codified in the manner predominant in the western scientific world, and for this reason it tends to be despised, as if it does not have the right to articulate and express itself in its own terms. But this popular knowledge also has its own rationality (not a Rationality in the sense of Descartes) and its own structure of causality, otherwise it would not 'function' in reality.

... understanding social reality results mainly from direct personal human contact (with real people with problems) and not with detached data manipulation (in bureaux or centres); and it also comes more from historical than from cross-sectional statistical approaches. It becomes necessary to develop a sense of feeling for the real, live human situation or such empathy that can be derived from an existential outlook on life – *vivencia*, as understood in Spanish philosophy – to be able to learn from the heart as well as from the head [Fals-Borda, 80:57-8].

Closely linked to Freire's pedagogy, PAR also makes use of time-honoured methods in whatever variations are suited for each case. These methods may serve many purposes:

- foster the consolidation of collective knowledge through the investigation and presentation of the social reality of a group living it, with a sense of group ownership of information;
- instigate the ordering of this information so as to make it useful to the group examining their reality;

- utilize this ordered information to foster critical analysis of the root causes of the problems the group is addressing to solve;
- establish linkages between personal and structural conditions as part of the collective problem solving processes;
- combine practices of reflection, evaluation, and action, taking time to ask who, what, why, where,when? [PAR Network Series, 1982:5-6] .

PAR is used in a wide variety of settings and time-spans such as self-help projects, public meetings, research teams, open-ended surveys, community seminars, popular theater, the collective production of audio-visual materials, and educational workshops or camps. PAR is taking place and has empowered third system groups around the world – a study of Appalachian Land use carried out in conjunction with citizen groups and a research and education centre revealed inequalities in taxation policies that are leading to legislation and action in several states in the U.S.; a program of integrated rural development of the University of Huamanga in Peru which drew on popular culture and technology to build a canal, and improve crop cultivation and cattle raising techniques; and environmental impact study that allowed the Big Trout Lake Indian Band Council in Ontario, Canada to thwart attempts by government to install a sewage line that would have been used only by a minority and was ecologically damaging. The possibilities of such an approach to the problematique of development are endless, though, in order for it to be truly effective, it must be carried out with genuine commitment and respect.¹⁷

Technology Technology acts as the nexus between humans and their actions in the world. So the question of whether or not we are utilizing the appropriate tools to accomplish the desired effects are perennial considerations both to individuals and to societies. Appropriate is obviously a relative term, so one must answer questions such as: appropriate with reference to what? in what context? Whose is a more appropriate technology, the one of an 'underdeveloped' peasant who can usually produce 10 calories of energy per every calorie used, or that of an industrialized farmer whose ratio is reversed, i.e. for every calorie produced 10 calories of energy are spent?

Technology as used in this essay is one component of the material dimension of development (the other being resources) and includes not only techniques, products, and tools but also intangibles such as knowledge, creativity, productivity, organization and management of work. It also overlaps with the personal dimension, since it affects an individual's well-being as well as her or his relations with others. Technology choices are intimately connected with world-view as well as values.

These connections are crucial, though oftentimes underestimated. World view and values are the determinants through which we assess information when analyzing data in order to arrive at a technological choice. When dealing with such matters it is wise to bear in mind that "Data are not information; information results from the interpretation of data" [Goulet, 1977:241]. Therefore, when making decisions about such choices in groups or

societies it is highly desirable to foster the participation of those who create as well as those who use artifacts and methods, tools and techniques.

For these reasons Arnold Pacey, in The Culture of Technology, emphasizes the importance of public interest research and less-abstract technical education for technology professionals. Both of these approaches are ultimately aimed at making technology more manageable or 'humanizing' it, and he contends:

This might entail a fairly small adjustment, . . . But it may prove to be a sufficiently radical change to merit description as a change in levels of awareness, an awakening to new insights, or even a cultural revolution. In the philosophers' jargon it might be seen as the adoption of a new paradigm — a new pattern for organizing ideas. Such terms are relevant because . . . the most fundamental choices in technology are not those between solar and nuclear energy, appropriate and high technique. They are choices between attitudes in mind. We may cultivate an exploratory, open view of the world, or we may maintain a fixed, inflexible outlook, tied to the conventional wisdom, in which new options are not recognized [Pacey, 1983: 169, emphasis added].

It is important to note that the task of assessing the impact of technological changes, whether these be in usage of existing elements or the creation of new ones, is of utmost importance. In this regard public participation is essential, since technology is meant to be used, and it is people, rather than experts, who constitute the vast majority of users. (Appendix V is Pacey's detailed outline map illustrating the overlap that exists between the user and the expert spheres in technology practice.) Only if a balanced mix of expert and counter-expert advice is present in such assessments will it be possible to address this "creative tension" so that technology is meant to serve rather than be served. This is easier said than done, because it presupposes the existence of conditions conducive to open public debate and policy determination, which is quite rare in our world today. The opposite is usually

the case. Vested interests, experts' attachments to virtuosity and the infallibility of their knowledge, ignorance, and anti-participatory socio-political constraints are more likely to determine outcomes than debate. Yet it seems essential to foment debate, cultural reciprocity through dialogue, so that different interpretations of data and values may be viewed. Difficult though this task may be, sooner or later we must tackle it, since we all live within technological horizons.

Pacey isolates three sets of values and contrasts their view points — virtuosity, economic, and user or need values. Table III shows this typology in schematic form. Virtuosity values refer to the supremacy in decision making and implementation of experts and bureaucrats, and economic values to that of finances and profits, as a social outlook that determines the choice of technology. When these values predominate, technology is viewed as a means of prestige and/or as a means for increased exchange value. In both cases greatest emphasis is placed mostly at the research, manufacture, and sales phases. Pacey contrasts these two sets of values with user or need values where technology is viewed as management of processes. This larger view encompasses concerns both of growth as well as decay. In the context of this essay this last interpretation is the one that coincides with an organic, holistic emerging paradigm. This interpretation understands technology not only as invention and construction, but incorporates conservation and prevention as well.

Table IV
Three Sets of Values Involved in the Practice of Technology

	Virtuosity values	Economic values	User or need values
<i>Exemplars</i>	adventurers (Odysseus), smiths, warriors	merch. nts, working men	women (Athene, Penelope)
<i>Applications</i>	tractor driving high technology (aerospace, weapons) ——— heart transplant surgery	cash cropping production engineering ——— food technology ——— drug manufacture	gardening craft work, appropriate technology ——— cooking, handmilling childcare, primary health work, nursing
<i>Priorities</i>	pursuit of the technically sweet mastering natural forces extending frontiers	pursuit of profit ——— managing a workforce ——— economic growth	maintenance, subsistence ——— care for people, care for nature ——— stability
<i>View of technology</i>	construction for prestige value	construction, production for exchange value	management of process: use value
<i>Typical evidence of 'progress'</i>	improving performance (figures 3 and 5)	increasing GNP	falling infant mortality (figure 7)
<i>Attitude to risk</i>	risk as challenge; offset by fixes	risk balanced by potential gain	risk avoidance and prevention
<i>Views of creativity</i>	innovative, adventuring, unrestrained	equated with enterprise	tempered by responsibility

Source: Pacey, 1983:103

Science and technology are critical issues in development. On this topic much could be said about the issue of research and development (R&D) and the role of transnational corporations in the global economy, but since this essay is concerned specifically with the third system this is not the place. What is more directly relevant from a third system perspective is to foster an attitude

of questioning technology, a constant vigilance to be exerted personally and collectively so as to arrive at well-appraised decisions. Devall and Sessions suggest the following questions, which can be asked of any technological device or system:

1. Does this technological device serve vital needs?
2. Is this device or system of the sort that can be immediately understood by non-experts?
3. Does it have a high degree of flexibility and mutability or does it impose a permanent, rigid, irreversible imprint on the lives of citizens?
4. Does this technological device or system foster greater autonomy of local communities or greater dependency on some centralized "authority"?
5. Is this device or system ecologically destructive or conducive to a deep ecology way of life?
6. Does this device or system enhance the individuality of persons or does it lead to bureaucratic hierarchies?
7. Does this device or system encourage people to behave and think like machines? [Devall/Sessions, 1985:35]

The concerns being incorporated in participatory development considerations of technology focus on issues such as relevance to needs, economic affordability, decentralization, self-reliance, environmental respect, as well as personal integrity in the workspace. In making choices there are then no easy "either/or" solutions. What is aimed at is

...the need to look at a variety of approaches, from improved traditional technologies to AT [appropriate technology] strategies that focus on the small scale, labor intensive, and indigenously developed, all the way up to the last most modern technology available. The central issue is to choose a whole range of appropriate technologies while clearly defining the purposes they are to serve [Mayfield, 1985:117, emphasis added].

Non-Governmental Organizations The institutions most closely associated with participatory approaches to development are non-governmental organizations (NGOs). They usually emerge as a result of third system's direct interests and actions to bring about change. NGO's come about whenever enough momentum and participants have gathered about a specific cause so that an organization is needed to carry out their intentions. Some are very short-lived, others grow and evolve through decades. At present they range from religious to secular, from the very local to the truly global, and from single- to all-purpose. The OECD's catalogue (1987) mentioned 1600 active in development cooperation in its member countries. In Asia and Latin America they also number in the thousands; in Africa, though fewer in number there is also a wide variety in operation. In any case, more important than an actual count of their numbers is the common cause they all share – the participation of concerned citizens, or the third system, in processes of development. The present climate of disillusionment with the outcome of almost three decades of development efforts, together with declining aid transfers and a justifiable need to reduce administrative delivery costs, have created the conditions favouring the ascendant role that NGOs now occupy in development.

Another aspect of the rise of NGO activity in development is directly related to the change in Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) perspective that is taking place. This is connected to the growing realization that if central governments are the primary recipients of these funds they tend to use them to reinforce control over national wealth by those in power, rather than extending the benefit of their use to the private sector in different localities. A concomitant change is the understanding that development

encompasses far more than resource transfers. It is now necessary to ensure that people have both the opportunity and the incentives to develop the human and institutional will and capacity to implement sustainable development in their communities and nations.

As a result of these trends the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) considers NGO's the "growth sector," showing that they are receiving as much as US\$ 3.3 billion from private sources and another US\$ 1.5 billion from official aid agencies. In Canada, a country who pioneered official assistance/NGO partnership approaches to development, 12 % of its ODA is being channeled through NGO's. If, in addition, privately raised funds are considered NGO's contribution amounts to approximately 22% of Canadian total aid funds, both public and private [Brodhead, 1987:1].

NGOs have had a long history of reaching people in need and helping them organize while at the same time not incurring in high delivery costs for such services. Moreover, the important re-orientation towards more people-centred, decentralized, and sustainable approaches to development is closer to what most NGO's have been advocating all along. At this point NGO's have a double role:

NGO's are both *practitioners* of development strategies which emphasize the centrality of decision-making by the poor to the development process and *advocates* within the international community for governmental policies and programs which enhance the control by the poor over their own lives [Minear, 1987:97].

This was not always so. David Korten describes the evolution of NGO's in three stages in "Third Generation NGO Strategies: A Key to People-centered Development" : the first one is related mainly to relief and welfare, the second

to small-scale self-reliant local development, and the third one to sustainable systems of development. NGO's may find themselves in one or other of these stages, or they might have different programs oriented in one or more of these "generations".

Table V

Three generations of NGO development program strategies

	Generation		
	First	Second	Third
Defining features	Relief & welfare	Small-scale self-reliant local development	Sustainable systems development
Problem definition	Shortages of goods and services	Local inertia	Institutional and policy constraints
Time frame	Immediate	Project life	Indefinite long-term
Spatial scope	Individual or family	Neighborhood or village	Region or nation
Chief actors	NGO	NGO + beneficiary organizations	All public and private institutions that define the relevant system
Development education	Starving children	Community self-help initiatives	Failures in inter-dependent systems
Management orientation	Logistics management	Project management	Strategic management

Source: Korten, 1987:148

To illustrate the valuable role that NGOs are now beginning to play Korten analyses their sphere of influence in policy reform. Policy reform usually takes place as a result of two schools of planning: 1) policy analysis

planning, which is the sphere of bureaucracies or, 2) social learning planning, where the creative initiatives of many individuals is needed to bring about change. Korten calls these macro- and micro-policy reforms, respectively. The first type of reform is traditionally instituted from the top-down and associated with modes of thought that view development mainly in terms of resource transfers, usually disbursed by large donors or financial institutions. The second is connected with efforts from the bottom up, with a much higher level of complexity requiring the concerted decisions and actions of many independent agents cooperating together, where know-how and people-to-people contact are as important as the availability of funds. Macro-policy reform is relatively straightforward — a decision to grant agricultural subsidies or to lift import barriers on farm equipment provide examples of this type of reform. In contrast, micro-policy reform is quite complex because it attempts to create new patterns of interaction, such as starting an artisan's cooperative or making credit available to poor women for income generating activities where none existed before.

To depict how this type of reform is taking place the following paragraphs will describe the efforts of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. This rural bank provides a good example of a grassroots participatory NGO which grew organically from very small beginnings in 1976 to disbursing US \$1.3 mi. per month in loans to the poorest of the poor by 1987. The Grameen Bank is very unusual as a financial institution because it makes credit available only to landless or near landless people (those owning less than 0.5 acre of land), it requires no collateral, and 76% of its loanees are women. In addition, the borrowers own 75% of the Bank's equity.

The average bank loan is for US\$ 60, paid back weekly over the course of one year at commercial interest rates. The repayment rate on its close to 300,000 loans to Bangladesh peasants is an astonishingly high 98% in a country where most commercial banks are fortunate to recover half of their loans. Its unique lending policies account for much of this success. The bank lends money to individuals in groups of five people who support as well as exert peer pressure on each other. Only two members are given loans at the beginning to invest as they can – renting a plot of land, getting tools or a cow. With their returns on that money they repay the bank loan, so that the next two members of their group then get their loans. By the third month the last member of the group is usually eligible for her/his first loan. When one's loan is repaid one becomes eligible for the next one. But if any one member of the groups were to fail to make payments, then the whole group would lose its credit rating capabilities to become eligible for new loans. Such a system provides peer-pressure incentives to make payments on time rather than to spend money frivolously and it also provides peer support in cases of real need [Steward-Patterson, 1987: B19].

But the Bank is far more than a financial institution with an innovative economic development programme – it is a way of life. By the requirements necessary to obtain loans through the creation of solidarity groups of five members the Bank encourages certain behaviour, such as cooperation and mutual support, and discourages others, such as personal indulgence and lack of concern for others. Furthermore the Bank addresses crucial social issues in the lives of all its members through its social development programmes. These programmes create synergy linkages that address different aspects of short and long term realities of being poor, such as how many children to

have. what to feed them, or the benefits of educating children in the Bank centres' schools which run their classes before and after working hours and distribute learning materials at cost. These linkages are being made by the poor themselves who then create the organizational structures to meet their needs.

In Participation as Process – What We Can Learn from Grameen Bank, Bangladesh. Andreas Fuglesang and Dale Chandler demonstrate how people's participation is linked to the pragmatics of organizational development. The authors show how the poor are more than willing and able to participate in development efforts if social or organizational environments are designed to encourage their participation. The Bank's procedural and organizational structures stimulate personal discipline, resourcefulness, and integrity while at the same time emphasizing social unity, solidarity, and mutual help. To date the social development programme encouraging various forms of participation consists of three components: workshops for adult members, schools for children, and the availability of supplies and skill training for both. The figure below shows the sixteen decisions that members commit themselves to implement, a sort of social development constitution of the Grameen Bank designed in 1984 by 100 women representatives which is not an abstract ideological document but a programme for action. This social development function comprises a wide variety of activities which are integrated into almost all levels and units of the Bank, such as a mandatory Children's Welfare Fund small weekly contribution which is used to further their education through the creation of income-generating activities that the children run themselves.

Fig. 13 The 16 Decisions of the Grameen Bank

Source: Fuglesang/Chandler, 1987:127

It is through experiences such as the Grameen Bank's with the poorest of the poor which provide a synergistic interplay between participation and competent management that we are learning about the unlimited potential for

creativity, initiative, and self-help that human beings have. NGO's are the main conduits for such experiences. The wealth of these experiences and the importance of their contributions is becoming more and more relevant to the ongoing debate for better governance. Governance is a concept that encompasses more than government: "it is the sum of all cooperative human enterprises, at all levels and between all sectors. In the future, hierarchical, centralized 'authority' will give way to a network of interlocking levels of governance" [Barnaby, 1988: 238]. This is an idea that is gathering an increasing number of adherents. An example of one of its myriad applications is the proposal for a U.N. "peoples assembly".²⁷ NGO's would play a prominent role in this new body, if the efforts of such organizations as the International Network for a Second U.N. Assembly, based in London and New York, meet with success. This plan would have the advantage of bringing together in one forum peoples from local communities (rural, urban, or regional) as well as from transnational bodies (professional associations, transnational corporations, financial institutions) along the lines of commonality of interests rather than nation-state concerns.

This chapter on different aspects of participatory development implementation brings to a close the first (theoretical) part of this study. It aimed to portray the important relationship between micro and macro implementation strategies, the role of the state in acknowledging and fostering participatory efforts, the all-pervasive capabilities of networking, and the interconnectedness of participatory development and peace and security concerns. It also addressed new modes of communication and

learning that are instrumental in reverting our present crises by fostering third system creativity and participation; the crucial need to incorporate the users' desires and rights in technology issues , and; the important role of NGOs in formulating and implementing participatory strategies of development. The second (empirical) part is a case study of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, an NGO that has been creating and implementing a participatory approach to development for over three decades.

Notes to Chapter V

¹ It is a well known fact that the World Bank expects recipient governments to inculcate in their populations the Bank's understanding of development problems. Though I do not agree with such actions, I am here suggesting that until this influence is no longer exerted, it would be most beneficial if the Bank changed its orientation.

² In a Sufi story, a master is approached by two prospective disciples seeking instruction. Before granting them their wishes, the Sufi teacher asks them to perform a task. He gives each of them a chicken with the instruction: "Go and kill this chicken *where no one sees*, and then come back and report to me what you have done." The two students each go their way.

Shortly after one is back, reporting that having gone to an empty enclosed place he just wrung the chicken's neck. The other student, though, is gone for much longer, and when he eventually returns he is still carrying the chicken with him. When the master questions him he replies "I can't kill it, because no matter where I go, *the chicken always sees*." The master then accepts him as a suitable student to receive teachings. Sufis tell this story to illustrate that the chicken is our consciousness - it is always present and it always sees.

Being aware of the *chicken*, as the second student was, constitutes the fundamental difference. The rest is only a matter of time, personal propensities, and outward circumstances. But whoever holds the chicken, i.e. is aware of her/his consciousness, is transformed and can then, and only then, work with others at transforming our world.

³ Clodovis Boff describes the same process taking place in Brazil's CEBs (Comunidades Eclesias de Base or Christian Base Communities) in these words:

CEB's are not simply the means to attain something else - a liberated society. They are already an end - an end in process, insofar as they are the seeds of such a society. Whoever wants to harvest wheat must sow wheat, and not any other seed. That is why CEBs germinate a conscience that is fraternal and egalitarian. Because liberation is not only a matter of content but also of form. It is not only the result of the struggle but also the process of such struggle [Boff, 1980:611].

⁴ Hardoy and Satherwathwaite state:

The modern cities of the Third World expand senselessly. Their physical development seems to be limitless. They grow and deteriorate without receiving the attention that they need on the part of those who have the power to intervene to decrease the social and environmental costs which are the outcome of uncontrolled expansion. The cities of the Third World are at present in a very critical historical moment; this is an

integral part of an unprecedented transformation of the world economy which favours an evergrowing urban population. But the majority of the governments do not dare adopt the essential measures to face this transformation. They act upon partial and fragmentary information and with limited resources; though this is no excuse for them to adopt partial and fragmented solutions or to implement no measures. Many governments display such lack of respect for their citizens that one begins to wonder whether they accept their impotence or whether they care very little about their [citizens'] suffering.

... More open and participative forms of government are essential to face the problems of Third World cities, and this requires a frankness and honesty that hardly characterizes the actions of the majority of governments [Hardoy/Satterthwaite, 1987:90-1, emphasis added].

⁵ The questions asked were:

1. Are you willing to initiate national legislation which guarantees that your country's defence forces, including "military advisers", do not leave your territory for military purposes (other than in UN peacekeeping forces) – if all other Members of the UN undertake to do the same?
2. Are you willing to take steps to ensure that the development, possession, storage and employment of mass-destruction weapons, including nuclear weapons, which threaten to destroy the very conditions necessary to life on this earth, are forbidden in your country – if all other Members of the UN undertake to do the same?
3. Are you willing to take steps to prevent your country from allowing the supply of military equipment and weapons technology to other countries – if all other Members of the UN undertake to do the same?
4. Are you willing to work for a distribution of the earth's resources so that the fundamental necessities of human life, such as clean water, food, elementary health care and education are available to all people worldwide?
5. Are you willing to ensure that any conflict, in which your country may be involved in the future, will be settled by peaceful means as specified in Article 33 of the UN Charter, and not by the use of threat or force? [Barnaby, 1088:244-5].

⁶

... Tokugawa Japan did practice selective control. They utterly ceased weapons development – indeed, went backwards – and meanwhile they went ahead in dozens of other fields. Slowly, to be sure. Technological change occurred much more gradually in seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth century Japan than in the West. It may even have occurred at a rate better suited to the human mind. ... Japan was neither

decadent nor stagnant. . . at the very time that guns were phasing out, waterworks engineering had its real beginning in Japan. . . As for agriculture progress of many sorts occurred throughout the Tokugawa period. The two-bladed plow called the *nichogake* was introduced, the spiked-wheel potato planter, and the *kusakezuri* weeding machine. . .

Perrin goes on to describe advances in medicine (the first surgical operation in the world performed under general anesthesia), merchandizing (with packaging and pricing techniques while in the West similar goods were sold in bulk), and even theoretical fields such as mathematics. Japan had its own mathematical system called *wasan*. Takakasu, a contemporary of Newton and Leibnitz, independently developed a *wasan* method for solving cubic equations, and for dealing with negative and imaginary roots. He even introduced the concept of matrix in 1686, well ahead of Leibnitz's separate introduction of it to Europe. This list of advances could go on but this should be enough to illustrate that it was not due to lack of knowledge or know-how that Japan gave up firearms. Also to demonstrate that its civilization continued to flourish though it remained a steady-state society for three centuries [Perrin, 1979:84-91].

⁷ The exception that comes to mind would be mystical hermits, who though living in complete solitude, still are part of our human consciousness pool on this planet, and may be said to influence transformation processes without having recourse to what we normally call "communication".

⁸ By contrasting languages Fuglesang shows here additional evidence of the objectification of reality that took place with the advent of modernism in the West, associated with scientific/industrial world views. Yet if the task at hand as we enter the twenty first century is to evolve harmoniously unto a post-modern era, aren't the few remnants of pre-industrial cultures, cultures that conceptualize differently or that objectify less, the most precious living repositories of knowledge and wisdom conducive to, in Berman's words, the 'reenchantment' of our world? These are the cultures that mainstream development seems intent to obliterate, thus reducing our cultural 'genetic pool' of information and severely diminishing our chances of success. That is, collective human success.

⁹ This statement is akin to Fuglesang's example quoted above where he points to *week* being merely a *word* used to denote what is, ultimately, imaginary since it cannot be perceived from anything in reality. From this paper's philosophical perspective, relative reality differs from ultimate reality, by definition, because the former relies on concepts — and hence words — while the latter does not. An excellent source expounding this view is J.D. Willis' On Knowing Reality.

¹⁰ Some of these efforts led to the creation of communication networks such as the Pool of Agencies of the Non-Aligned Countries (1975), Acción de Sistemas Informativos Nacionales (ASIN, 1979), Asian-Pacific News Network (ANN,

1982), Pan-African News Agency (PANA, 1983), and Agencia Latinoamericana de Servicios Especiales de Información (ALESEI, 1984).

11 The present debate over television advertising is a good illustration and Jerry Mander (senior fellow at the Public Media Center in San Francisco), is a good example of some of those launching valid socio/economic critiques and working towards alternatives.

The main problem with television advertising is that it's an inherently undemocratic form of speech. You have the 100 largest corporations basically controlling all of television programming. They sponsor 85% of programming at this time. . . So unless you're a very large corporation, you don't get to speak through television as part of your 'free speech'. . . In my view [television] advertising is illegal, that is, unconstitutional. The framers of the constitution, when they spoke of the right to free speech, were dealing in a media context in which the 'media' were one-page news sheets, the spoken voice, handbills and travel. They were saying there should be no abridgement of *that*. . . So the current protection of [television] advertising under the Constitution – the Supreme Court decided to give corporate speech 'equal protection' to your voice and my voice, is totally preposterous, in my view. And if we found the right lawyers to take the case (and I've actually started hunting around for some), there could be a [hard-fought] case.

Point number two is that all advertising is inherently corrupt. By that I mean advertising by its nature tells you only one side of the story. I mean, no advertiser will ever say, 'Here are the good points, now let's tell you the bad points.'

A third point is that [television] advertising is inherently unfair. . . you have people spending \$6 million a year to advertise some sugary cereal that will do your liver in. And these commercials are being produced by 15 or 20 of the most intelligent, well-educated, highly-paid psychologists, sociologists, researchers, actors and actresses, cameramen. . . [Satin, 1988 (a):1].

The same article by Mark Satin reflected also the views of Stuart Ewen, professor of communications at Hunter College and author of Captains of Consciousness and All Consuming Images, linking television advertising directly to the kind of society we live in:

. . . You can say a good government would do away with advertising. But doing away with advertising [is inseparable from] doing away with an economy predicated on waste; doing away with a society predicated on consumerism; doing away with the media as we know them. . . [Satin, 1988(a):2].

12 Regarding this human gap this study makes clear that:

. . . In overall terms, while apparently still advancing, humankind is actually losing ground, and is going through a phase of cultural, spiritual and ethical, if not also existential, decline – thus turning the gap into a chasm [Botkin/Elmandjra/Malitza, 79:xiv-xv] .

13 There are some exceptions to this statement, as in the case of Waldorf education. With more than 450 schools worldwide, this is a fast-growing independent school movement. Based on the educational principles of Rudolf Steiner, it gives equal nourishment to the body, soul and spirit of the child through a holistic, non-competitive curriculum. The child is led to love the beauty of practical work and, at the same time, value individual judgment.

14 Elise Boulding states:

The keeping of records (accounts, state archives, and laboratory data), the making of maps, and the construction and reproduction of working models of machinery of all kinds, including social machinery, have been the primary skills underlying the activities of the Industrial Revolution. The stimulating experience of playing with ideas and materials to create new tools and new environments released higher levels of social energy into the Industrial Revolution itself. New skills were taught to the peasant populations that moved from rural fiefdoms to the new cities of Europe to become the workers in this revolution. Gradually this experimentation receded in importance. It was the production skills that mattered, not the social vision, not the mental play. The old Greek *pædia*, referring to an ideal of well-rounded education, was reduced to competency-based learning, with the competencies spanning a narrow range indeed [Boulding, 1988:84].

15 E. Boulding and Belenky et al address the question of different types of knowing, contrasting separate and connected knowing as follows:

... Belenky, Blythe, Godberger, & Tarule (1986), by studying women from all walks of life who have elected to return to some form of schooling, have shown how hard it is to become a "knower". The concept of *connected knowing*, knowing-in-relationship (as distinct from *separate knowing*) has emerged from their work. This type of knowing evolves over time, as Belenky et al see it. Because they have been oppressed as thinkers, it is a struggle for many women to conceive of themselves as knowers. They begin with a silent, non-verbal experience of reality; move on to receiving knowledge from an authoritative source; and then learn to listen to their own subjective, intuitive voice. Analytic reasoning comes after women learn to trust their own gut feelings. The conscious process of integrating information and constructing knowledge can then take place in a connected way, based on empathic understanding of the world of others. Many people never become connected knowers [Boulding, 1988:89-90, italics in the original, underlining added] .

Separate knowers learn through explicit formal instruction how to adopt a different lens – how, for example, to think like a sociologist. Connected knowers learn through empathy. Both learn to get out from

behind their own eyes and use a different lens, in one case the lens of a discipline, in the other the lens of another person.

. . . Connected knowing is not confined to the poor, the uneducated, or the soft-headed. Nor it is exclusively a female voice. We all encounter men, in person or in print, who speak in this voice. Separate and connected knowing are not gender-specific. The two modes may be gender-related: It is possible that more women than men tip toward connected knowing and more men than women toward separate knowing [Belenky et al, 1986: 102-3, 113] .

The findings of these researchers are very relevant to the field of development, since it is important that those engaged in these types of activities, whether it be administrators, academics, and specially people engaged in field work, be capable of integrating both modes of knowing.

16 In Shifting Worlds, Changing Minds, Hayward describes this process as follows:

The process of meditation is not the same as the conventional idea of introspection. Meditation differs from introspection in that the meditator is not looking 'inward' at something that is imagined to be 'my mind', and is not specifically interested in 'consciousness'. One simply allows mind to follow its own course and is directly aware of it as it comes and goes. It is akin to a naturalist looking for hours at a time, for days on end, at groundhogs in a field, popping in and out of their holes, until that naturalist becomes so familiar with their movements that he or she loses any feeling of separateness from them. At this point the naturalist may have direct insight into the behavior of groundhogs. In the case of mindfulness practice, one identifies with the process of one's own mind until one loses the "watcher"; the sense of being separate from one's own mind is lost. At that point the nature of mental processes is seen.

Mindfulness-awareness meditation is not merely subjective, although it clearly does not make the artificial and ultimately impossible distinction between subject and object that science is conventionally believed to make. It is not 'objective' but it is intersubjectively testable. It is a method that has been applied over and over again, with repeatable results [Hayward, 1987:192].

17 More information on PAR may be obtained from the Canadian Chapter of the Participatory Research Network, member of the International Council for Adult Education at 29 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M5R 1B2; or the Participatory Research Group, 229 College St., Toronto, Ontario M5T 1R4.

18 Among these adherents is Mikhail Gorbachev: "I believe that the idea of convening on a regular basis, under the auspices of the U.N., an assembly of public organizations, deserves attention" [Satin, 1989:4]. Also Canadian internationalist Maurice Strong: "We need a bi-cameral system in which directly elected representatives of peoples sit in one chamber and the representatives of governments in another [Barnaby, 1988:239]. The International Network for a Second U.N. Assembly is an organization specifically advocating this concept which circulated its fourth appeal at the U.N. Secretariat in 1988 and is planning to convene a key conference for 1990.

CHAPTER VI

SRI LANKA'S SARVODAYA MOVEMENT AND ITS APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

This chapter and the next constitute the empirical second part of this research, a case study of the Sarvodaya Movement's efforts at participatory development in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon). The present chapter will address the theoretical aspects and Chapter VII will focus on the implementation aspects of their approach. The material in this chapter covers the following topics: an overview of conditions in the island, a historical perspective of the Movement, Sarvodaya's theory of development, its holistic approach to awakening, its village development program, and its proposed national development program.

OVERVIEW OF CONDITIONS IN SRI LANKA

This "pearl of the Indian Ocean" is an island of approximately 66,000 km² (somewhat bigger than Nova Scotia but smaller than New Brunswick) with a population of 16 million people. Over 80 percent of its inhabitants live in approximately 24,000 rural villages. As is characteristic in many post-colonial societies (Sri Lanka regained its independence in 1948 after enduring four hundred and fifty years of foreign domination under the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the British) tensions between the urban and rural populations are strongly felt. These are due, in large measure, to colonial practices and subsequent development models which emphasized the supremacy of the former over the latter. The urban elite is English-speaking

and Westernized while the rural masses are mostly Singhalese or Tamil-speaking and still hold a more endogenous world-view.

The island is a classic example of a dual economy, with a large state-owned plantation sector (tea, rubber, and coconut) oriented to export and a peasant economy at near-subsistence level. Up to 70% of Sri Lanka's GNP is made up of exports of commodity cash crops which suffer greatly from unfavourable terms of trade and shrinking world markets for these products. Sri Lanka has two characteristics that are often mentioned in literature about the country: 1) an uninterrupted tradition of democratic multi-party political system, and 2) a higher PQLI (Physical Quality of Life Index) than countries having ten times its per capita yearly income of \$130. We shall see in the course of this chapter that these two characteristics might be disguising a different, less glamorous reality than the one usually portrayed at first glance.

The tradition of universal suffrage dates back to 1931. Since independence political parties¹ contending for votes have had to favour certain sectors of the electorate, such as low income heavily unionized urban workers and the peasantry, which comprises 80% of the total population. Vying for these votes the government's post-independence social development policies placed a lot of emphasis on education and health. Education is free till the tertiary level (though gaining access to it is a different matter), and free health services include maternity services, hospitalization facilities and free drugs. In addition, free food rations have been given to those who qualify under various government schemes. Such policies have rendered cumulative effects, as represented by a PQLI rating of 83/100, an aggregate measurement of life expectancy, literacy, and death rates

[Mattis, 1978:1]. They have also had regrettable consequences, among them the fostering of: a) attitudes of dependence on the welfare state rather than on creativity and self-help and, b) wide-spread personal and societal corruption along divisive party lines that compete for votes by promising what, in most cases, the state can no longer deliver. In an article appearing in the Marga Institute Review Ann Mattis cites the PLQI figures yet she comments:

The intangible element which pushes, sustains and ever refines a process of real development seems to be lacking in Sri Lanka. Development is more than welfare, the latter being perhaps only one stage or component of a development process. Obviously people must have access to the elements necessary to provide food, clothing and shelter. But what are some of the other features required to complete the process? Or, how can movement to the next stage be programmed? [Mattis, 1978:4, emphasis added].

Movement to the next stage is urgently needed since the State coffers are badly depleted by declining prices of its export commodities and the escalating costs of armed strife to keep up the disbursements of the welfare state. In other words, now that the ideal of an over-protective and somewhat affluent post W.W. II centralized welfare state is no longer feasible, what other paths to development remain open to Sri Lankan society which give primacy to the needs of its citizens? Some possible answers to these questions are discussed in this chapter's presentation of the Sarvodaya Movement's approach to development.

But before they can be addressed this brief overview of conditions in Sri Lanka cannot overlook to mention the present armed strife that colours every aspect of the nation's reality and has profound effects on development work. What began as an attempt at separatism by a Tamil faction centred around the Northern province of Jaffna against the Colombo central government has

reached civil war proportions that by now has left no Sri Lankan's life untouched. This "racial" situation, as it is called in the country, is compounded by non-Tamil terrorist activities against both the State and the separatist forces by extreme nationalist groups, such as the People's Liberation Front, that act against one or the other whenever a distant possibility of compromise between the two major antagonists arises. This situation is aggravated further by India's pressure upon Sri Lanka, a result of its hegemonic policies in what it considers its zone of influence as evidenced by the presence of Indian troops on the island [George, 1987:47].

Development processes are severely hampered by the extremely high costs of this protracted guerrilla war, both in human lives and financial resources diverted towards military expenditures. The present daily death toll is 150-200 people.² It is estimated that close to 20,000 people have been killed in the past six years of armed conflict. The cost to the Sri Lankan treasury for military outlays has been estimated at \$ 1 million a day [Gordon, 1986]. Tourism, another major source of revenue for the island, has dwindled while the figures for the external debt are on the rise.³

The internal conditions that led to the strife must be understood in terms of the socio-economic and political relations that exist among the various sectors of this multicultural society. Sri Lanka's population is made up of a variety of ethnic and religious groups. Fig. 14 shows the various social groups and religions in the island. It portrays from centre to periphery: 1) ethnic groups, 2) languages, 3) religions and, 4) castes. The surfaces are proportional to the size of each group. The map points to the area where each

ethnic group is the majority. The position of each sub-group with regard to the four criteria may be read along any radius of the circle.

Fig. 14
SRI LANKA'S SOCIAL CONFIGURATIONS

Source: Mattis, 1978:27

The secessionist Tamil faction claims that the Colombo central government represents mainly the interests of the Sinhalese, who comprise 70% of the population. Though the roots of the grievances may be said to be socio-economic, the opposing factions may also be identified by religious

criteria: the Sinhalese are primarily Buddhist and the Tamils mostly Hindu. There are also minority sectors of the population who are Christian due to colonial missionary influence and Moslem, mostly descendants of Indian colonial troops which the English imported into Ceylon.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE SARVODAYA MOVEMENT

The preceding paragraphs describing conditions in Sri Lanka provide the setting for the description of the activities of the Sarvodaya Movement, a participatory development approach endogenous to that country. The following paragraphs will offer a historical perspective of the movement as it pertains to a tradition in Sri Lanka seeking to re-establish a sense of cultural identity. This identity is intricately connected with a Buddhist world-view.

An important distinction need be made here regarding the terms Buddhist and Buddhism as they apply to the subject of this study. I distinguish between the *world-view or philosophical system* of Buddhism and the application of the practical aspects of this system as manifested in the Buddhist *religion*. For the purpose of clarity it should be mentioned that when using these terms in reference to development matters what is meant is the world-view aspect. The religious interpretation occurs less frequently in this paper, mostly in a historical context. To illustrate, major elements of the Buddhist world-view such as belief in the law of cause and effect (*karma*) and its corollary, reincarnation, are held in common with Tamils, since they stem from Indian origins, but the latter profess the Hindu religion. The Sarvodaya Movement's world view and philosophy are undoubtedly Buddhist, while the application of the practical aspects of the Movement's philosophy and

paradigm of development may be interpreted and carried out by people of different religious or humanistic persuasions. ⁴

The movement originated in 1958 when Ahangamane Tudor Ariyaratne, then a teacher at Nalanda College in Colombo, organized with other teachers and students an "Experimental Work Camp". A great deal of preparation went into this camp's efforts which derived their inspiration from Rabindranath Tagore's words:

Whenever the people of a single village will have learned effectively to combine for the promotion of the health, education, employment and enjoyment of life of each and all within the village, they will have lighted a torch in the path of Swaraj (self-realization) for the whole country. Therefore, it will not be difficult to light one torch from another and so Swaraj will advance by itself along the route of multi-sided development illuminated by its spirit of self-reliance [S. M. Felicitation Volume, 1981:8].

The camp took place at Kanatholuwa, a very poor village whose inhabitants belonged to the "untouchable" Rodiya caste. The camp volunteers dug wells and latrine pits, put up houses for the homeless and cleaned up the environment. The main objective was to start an awakening process in the village by living temporarily with the villagers, learning about their needs, and working with them in projects that utilized self-help methods and emphasized personal and collective well-being. Sri Lanka, as many other agriculture-based societies, has a long history of self-help through the pooling of resources. These became known by different names at different times ("Samudan", "Kaiya", "Antham", "Rajakariya" or "Athmopakaraya"). The activities carried on at Kanatholuwa came to be known as Shramadana, which has now become a household word in Sri Lanka, (Shramadana will be discussed in more detail under the implementation section of the case study) and the movement was originally called the Shramadana Movement.

Another important influence in those formative years is connected to Mahatma Gandhi's Sarvodaya thought and Vinobha Bhave's Bhoodan-Gramadan Movement in India. Ariyaratne spent two days in a Vinobha Bhave village camp in 1959 yet the setting and subsequent development of Sarvodaya thought and implementation in India and Sri Lanka are markedly different. (A detailed narrative contrasting both movements is found in Detlef Kantowsky's book: Sarvodaya: The Other Development). The word *Sarvodaya* is a synthesis of two Sanskrit words: *sarva*, which means all, and *udaya*, which translates as awakening. Therefore, Sarvodaya means the *awakening of all*, or the *welfare of all*. In an account of these early years Ariyaratne explains:

We do not allow our national pride to stand in our way when we choose to accept the best of any culture. While the word "Sarodaya" with its literal meaning was adopted from India, the interpretation of its deep meaning as relevant to our own Sinhala Buddhist culture and national population is completely our own. We have our own indigenous character both in thought and action as far as the Ceylon Movement is concerned [Ariyaratne Vol I, n.d.:46].

Ariyaratne recounts how the Sarvodaya thought in Sri Lanka was also taking shape as part of a Buddhist nationalist revival in the spheres of art, music, drama, literature, and religion triggered by the 2500th. Buddha Jayanti Anniversary in 1956. Different welfare and community organizations were formed at this time and Sarvodaya thought also emerged during this period.

It is essential, therefore, when looking at the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement to understand fully its connection to the age-old tradition of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. As shown in Fig. 15 Sri Lanka is the country with the longest uninterrupted history of Buddhist tradition. The present Buddhist population comprises sixty-eight percent of the island's inhabitants [Macy,

1985:n.p.] but what is more significant is that the world view of Buddhism has permeated the culture of the island in its many facets — social relationships, economic views, political structure, arts, literature, architecture and education — and has played a significant role throughout its history, even at its lowest point during the four and a half centuries of colonial rule. Other names given to the island before its occupation by Europeans were "Dharma Dveepa or Land of Righteousness" (*Dharma* is a Sanskrit word with a variety of meanings, such as righteousness, the teachings of the Buddha, the universal law akin to the Chinese *tao*, reality, or truth) and "Danyagara or Land of Plenty"; both of these terms have become ideals cherished in the mind of Sarvodaya members.

Though severely curtailed by the country's Christian colonial powers, Buddhism remained intimately connected with the island's sense of cultural heritage and national identity. In his article "Buddhism and Mass Politics in Burma and Ceylon" Heinz Bechert states: "Undoubtedly, religion was the most effective single factor preserving the feeling of national unity in the Buddhist countries during the period of colonial rule" [Bechert, 1974:152].

Fig. 15

Source: Robinson, R.H. and W.L. Johnson, 1982:108

The Portuguese and the Dutch, having occupied mostly coastal regions, could not do more than impose Christian codes of conduct in those areas. The severest blow to the Buddhist way of life was inflicted by the British, who won control over the entire island in 1818 when the highland Kandyan kingdom, the last Sinhalese-ruled stronghold of the country, surrendered after long struggle to their rule. Though the Kandyan Convention of 1815 guaranteed in its fifth clause that "the Religion of Buddhoo, its rites, ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected" [de Silva, 1981:321] since the connection between the State and Buddhism was hallowed by tradition, the British reneged this obligation throughout their occupation of the island. Not only did the British overlords withdraw the traditional royal support for Buddhist religious activity and, in cases persecuted it and expropriated temple

lands, but most importantly they passed on to the Sri Lankan youth through the educational system their contempt for this ancient religion, their culture, their language, their race and their colour. ⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that a strong nationalist sentiment has swung the pendulum to the other extreme in post-colonial times. This issue is of direct relevance to development efforts in former colonies as it affects their understanding of the meaning of "independence". The search for and identification with endogenous values and transcendental beliefs restores a sense of dignity and identity lost under colonial subjugation and essential for development processes to take place. These values and beliefs not only set the cosmological vision and the parameters within which what is meant by "development" may emerge, but they also provide the integrative and motivational means whereby such vision may be put into practice. ⁶

It is in this context that the Sarvodaya Movement's theory of development, rooted in Buddhist values and beliefs, accords with the past, present, and possible future realities of life in Sri Lanka. This statement is based on an analysis of conditions in the island which may be summarized as follows: a) the tolerant view of Buddhism towards other philosophic-religious systems (see Reference 4), b) the special, long-standing tradition of Ashokan Buddhism endogenous to Sri Lanka since the third century B.C., and c) the resurgence of this tradition in this century as exemplified by the "Buddhist revival" of Anagarika Dharmapala before independence and the "Buddhist socialism" characteristic of Sri Lankan state policies since independence.

There seems to be general agreement that Buddhism, both in philosophy and practice, has been prone to peaceful co-existence with other belief systems since its inception. Jayatileke remarks:

Not a drop of blood has been shed throughout the ages in the propagation and dissemination of Buddhism in the many lands to which it spread and religious wars either between the schools of Buddhism or against other religions have been unheard of. Very rare instances of the persecution of heretical opinions are not lacking but they have been exceptional and atypical [Jayatileke, 1975:1].

In this regard it is deplorable that the present protracted warfare in the island is sometimes misrepresented (similar to Ireland's case) as a religious conflict when, in essence, it is primarily a socio-economic and political dispute. dealing with such issues as self-governance, allocation of resources, language and education issues, and employment availability. It so happens that the two factions belong to groups holding different religious views but the reasons underlying the conflict are not rooted in such views. In fact, the ethical codes of conduct held in common by most religious beliefs do not sanction the use of force and coercion, though these injunctions have been trespassed on numerous occasions by different "religious" aggressors, such as the African, European and Asiatic invasions by Moslem hordes and the "discovery" and conquest of the Americas by Christians. One of the principal tenets of Buddhism is the sanctity of life — all life. Inflicting pain or destroying life by one's thoughts, speech, or actions are discouraged by all schools of Buddhism. It is noteworthy that in this regard many of the Sri Lankan government's policies fail to comply with the Buddha's teachings and cannot be condoned or justified under Buddhist views.

Sri Lanka's Buddhism officially belongs to the Theravada or early school of the Buddha's "first turning of the wheel of Dharma". Nevertheless, present in it are salient aspects of the Mahayana or the "second turning", particularly evident in Sarvodaya's thought and implementation. Buddhism in Sri Lanka goes back to the third century B.C. when the Indian Emperor Ashoka sent his eldest son Mahendra and his eldest daughter Sanghamitra as well as his daughter's son, Sumana, on different missions to Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's Mahavamsa chronicles relate that when the emperor brought the Third Buddhist Council to an end (circa 250 B.C.) he dispatched peaceful emissaries of Buddhism "one here and one there" to as far as Greece, Kashmir, the Himalayas, and Sri Lanka [Mookerji, 1972: 32-5].

Ashokan Buddhism, though largely unknown except by specialists in the West, is a tradition of tremendous impact in the history of Buddhist thought and its implementation.⁷ Of particular relevance to development issues is the fact that Emperor Ashoka's reign marks the first instance of a wide-spread "Buddhist society" that in many ways sets a precedent and provides elements which may be updated and used as an "ideal" to strive towards. Though Lord Buddha had converted the feudal "kings" Pasenadi and Bimbisara while he travelled expanding his new doctrine through their kingdoms, this just meant that the local authorities were very sympathetically inclined towards him, his teachings, and his new community of mendicant monks and nuns known as the Sangha. It was not until two and a half centuries later that the first attempt to make the life of the state conform to the principles of the Dharma, as the Buddha's teachings are called, was to take place.

Emperor Ashoka, third member of the Mauryan dynasty, whose grandfather Chandragupta had consolidated a vast Indian empire extending from the borders of Persia to as far South as modern Goa and eastward to the Ganges delta, converted to Buddhism and devoted most of his reign to implementing a Buddhist concept of the state and to the furthering of social righteousness. His efforts mark a golden epoch of Buddhism and the beginning of a tradition of lay practices of tremendous relevance in all spheres of social, political, and economic life which continues to this day. Max Weber's conclusions about Buddhism, one ventures to say, would have been quite different had he not confined his analysis to tenets of the Theravada cannon, mostly applicable to mendicant monks, but instead incorporated the Ashokan tradition of lay Buddhism as well as the social consequences of the teachings contained in the Mahayana or "second turning of the wheel".

As emperor of the greater part of the Indian sub-continent Ashoka did not attempt to convert to Buddhism all the disparate ethnic and religious groups under his rule. Archaeological records in the form of edicts engraved on monumental columns and rock surfaces over the expanse of his domain show that he ruled, instead, complying and enforcing different aspects of the perennial philosophy and moral code held as a common thread of human decency by all societies throughout time. Mookerji in his book Asoka distinguishes the following characteristics of what he calls *sara*, or the common essence of all religions: a) toleration, based on understanding of other people's religious beliefs and restraint of speech; b) self-examination and reflection as a means to moral progress; both are based on c) self-exertion, the only way to attain the goal. The most important element of Ashoka's philosophy of the state entrusts it with the function of creating and

maintaining the necessary conditions so that people may gain spiritual liberation, i.e. fulfill their human potential, no matter what faith they profess. According to inscriptions of his imperial edicts, Ashoka's efforts at increasing his subjects' well-being in social, economic, and political matters were carried out with the intent that they may lead a righteous life, working towards their personal and collective salvation.

The influence of this Ashokan legacy is unmistakably present in the Sarvodaya Movement's theory of development. This quest for a society based on principles that foster human decency and the best in human nature constitutes the core of their work. For a Sarvodaya member this path is not a utopia in the sense of being philosophical speculation or mental fabrication, but a reality that starts from the individual practice of this way of life whether they are female or male, poor or rich, old or young.⁸ In the process of individually and collectively living this way, the Movement's philosophy began to emerge as people changed themselves and effected change in their environment. As a result of convictions put into practice, these practices in turn show them what next steps to take. This epitomizes the organic nature of Sarvodaya's critical theory approach to development.

If we focus now on the more immediate past, we find further evidence in Sri Lanka during the twentieth century that attests to the vitality of Buddhist ideals and the important function that they perform. During the last decades of the nineteenth century an important Buddhist revival took place. The outstanding figure in this movement was Anagarika Dharmapala, a layman who devoted his life to its cause. Dharmapala was well versed in Buddhist doctrine and a sincere practitioner; an eloquent speaker and writer,

his works were very influential not only in Sri Lanka but also abroad. During his early years he became associated with two foreigners, Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, who had founded the Theosophical Society. This international organization helped to bring legitimacy to Buddhism both in the West, towards which it was expanding among the intelligentsia of Europe and North America, and in its cradle nations of the East, where it had been discredited by overzealous Christian missionaries and the colonial administration.

The most important contribution of this movement in Sri Lanka was the creation of a modern Buddhist educational system which became favored by the Sri Lankan elite over its British Christian counterpart. It was significant in that it paved the way — through education — for the subsequent expressions of massive discontent against colonial rule. An important result of this change in the educational system was the discovery of "the potential of Buddhism for mobilizing mass support for political purposes", as described in "The Western-Educated Elite and Buddhism in British Ceylon: A Neglected Aspect of the Nationalist Movement" [Fernando, 1973:23]. This educational system partially bridged the gap between the Buddhist peasantry and elite by uniting them in a common national cause against the Christian oppressor. It is important to note in this context that the ethical codes of conduct sanctioned by Buddhism and Christianity are very similar (extolling virtues such as love, understanding, and compassion), and that genuine practitioners of these religions co-exist without problems with each other. True adherence to religious or humanistic ethical behaviour does not exclude co-existence — it encourages it. Problems arise when these virtues are not "lived" by people

and differences become instruments of divisiveness to be exploited for ulterior purposes.

Just as the early years of Sri Lankan recorded history are intricately linked with Buddhism (the Ashokan emissaries brought the alphabet which was later modified and adopted by the islanders), so are events preceding and following independence from colonial rule.⁹ Even though Buddhism has not been established as a state religion in Sri Lanka, the major ingredients of what S.J. Tambiah calls "Buddhist Socialism" characterize the views and most practices that post-independence governments have tended to either pay lip service to or truly attempt to follow. They constitute a combination of ideas associated with the classical Ashokan era and are synthesized with Marxism and European socialism. Among them one finds:

- the Ashokan objective that the people be ensured material satisfaction and prosperity so that peace be guaranteed and that morality and spirituality may flourish;
- the ideal that the Sangha (as the orders of monks or nuns is called) is democratic and property belongs to it as a collectivity, thus providing the model for the larger society based on egalitarian, democratic, and socialist practices;
- the notion that socialism is a lesser truth than Buddhism since it is mainly concerned with deliverance from material needs while the latter addresses spiritual needs. Yet the first set of needs is to be met before one may tackle the second [Tambiah, 1973:17].¹⁰

Having thus sketched the historical connections of the Sarvodaya Movement in the context of Sri Lankan society, the following quote seems

appropriate in order to conclude and summarize this section: "Modernity, to Dharmapala, is not the antithesis of tradition but a rediscovery of the essence of tradition and its reintegration in national life" [Gokhale, 1973:39]. Were we to change the terms "modernity" for development and "Dharmapala" for Ariyaratne, this would provide a useful perspective upon which to base the analysis of Sarvodaya's holistic theory of participatory development, the subject addressed in the section that follows.

SARVODAYA'S THEORY OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

As noted in Chapter I, paradigm shifts occur when the consequences of following an obsolete paradigm lead to a situation of crisis. The following passage, excerpted from an address delivered by Ariyaratne at a Food-Crisis Workshop in the Philippines in 1977, exemplifies the Sarvodaya Movement's views about the critical conditions we are faced with when addressing development issues:

In Sri Lanka, the old social order achieved for it and ensured the establishment of a contented, dignified and satisfied people, for centuries on end. With the advent of commercialism from the West and the subsequent conquests of our land by foreigners, the old order broke down without being replaced by a viable new one. The values, technologies and socio-economic political structures were never replaced as a coherent whole resembling the old stable society where the elements of individual, family, village or national life fitted one into the other most beautifully and functioned as a harmonious whole.

This then is the real crisis — man and his society, his environment and knowledge running amok like a dislocated planetary system ending up in collisions and destructions. We therefore experience food crises, energy crises, pollution crises and a myriad other crises which are merely the symptoms of a deeper basic crises — a psychological crisis in the very essence of our civilization. In this context, I believe, that the

only hope lies in man's quest to rediscover himself and his society from the point of a total human personality, a total family unit, a total rural or urban group, and a total global family. Simultaneously, there should be a process of elimination of contradictions which have given rise to inequalities [Ariyaratne Vol I, n.d.: 76, emphasis added].

Proponents of new paradigms, therefore, invariably base their new approach on an exposition of the failures that they attempt to rectify. The passage presented above portrays an idealized state of affairs in Sri Lanka which sceptics may contend, legitimately or not, was not the case. It is hard to ascertain how people really lived in pre-colonial Sri Lanka, traveller's accounts and archaeological records notwithstanding, since these can be made to support either side of an argument. What is important is that by evoking an "ideal" past Ariyaratne is able, through the process of "imaging", to set the tone of the discussion and lead his audience to the next step which is the vivid contrast of Sri Lanka's, (and the rest of the world's) reality at present, with that of a more desirable holistic ideal. This passage attributes a common root to all the different crises being experienced, that is, an inner human crisis. This crisis may be solved only when the inner being is inwardly "whole" again and living holistically in the world. This is an important characteristic of the movement's theory of development as well as of the Buddha's philosophy of liberation.

A second or outer characteristic that distinguishes Sarvodaya's approach to development is the need for participation, since whoever is working on one's personal liberation, sooner or later, is likely to be motivated to work towards the liberation of others. Within a Buddhist context this shift in emphasis is exemplified by the difference between the teachings and

practices of the first and second "turning of the wheel". In the first instance the Theravada ideal towards which practitioners strive is embodied in the Arhat, one who by his own strenuous endeavours has attained enlightenment or nirvana, sometimes equated with cessation (i.e. the cessation of ignorance, passion, and aggression). By contrast, the ultimate Mahayana ideal is the compassionate Bodhisattva, a practitioner who strives towards her/his own enlightenment by assuming responsibility not only for her/his own liberation but for all life. The Bodhisattva 'postpones' personal attainment of nirvana until she/he has indefatigably helped all sentient beings attain it; this attitude is expressed in the Bodhisattva Vow which reflects the Mahayana motivation in life:

Sentient beings are numberless;
 I vow to save them all.
 Delusions are inexhaustible;
 I vow to end them all.
 The gates of the Dharma are manifold;
 I vow to enter them all.
 The Buddha-way is supreme;
 I vow to complete it
 [Wilson Ross, 1980:48].

Participation, therefore, is inherent and very central to the Mahayana way of life, where a person treading the Bodhisattva path in order to seek enlightenment does so by practicing "engaged Buddhism". Engaged in what?, one may ask. Engaged in participating and encouraging others' participation in any and all efforts leading to personal and societal awakening or liberation. This resembles, in outward characteristics, the role of the Citizen of the third system referred to in earlier chapters.

Ariyaratne's critique of mainstream non-participatory development theories and practices is based on the loss of control of the common woman or man over the "the ideas, technologies, strategies, and structures that are imposed upon them from the outside"[Ariyaratne, A.V.:32]. This non-participatory detrimental state of affairs becomes worse when people are made accountable for the consequences of ideas and actions they did not initiate through systems of partisan democracy that have become mechanistic exercises devoid of human values. Due to the central role of this critique in Sarvodaya's approach to development it is offered here verbatim:

Unfortunately development as practiced in much of post-independent Asian society appears to be an elitist exercise that has pushed common people to an increasing state of dependency and nonparticipation in the decision-making processes that affect their lives.

An increasing disparity is evident between the intuitive understanding of the common people as to what development is about, and the organized knowledge and predetermined expectations of the privileged in society pertaining to development. The social cost in terms of political and communal violence, moral degeneration, economic stagnation, and increased poverty has been very heavy. These are evident in Sri Lanka as in most other Asian societies and are a consequence of the violence to our values and social institutions thrust upon our societies by an inappropriate development path. This violence is revealed in:

1. The loss of faith the individual has suffered in himself or herself.
2. A life based upon a reliance on the less worthwhile goals such as acquisition and possession of material wealth, power, position, and status and over-indulgence in the pleasures of the senses.
3. The adoption of anti-social and immoral means such as violence, competition, corruption, and exploitation in order to achieve these goals.
4. The disintegration suffered by society as a consequence of the divisiveness of caste, class, creed, race, and party politics.

4

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

5. The maldistribution and improper utilization of the factors of production vis-a-vis land, labor, capital, organization, and human resources, and the resulting failure to achieve the maximum welfare of one and all in a society whose population is increasing rapidly
6. The complete faith that is placed in the efficacy of large scale organization in the field of politics, finance, commerce and industry.
7. Excessive dependence that is placed on an export-import economy based on cash crops instead of on the sounder economy of self-reliance.
8. The subservience of the village to the city or town.
9. Relying too much on the ability of the politician and the administrator to solve both material and spiritual problems of society, while failing to evoke the inherent strength of the people to solve their own problems.
10. Failure on the part of our leadership to understand that in the performance of their public duties they themselves have to obey the very moral laws that are recognized to be applicable to the individual.
11. Lack of an integrated and coherent plan of national development giving every individual a place in its formulation and implementation [Ariyaratne A.V., 1986:32-3].

Sri Lankan society is, undoubtedly, in a critical situation at the moment. It is to the credit of Ariyaratne and his colleagues that they could foresee as far back as three decades ago that there was an impending need to change their society's orientation and paradigm of development. By forging a different path both in theory and implementation, a path which attempts to connect Sri Lanka's future with its past by incorporating tradition as well as change in the envisioning and carrying out stages, this original group of educators and students has grown over the past thirty years to become a pan-Sri Lankan Movement incorporating about three million Sinhalese, Tamils,

and Muslims (out of a total population of 16 million) in their development activities. These Sri Lankan citizens are participating in various ways and to varying degrees in Sarvodaya activities in approximately 5,600 villages as well as in cities and towns. Their holistic and organic approach to development encompasses by now a synergistic panoply of interests such as village and urban development schemes, development education, welfare work, relief services, rehabilitation, economic enterprises, rural technical services, legal aid services, a women's movement, a development research institute, children's services, peace efforts and community-based health services. These are shown in chart form in Sarvodaya's Annual Service Summary, excerpted from their 29th. Annual Service Report in Appendix VII. Referring to the beginnings of the movement in 1958 Ariyaratne stated: "In a way we were motivated by the sense of a social justice and a yearning desire to search for our own roots"[Ariyaratne Vol. III, 1985:59]. This statement seems as applicable today as it was in those early years.

What is Sarvodaya's appeal? What is it doing for individuals and for Sri Lanka's society? What is its 'philosophy'? What activities does it undertake? This research attempts to answer these questions based on a survey of the literature on the Movement available in English and on personal observation, written materials, and data gathered through interviews during my field trip to Sri Lanka in 1986, plus additional updates in the course of subsequent conversations with A.T. Ariyaratne in Ottawa. The field data addresses further questions pertaining specifically to participation, such as who participates? what kind of participation takes place? how is participation occurring? The first set of questions will be addressed in the remaining part of this chapter;

the second, comprising the analysis of the field data, is the subject of Chapter VII.

SARVODAYA'S HOLISTIC APPROACH TO AWAKENING

Sarvodaya's philosophy of development equates it with awakening, enlightenment, or liberation. It points to a two-fold objective every individual should strive for. First, within one's own discursive mind or thought processes there are certain defilements that one must become aware of and strive to cleanse. Second, individuals live in society and one must become aware of unjust or immoral socio-economic activities that prevent access to a vast majority of people to their fundamental human rights. In Ariyaratne's words:

Thus, a dual revolution pertaining to an individual's mental make-up and to the social environment in which he lives is kept foremost in the Sarvodaya Shramadana worker's mind and behavior.

The process of education or enlightenment or development of the personality of an individual to the fullest we call 'paurushodaya'. Only those who have as their supreme goal the development of their personality to the fullest can in the long-run show others the way to the path to liberation from the spiritual and moral lapses and socio-economic ills that humanity is faced with today [Ariyaratne Vol.I, n.d.:47].

From this original effort at self-awakening or *Paurushodaya*, Sarvodaya envisions and works towards the awakening of village units or *Gramodaya*, expanding to national awakening or *Deshodaya*, and culminating in efforts at *Vishvodaya* or global awakening. This is a holistic approach that views personal development as intricately connected with one's family and one's village or urban environment which, in turn, provide the basis for

national development activities and global development efforts. In their Ethos and Workplan, they state: "Therefore, all the programs and projects of the Movement have a built-in spiritual cum cultural cum social element as a pre-requisite to material development" [SM, n.d.:5].

This synergistic approach aims at healing the basic imbalance or alienation experienced by individuals before attempting to balance our relationship with the phenomenal world. This is a fundamental tenet of the Sarvodaya Movement deeply rooted in its transcendental values which aim at the development of the whole human being and provide the underlying philosophy for its myriad activities. In this approach endogenous development truly starts within, not only within societies, but within ourselves.

The importance of this starting point has not escaped the attention of other development practitioners as well. The journal International Development Review focused an entire issue on this topic in 1980, entitled "Development from Within — The Interior Dimension: Where it All Begins". In its introduction, Robin Sharp wrote:

. . .there are signs today from all corners of the world of a desired rapprochement between man and his spiritual self. The signs are still confused, often discordant, and may on the surface reflect widely varying motives, but they have in common the search for a higher level of consciousness, an inner truth transcending the *maya* of the material world. It may not be too much to hope that this awakening could foreshadow a reconciliation between intellectual Man and his estranged "other half" (or, more correctly, his other two-thirds, since the emotional and spiritual centres of being are properly regarded as distinct and equal with the intellectual).

What emerges clearly . . . is an understanding held by people of many faiths and cultures that this reunion of man with himself — or at least

progress towards it — is the essential starting-point of all human development. In other words, endogenous development in the fullest, not merely the societal, sense of that term. And at this level, perhaps, the development community could do worse than to remind itself of the injunction *Physician, heal thyself*, bearing in mind that half-men will never teach others how to become whole [Sharp, 1980:26, italics in the original, underlining added].¹¹

This holistic interpretation of endogenous development is reflected in Ariyaratne's definition of the term which succinctly states the Movement's approach:

I would define development as a process of awakening. This awakening should simultaneously take place within individuals, families, other small human groups, village and urban communities, national communities, and the world community. Also this awakening should be an all-embracing and an integrated process in which man's spiritual, moral, cultural, social, political, and economic life is inextricably involved [Ariyaratne Vol. III, 1985:41].

What is this process of awakening? If one applies it to oneself, it is a three dimensional, integrated process that takes place in one's psycho-physical entity, one's personality. First, one must awaken to the real nature of 'who am I?' One must search for answers beyond one's name and social status and commence to toil one's inner field. Secondly, how does one awaken to the realities of society with all its complexities? At this stage one engages in activities which foster a societal environment favouring the pursuit of personal and collective awakening. And third, one does not neglect the realities of one's natural environment but gradually expands one's awareness as part of an ecosystem that includes both animate and inanimate elements which constitute the world we share and whose presence and function must be taken into account [Ariyaratne Vol. III, 1985:73].

Sarvodaya's philosophy is a unique blend of traditional and futuristic views. While it draws heavily upon the imagery, customs, and values honored by Sri Lankan traditional culture the Movement views itself as evolutionary, directly conducive to a post-modern society. Ariyaratne's statements on this topic have a touch of revolutionary fervor and might lead many to raise skeptical eyebrows when, echoing Toffler's Third Wave thinking mentioned in Chapter III, he declares:

We commence our work with the most deprived in our societies and totally depend on their leadership to initiate the processes that will lead to a post-modern society. As the well known Gandhian scholar, the late Prof. Sugatha Das Gupta mentioned, our effort is not to build an alternative society but to proceed from the old society, that is from where we are, to a post-modern society in a continuum. We have named this a no-poverty society and we propose to by-pass the modern society which we believe is neither sustainable nor possible for all people in the world to attain.

... So the choice before the world, and the poor in particular, is very clear. The task of building the new society, the post-modern society, is clearly the responsibility of the people who are poor and powerless and yet who have the intelligence and insight to realize the barrenness of a consumer-oriented mass production violent society. The poor and the powerless paradoxically enough are the least confused and perplexed [Ariyaratne Vol. III, 1985:121-2].

It is appropriate to add that Sarvodaya's revolution is a non-violent one. The Movement is committed to the principles of truth and non-violence; on this topic Ariyaratne declares:

Violent social structures give rise to injustice and therefore need to be changed. The caste system is one example. Another is the economic system which benefits a few and oppresses many. Still another is the political system which vests political power in the hands of a few and violates the human rights of many. Therefore, those of us who believe in non-violence and justice and wish to change these existing social, economic and political structures, seek to do so from the grassroots level upward through techniques that will bring about alternative non-violent structures. It is for this reason that we say that the Sarvodaya Movement is a non-violent revolutionary movement.

In a way similar to structural violence, personal violence arises from personal conflicts in society. Then, we can see that violence can occur

in society due to the combined effects of structural and personal factors. At Sarvodaya we seek to overcome these three types of violence. We address structural violence by structural change, personal violence by spiritual awakening and structural-personal violence by combining science and morality [Ariyaratne Vol. IV, 1989: 251-2, emphasis added].

Sarvodaya's non-violent revolution is deeply engrained in Buddhist principles. Among these principles are the basic teachings which describe the nature of one's life or human reality known as the Four Noble Truths:

1. *Dukka* or general dissatisfaction, sometimes also translated as suffering, is a condition of all existence.
2. Human beings are afflicted by dukkha because they are possessive, greedy, and above all, self-centred.
3. However, this egocentrism, possessiveness, and greed can be understood, overcome and rooted out.
4. Such rooting out or vanquishing can be brought about by following a simple and reasonable way of life, a Noble Eightfold Path of behavior in thoughts, words, and actions. ¹²

This analysis of condition, cause, cure, and method to be followed is an intrinsic element embedded in Sri Lankan culture, a commonly shared mode of expression. And here we come to Sarvodaya's main appeal — it is the Movement's use of what is thoroughly familiar and understood in order to make change accessible to people in their own terms.

This is best illustrated by the Movement's use of the format of the Four Noble Truths to present their village awakening schemes. Sarvodaya's skill consists in transposing this familiar mode of analysis and focusing it on the development realities that afflict the poor and disempowered in Sri Lanka.

Briefly stated, dukkha is equated with a decadent, impoverished village. This unfavourable condition is caused by ignorance and poverty. Yet this can be changed. The way to change and develop is Sarvodaya's village awakening scheme. Thus explained, development thought becomes more easily understood by even the most backward Sri Lankan. Fig. 16 shows a more detailed visual representation of Sarvodaya's version of Gramodaya.

Fig. 16

GRAMODAYA-VILLAGE RE-AWAKENING

DECADENT VILLAGE

THERE IS A CAUSE

THERE IS A HOPE

THERE IS A WAY

Source: SM Ethos and Workplan, n.d.: 15

It becomes evident from this example that one need not be a practicing Buddhist to understand this simple, yet profound, organically inter-related analysis of development. This example also may be used to illustrate Sarvodaya's links with the tradition of Ashokan thought and practices, where Buddhist principles were widely used but were divested of any religious trappings, so that peoples of diverse faiths could understand them and co-exist peacefully, as in the flourishing civilization of the third century B.C.. Under Ariyaratne's direction the Sarvodaya Movement of Sri Lanka is a leading contemporary exponent of this ancient tradition being forged anew and put into practice under most demanding internecine circumstances and precarious financial conditions. This is an additional factor contributing to Sarvodaya's appeal, not only among the Buddhist population but also with the Tamil, Muslim, and Christian communities of the island who can identify with its non-sectarian views and practices.

Having looked at some of the principal tenets of Sarvodaya's endogenous and holistic theory of development it is now appropriate to describe how they are put into practice. Since due to space constraints this piece of research cannot address Sarvodaya's vast network of activities, it will focus mainly on its Village Development Program to illustrate how their holistic approach to development works by implementing synergistic links from the bottom up.

SARVODAYA'S VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Sarvodaya's role as a major agent of change in rural Sri Lanka is based mainly on their integrated village development approach which consists of a 5-stage strategy. Stage I marks the initiation of contact with the Movement when a village requests the visit of a Sarvodaya field worker. It is a psychological and practical infrastructure building stage. After conducting a pilot survey of the needs as voiced by the villagers the Sarvodaya agent organizes a Shramadana camp. Shramadana is the foremost tool in Sarvodaya's development strategy. Ariyaratne states:

The literal meaning of the word Shramadana is sharing of one's time, thought and energy for the welfare of all. For the founders of this Movement, Shramadana was only a medium of constructive action to bring about a non-violent total revolution in man and society to build up a new social order [Ariyaratne Vol. II, 1980: 41].

Dana is a Sanskrit word that may be translated as generosity; it is a virtue highly praised by both Theravadin and Mahayana Buddhists.¹³ Just as generosity is a cornerstone of Buddhist teachings, so is Shramadana a salient aspect of the Movement's approach to development which relies heavily on the voluntarily donated participatory efforts of its members to carry out its development plans. Shramadana camps are designed to: 1) carry out a specific task communally (this may take a day, a week-end or a week to accomplish, or even extend intermittently over a period of months) such as cleaning water reservoirs for irrigation or building houses, and 2) re-awaken in the participants a mode of thought, speech, and action which favours openness,

respect, equality, and co-operation as the operating principles in a Dharmic (righteous) society. 14

The camps consist of work to be done as well as "family gatherings" where people come together socially to briefly meditate or pray, sing and dance, share ideas about what they are doing, and propagate the Movement's ideology. The camps also provide the occasion to identify potential leaders which are later sent for formal training to Sarvodaya's Development Education Institutes thus starting a bottom-up process of education and training. Most importantly, Shramadana camps are the microcosm where Sarvodaya's ideal society becomes manifest and, though short-lived and spatially constrained, this experience is fundamental in changing both the inner paradigm of participants as well as the social one they are collectively attempting to change.

Stage II is one of training and social infrastructure building. Participants in the village form groups, such as a Children's Group (ages 7-14) which engages in home gardening, sell the surplus produce, and invests their savings; a Youth Group which is active in all aspects of village development; a Mothers Group which works cooperatively in setting up the children's services; an Elders Group which offer advice and support, and a Farmers' (or other occupational) Group which cater to the sectoral needs of its members. These groups fulfill specific community needs usually through the establishment of a day care (pre-school) centre, a community kitchen, a tool/seed bank, a community centre, a village library, and a health clinic. Also at this stage the young villagers that have been selected as pre-school

teachers, health workers, or for training in specific crafts embark upon their courses at one of the Movement's development education institutes . 15

In Stage III the institutional framework is further strengthened by the establishment of a village Shramadana Society or Samithi whose members are usually the elected officers of the functional groups (at least three) coming together as an Executive Council, which in turn elects its own Samithi officers. The Samithi takes responsibility for the village development plan based on the "ten basic needs" that have been identified by the Movement and a survey of each village's needs. 16 When a Samithi comprises five functional village groups it is encouraged to register with the Movement's Gramodaya network, so that it may gain more access to development assistance at divisional and district levels. Such assistance may come from Sarvodaya, government sources, or local banks. Gramodaya regulations demand that regular meetings and records be kept, formalizing a procedural discipline that encourages Samithis to function more efficiently.

Concomitant with this organizational structuring Samithis become involved in villagers' income and employment generating activities. The activities traditionally engaged in are looked into as well as the possibilities for the creation of new ones through cost benefit analyses, marketing, contracts, savings and credit, small scale industries, community shops, and farms.

Success in these endeavours should lead to Stage IV, where the village becomes more self-reliant and self-financing. At this stage a village has more access to capital (the Movement is attempting to provide rural credit to villages

reaching this stage in their development program), and it can provide minimal allowances from Samithi funds for full-time workers, their training and travelling costs and, furthermore, generate a surplus.

The existence of this surplus marks Stage V, where a village begins to share its resources and support other communities. This is to be done by extending experience and guidance, training, capital, materials, and labour to other villages which are in need of them.

Though this five stage plan appears repeatedly in the literature, so far I have been unable to locate the number of villages at each of these stages. This could be because presumably, they are constantly changing, but the main reason seems to be that only recently has the program been operated so that these figures could be aggregated. CIDA's report dated 1987 mentions 5,600 where Sarvodaya's village development plan was being implemented without mentioning a breakdown as regards to their stages of implementation. It states (p.75) "By 1986 over 3,000 villages had moved through the first three stages" and makes reference (p. 30) to 1100 villages in Stage III on their way to Stage IV, as being a basic concern where the Movement was focusing its efforts at that time. This report describes Stages I - III up to the registration of Samithis as being Sarvodaya's "Lifeline Program" which provides the bare essentials of the Movement's village development strategy.

At this time the Movement is not contemplating expansion into further new villages. Instead, mostly due to funding and staffing constraints, it is concentrating its efforts to consolidate and strengthen its development program in the 5600 villages where it is already present. In order to illustrate the participatory nature of Sarvodaya's efforts of holistic development it is

useful to look at the organization and management aspects of the Movement's village development strategy.

The most recent information available (CIDA, 1987) indicates that there is a Lifeline network made up of clusters of five villages comprising a 'core' village and four adjacent ones. These clusters are called Gramadana Units and are serviced and coordinated by a Gramadana Worker (GW) per every two units. GW's come together under the supervision of Division Coordinators, who are in turn grouped by districts. Sri Lanka is divided into twenty eight administrative districts and Sarvodaya has a District Centre in each of them. Each centre has a District Coordinator and a Lifeline Coordinator who are respectively grouped by provinces. They act as links between the divisional workers and the Provincial Field Directors. The ten provincial Field Directors relate with the Director of Field Operations at the Movement's headquarters (the Sarvodaya Sangamaya or Society). This organizational structure is represented in two charts (Appendix VIII, a and b). By means of this organizational structure the Movement is cohesively coordinated though highly decentralized, allowing for participatory inputs and responses to flow between the grassroots and the central Sangamaya leadership.

To understand Sarvodaya's integrated approach it might be useful to illustrate how the village development plan is implemented through the combined efforts of village and GW's. Having conducted surveys identifying their needs and formed into groups to channel their resources the villagers relate with their GW, who assists them as a liaison to services beyond the confines of their village. Integrated village development plans always have an outside input component complemented by a villagers' self-help

contribution, usually in the form of labour and locally found materials . Meeting basic needs is sometimes directly related to making government services and extension programmes available to villagers. In other instances, this is accomplished via the Movements' own development services and the funnelling of donors' funds for specific type projects.

An often-voiced criticism by those not familiar with Sarvodaya's approach is to mis-interpret the *self-reliant* component of their development strategy to mean *self-financing*. These two terms denote an important conceptual and pragmatic distinction. Self-reliant means that participants are willing and capable of becoming aware of their needs and participate directly working towards their fulfillment as opposed to leaving the decisions and their implementation to be handled by others. Sarvodaya's approach to development stresses these innovative learning and creativity enhancing processes through a strong self-help component in all their activities. This is the equivalent of my doing my own gardening (self-help) as opposed to working for money and buying vegetables (self-financing) at the store. Sarvodaya's self-help component, such as the villagers' contribution in terms of endogenous resources utilized, when accounted for in monetary terms far surpasses the financial transfers that they receive from the outside though this fact is seldom, if ever, considered by critics. Such criticism focuses on the apparent contradiction between Sarvodaya's claims to self-reliance and the continued need for external financial assistance. It needs to be reappraised in light of the fact that even if Sarvodaya were an NGO in a fully industrialized country, it would still need to access external funds, due to the fact that its activities have a strong educational component, both personally

and collectively. This contribution cannot be expected to be self-financing, especially in an economically 'underdeveloped' setting.

The following list of synergistic development services highlights some of Sarvodaya's activities vis-à-vis the Movement's holistic Village Development Program:

- I. **Sarvodaya Technical Services (STS)** does feasibility projects, provides design and technical advice, and trains volunteers and staff in the following areas:
 - a. access to water through construction of gravity fed water supply systems, handdug shallow wells, and locally produced handpumps;
 - b. healthcare through technical back-up to Sarvodaya health-related infrastructure projects and the construction of latrines;
 - c. housing through design of low cost housing, technical and financial assistance to motivated communities for construction, and relief and rehabilitation measures (housing repairs, etc.)
 - d. environment through the adoption of ecological farming methods with low external inputs (such as chemicals), afforestation of water catchment areas, and small scale, soft technology infrastructure projects;
 - e. communication through technical advice in road construction and construction of footbridges, culverts, etc. by Shramadana ;
 - f. energy through afforestation to ensure firewood supply, irrigation wells equipped with wind- and animal-powered pumps, biogas installations on Sarvodaya Farms, and fuel efficient cooking stoves;
 - g. food through research in ecological farming practices and homegardening; and

h. education through training in agriculture and rural technology for Sarvodaya staff and village volunteers [Sarvodaya Rural Technical Services, 1987:4-11].

II. Sarvodaya Economic Enterprises Development Services

(SEEDS) whose mandate is to develop income generation in the villages and for the Movement itself. This is the second major area (after the Lifeline Program) of Sarvodaya's work with projected growth levels for 1987/88 of 10% per year. SEEDS has four major areas of activity:

a. Rural Enterprise Program (REP) to allow farmers and small businesses associated with the Samithis to obtain long and short term credit from the Movement and local banks. Savings are also encouraged with the long term intention of establishing rural credit unions. As of December 1988, 10 districts and 324 village societies participated in this project.

b. management of the existing Sarvodaya Savings Program, which in the past has been primarily children's savings;

c. income generation for the Movement through Sarvodaya's businesses which include a printing press, a rice mill, a carpentry workshop, grain wholesale trading, metal furniture and agriculture equipment manufacture, and batik and handicrafts exports among others; and

d. Management Training Institute (MTI) which provides comprehensive training to those working at Samithi and village level activities. It offers courses on rural enterprise and management techniques, as well as wordprocessing, computer planning and business English, both at its headquarters and at Sarvodaya District Centers ["News from SEEDS", Issue No.2].

III. Special Projects and Welfare Activities which reflect the holistic nature of Sarvodaya's efforts at comprehensive personal and societal development include, among others: nutrition, food processing, children's fairs, environmental conservation services, anti-malaria programme, women's movement, vocational training for the physically disabled, development education training for monks, and indigenous medical services.

IV. Peace and Conflict Resolution Activities constitute an important element of the Movement's village efforts at present due to the escalation of conditions of civil war in the island. To this effect different courses of action are being followed such as relief and rehabilitation activities involving services in refugee camps and relocation and reconciliation efforts as well as the sponsoring of peace conferences and public marches which bring together Tamils and Buddhists, militants and government officials, with the participation of a broad spectrum of grass-roots peaceful demonstrators. ¹⁷

PROPOSED NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The present climate of unrest in Sri Lanka due to prolonged violence which has disrupted every aspect of its citizens' lives is reflected in the latest publications of the Movement which mark a significant evolutionary step. Of special interest to this research on participatory development is one of Ariyaratne's latest books, The Power Pyramid and the Dharmic Cycle. It is the only one of a trilogy addressing Sri Lanka's present national crisis which has been translated into English so far, and it marks a departure from his earlier works. Rather than being a compilation of speeches as is the case with his

Collected Works, Volumes I-IV, these were specifically dictated in Sinhala by the author and are aimed to arouse national widespread public response.

In this book Ariyaratne accomplishes a tour de force which might place the Sarvodaya Movement as a strong national agent in Sri Lanka. The book is a detailed and solution-finding critique of the country's socio-economic, cultural, and psychological ills by a seasoned thinker and populist leader who is rallying for the national support of like-minded individuals aspiring for peace and development. Since, in essence, it constitutes a declaration of avowed political intent it shifts Sarvodaya's place in the national power arena. By contrasting the ideal Sarvodaya society and the strides made towards it over the last thirty years by the Movement's holistic activities with those embarked upon by the State, Ariyaratne is publicly issuing a message that discloses and condemns misguided rulers and blind followers alike in the context of a historical critique of Sri Lanka's plight today.

For those of us following the evolution of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement over time such statements mark a stage which has both new and old elements: 1) it signals a different level of the Movement's maturity, and 2) it re-affirms the anti-partisan stand which characterized it from its inception. What is new is Ariyaratne's explicit (it had always been latently understood) political discourse which is bound to give the Movement a different stance since it points to a transition from its Gramodaya (village awakening) to its Deshodaya (national awakening) stage, although this is never mentioned as such in this work.

Even though this is an extremely political document it is a thoroughly non-partisan statement, as was to be expected. One of its central tenets is the desirability of replacing the present system of party politics with a system based on consensus, a move designed to shift from a divisive and alienating representative democracy to a truly participatory democracy.¹⁸ It would be based, as is Sarvodaya's development strategy, on people's direct participation at grassroots level. At aggregate levels, where only indirect participation is possible, people would delegate authority by consensus to representatives chosen not along lines of political parties but because of who they are, viz. because of their own views and actions which are a testimony of their personal and social worth. Among the proposed changes to Sri Lanka's constitution are: 1) the elimination of the political party system; 2) the removal of opportunities for any person to engage in politics as a profession, and; 3) the direct rather than indirect participation of people in decision making, with power to recall selected representatives if their confidence is forfeited. Instead of the present system of indirect voting Ariyaratne proposes a direct voting scheme and offers the following comparative statement of the differences between the democratic political system and consensus participatory politics:

Table VI

Contrasting Systems of Party and Consensus Politics

System of Party Politics	System of Consensus Politics
1. The goal is that of securing power for one's own party	1. The goal is that of restoring to the general public the power that parties have robbed the public
2. The goal is that of providing for the	2. It seeks the awakening of the

good of the majority, particularly that of the party	people at the lowest end of society in particular (awakening of the extreme section) and the awakening of all in common
3. Often does not hesitate to use lies, violence, and self-praise to win power	3. Attempts to change society through means of services founded on truth, non-violence, shedding of self
4. Reliance on centralised power	4. Relies on the self-governing abilities of rural and urban sections of the people
5. Uses as its principal ally the punitive power derived from the power of the law and the strength of the forces	5. Uses as its principal ally the power and strength of righteousness
6. Looks rather to the next election than to local value systems and long-term national upliftment, in formulating plans	6. Always takes into consideration local value systems and long-term national upliftment development
7. Considers community understanding and community participation as hostile factors to party power	7. Considers as the very essence of consensus administration system, community understanding and community participation
8. Divides the people	8. Gathers the people together as one family
9. Approves a dual life — as personal life and public life	9. Treats personal life and public life as two sides of the same coin
10. Silently approves bribery, fraud, corruption, immorality, violence, inefficiency, etc. if it does not harm the party	10. Condemns all wrong-doing that harms the people
11. Often there operates a democracy on the surface and party interests underneath	11. Always operates on the basis of people's participation and open debate
12. Has given pride of place to material goals and limits spiritual values to personal life	12. Functions with the complete awakening of the individual as well as of society — spiritually and materially — as its goal

Source: Ariyaratne, 1988: 115-6

In this work Ariyaratne also addresses economic issues, tying them to four other development aspects that are an integral part of Sarvodaya's concerns — the spiritual, ethical, cultural, and social dimensions of development. He proposes what he calls a "holistic economic philosophy", summarized below in table form.

Table VII

Contrasting Economic Systems

Present Economic System	Sarvodaya Economic System
1. Acts so as to satisfy man's desires	1. Pays main attention to satisfy man's needs
2. Assists in getting the people accustomed to a life style which takes the industrialised society as an example but which local resources cannot afford	2. Attempts to get people accustomed to a life style that should be fashioned with a realistic understanding of society and under spiritual, moral, and cultural influences
3. Places reliance on large-scale programmes, most modern technical methods, large capital investments and commercial forces	3. Places reliance on small-scale programmes, appropriate technical methods, small-scale capital investment and a co-operative commercial organisation subject to people's control
4. Gives foremost place to production that is based on revenue and fulfillment of essential needs related to income level. Measures progress in life style quantitatively	4. Gives foremost place to production that is based on fulfillment of needs. Measures lifestyle with qualitative criteria and real income
5. Regards the four factors of economic productivity — land, labour, capital and enterprise as the basic theories of economic planning	5. Regards nature, man, society, and knowledge of scientific technology as the basic factors of economic progress

6. Accepts the concept that after a certain age every person in society should receive a personal wage or income and plans with the principal goal of employment	6. Plans on the theory that human needs should be fulfilled by correct means of livelihood (right life) and that all human being should be involved in this (economic) exercise
7. Places reliance on foreign aid, foreign loans, foreign management, foreign technology and an import-export economy and therefore ties the economy of Sri Lanka to a neo-colonial international economic structure controlled by industrialised countries	7. Places reliance on self-strength, local resources, local savings, local investment, local industry, local creativity, appropriate technology and national self-sufficiency and believes in standing up on one's own power, freeing the country from foreign economic grip and, with a sense of self-respect, having relationships with foreign economies
8. Paves the way for the essence of the village economy to be drained away into towns and foreign countries	8. Paves the way for wealth to be drawn to the rural economy and to breathe life into the rural economy
9. Reduces man to a restless individual caught up in an economic vicious circle	9. Makes man a relieved individual with the satisfaction of service
10. Channels wealth into the hands of a few and makes them wallow in luxury and turns them into fun-loving wastrels while at the same time makes the majority of the people more and more	10. Turns all people into a contented set with human needs fulfilled while at the same time directs their life style towards a satisfied, creative, simple, cultural life impoverished and violent

Source: Ariyaratne, 1988:128-9

It is too early to ascertain what response the Movement will have to this expanded stage of initiatives at societal transformation in Sri Lanka, what may be called the emergence of its 'development politics'. What can confidently be stated, though, is that they keep enlarging their areas of concern towards the realization of their goal, a no-poverty no-affluence righteous society, based on principles that foster personal and societal fulfillment, despite the gaps that as in all systems exist between theories and ideals strived for and the

efforts at implementing them (these gaps are mentioned in more detail in the discussion of the field data in Chapter VII).

Ariyaratne's critique is very timely, since the welfare state that characterized post-independence Sri Lanka, with the accompanying ills of corrupt partisan politics, is now in shambles and can no longer 'deliver' as it used to. Even more pitiful, its chances of achieving peace with a unified mandate backed by the entire population of the island are becoming more and more remote. The track record of Sarvodaya, in contrast, shows that it is efficient and that it consistently works towards the well-being of all. Though the majority of its members and the underlying tenets of its philosophy are Buddhist, they have always been and continue to be engaged in equanimous development and peace work through their words and deeds. Most importantly, they are perceived as such by all contending forces as well as observers of the strife. This is an invaluable contribution that the Movement is making to Sri Lankan society towards its peace efforts. The centrality of this bloody strife is evidenced in Ariyaratne's 1989 New Year's Message to the Sarvodaya Family, particularly in the passage entitled "Life without beginning or end" where, after dealing with topics such as rebirth and karma, he concludes:

In today's society anyone who, for whatever reason, murders others does so because of ignorance. Therefore, the only sure way of rescuing our society from violence would be for us to explain to others the way their personalities are shaped. We need to do this with patience and compassion, even if it means sacrificing our lives. We must strive tirelessly to give this knowledge to all, not just to some [Ariyaratne Vol. V, 1989:251].

The Bodhisattva ideal exemplified in this passage is complemented in the same message with sound advice to village workers who, at the time, were facing national elections:

1. Through your words and deeds, make it clear to everyone that you neither belong to nor support any group in any way.
2. Do not permit Sarvodaya society members and community leaders to divide the village on political lines and create disunity.
3. Ensure that Sarvodaya work in the village is conducted in a non-partisan and just manner.
4. Do not obstruct people from using their vote in secrecy as they wish.
5. Educate the community on the Sarvodaya teaching about the movement for political consensus [Ariyaratne Vol. V, 1989:255]

Sarvodaya in its Deshodaya phase is attempting to bring Sri Lanka to shift from a welfare state, which denotes the supremacy of the state, to a welfare society, a concept which points to the supremacy of the people. Their proposal for its achievement is based on the direct and indirect participation of the people, who would choose their political leaders as they now choose their participatory development ones, by *consensus*. This would be done from the bottom up and on the basis of personal knowledge of human worth, rather than party affiliation. It is hard to appraise the complete scope of these proposals by the Movement without having access to the other two books comprising Ariyaratne's trilogy. Nevertheless, these statements are mentioned in bringing this piece of research to an end to depict the more encompassing scope of the latest developments of Sarvodaya's efforts at sustainable participatory development in Sri Lanka.

This chapter portrayed the philosophy and work carried out by the Movement under local conditions of a badly deteriorated welfare state in a society ravaged by a long-standing civil war that shows no signs of coming to an end. Sarvodaya's place in this Sri Lankan context was described in terms of

the continuity of its approach which equates *sustainable development* primarily with *education* and with *enlightenment*. This continuity was described in terms of the *transcendental values of Buddhism*, a major component of the world view of Sri Lankan society. The section on the historical perspective of the Sarvodaya Movement established the connection between these Buddhist values *vis-à-vis* education, mass politics, and the creation of a '*no-poverty no-affluence society*' ruled by equity rather than market mechanisms which places it at the forefront of the Ashokan tradition of engaged Buddhism.

The Sarvodaya Movement's means to achieve this end attempt to resolve/dissolve the schisms that prevail today within humans themselves, as well as among humans and their cultural and natural environments. This chapter aimed to show how Sarvodaya's *organic and holistic* approach to development attempts to make the individual and society 'whole' again by development efforts based on the importance of transcendental values and *synergistic links*. Though the former may be said to apply to its theory of sustainable development and the latter to its efforts at its implementation, it was shown that these co-emerge simultaneously as well, since *Sarvodaya's theory and practice forge each other continuously*. The central role played by participation in their third system efforts at awakening Sri Lankans so that instead of merely being the island's inhabitants they might become her citizens was illustrated by focusing on the Movement's 5-stage Village Development Program.

This endogenous program was described in terms of its self-help Shramadana component, the Movement's foremost tool for bringing about

personal and societal paradigm change, and its synergistic component which establishes development networks among villagers which first incorporate as groups, then as clusters of villages, and then as a national system of holistic characteristics. These are accomplished paying heed to principles of *devolution of power and decentralization of activities* such as with regards to the basic needs aspects of each locale, while at the same time cohesively coming together as Sri Lanka's largest *NGO*, offering centralized training, funds, and technical and administrative services.

This chapter also emphasizes Sarvodaya's importance not only as an agent of development but also of *peace* along the lines of inter-relationship between development and peace described in Chapter V. In addition, due to Sri Lanka's civil war Sarvodaya's deeply rooted non-violent stance based on its philosophy and practices becomes of utmost importance. Throughout its thirty years of work with youths from all sectors of Sri Lankan society Sarvodaya offers a creative and fulfilling alternative to youngsters faced with unemployment, indigence, and armed strife as the prevalent options open to them in becoming adults. In this regard it is important to mention that Sarvodaya emphasizes a Buddhism that leads to integration and co-existence, contrary to those that claim to be Buddhists but practice intolerance and abuse of human rights.

It is useful to remember at this point the distinction made in Chapter I regarding changes taking place in religious views and practices and their relevance to development as falling into two contrasting categories which I label the fundamentalist vs the true paradigm change. In Buddhism, as in any other system of transcendental values, adherents to change may fall into one

or other of these two categories. The discussion in this chapter and the next aims to show that the Movement is truly attempting to bring about paradigm change within the context of Sri Lankan Buddhism by reverting to its original tenets as proclaimed by the Buddha, who made no claim to authority over other world-views (see Reference 4) and taught equanimity to be essential, and by its genuine Mahayana emphasis within the context of the official Theravada tradition of the country. By its non-violent revolutionary approach Sarvodaya is questioning the practices not only of the Sri Lankan state but also the dogmatism of a pseudo-Buddhist position in the island.¹⁹ This analysis of Sarvodaya's activities was concluded with the Movement's present efforts at equating participatory sustainable development with *participatory democracy* in its emerging national-awakening stage of societal transformation. This was shown as their clear statement of the need to change from mechanistic to holistic approaches to development if we are to address our personal and collective crises successfully.

Notes to Chapter VI

¹ The major ones are the U.N.P. (United National Party) and the S.L.F.P. (Sri Lanka Freedom Party) ; some of the smaller political contenders include the F.P. (Federal Party), T.C. (Tamil Congress), C.P. (Communist Party), and L.S.S.P. (Lanka Sama Samaja Party) , as found in Table 16 "Party Positions of Parliamentary Elections" [Marga Institute, 1979:100].

² The source of this daily estimate was Dr. Ariyaratne during a personal interview in Ottawa, July 1989.

³ For example, figures on Sri Lankan socio-economic data show that the number of tourists arriving to the island steadily declined from 402, 230 in 1982 to 257,456 in 1985; figures on the foreign public debt doubled (from Rs. million 34, 597 to 67, 673 for the same years). The Debt Service Ratio (or debt service payments as a percentage of earnings from merchandise exports and services) has steadily grown from 18.6% in 1982 to 22.4.% in 1985 [Statistics Department, Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 1986: 19 & 28].

⁴ Buddhism has two distinctive characteristics: 1) from its inception its attitude towards other systems of thought and religions has been one of utmost tolerance, and 2) it has shown a remarkable degree of historical adaptability in the course of its expansion through different societies, assuming local formal characteristics without detriment to its inherently Buddhist philosophical tenets and world view. Professor K.N. Jayatilleke, head of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Sri Lanka accounts for this fact by explaining that at the time of the Buddha in India the Vedic tradition stressed the importance of knowledge (*jñāna*) as the key to salvation, whether it be empirical, rational, or intuitive. As a result this period was marked by a tolerance for a wide variety of cosmological theories which according to Buddhist texts could be summarized in the following four categories:

- (1) that everything exists — sabbam atthi
- (2) that nothing exists — sabbam natthi
- (3) that the universe is a unity — sabbam ekattam
- (4) that the universe is a plurality — sabbam puthuttam

Therefore Jayatilleke concludes:

I think that one of the reasons why Buddhism adopted a non-dogmatic attitude was that at its very inception it had to face a plurality of contending religio-philosophic theories about the nature and destiny of man. As a result, skepticism was rampant and the Buddha could not assume the truth of any particular religious philosophy in addressing the intellectual elite of his age. A claim to authority would not have been seriously considered or accepted [Jayatilleke, 1975:4].

⁵ Typical of this attitude are the verses of an Anglican hymn sung in churches all over England, which even Christian Sri Lankans can no longer tolerate:

What though the spicy breezes
 Blow soft o'er Ceylon isle,
 Where every prospect pleases,
 And only man is vile;
 In vain with lavish kindness
 The gifts of God are strewn,
 The heathen in his blindness
 Bows down to wood and stone.
 Bhikkhu Sangharakshita, 1983:1]

6 According to Ariyaratne:

The Sarvodaya Shramadana effort in Sri Lanka did not begin with a ready made theory which we had only to practice. It was a long and arduous journey which we travelled, and still are travelling, making as intelligent responses as we possibly could to the challenges we faced as we went along [Ariyaratne III, 1985:122-3].

⁷ It is due to this oversight that a rather lengthy discussion on this topic is included in this piece of research since it is a very relevant yet seldom mentioned topic.

Ashoka's administration was partly imperial, i.e. directly under the emperor, and also highly decentralized, i.e. emphasized local governance and self-rule. He appointed Dharma-Mahamatras (Righteous Officers) as imperial envoys to travel through Asia and the Hellenistic world spreading a message of goodwill and implementing policies of social welfare. These envoys managed extensive welfare programmes which took care of the sick and the aged (Ashoka is renowned for having set up the first hospitals not only for humans but for animals as well), the welfare of prisoners and travellers, the forestation of arid areas, the systematic planting of medicinal herbs, and the construction of public works such as water reservoirs and roads. His works extended beyond the confines of his own empire into neighboring regions, with the expenses being borne by his own state. As a result of his deep concern for the welfare of his people this emperor travelled extensively through his domain, giving himself to public business at all hours and places [Mookerji, 1972].

8 Ashokan Buddhism is not the only legacy that the founder of the movement acknowledges:

The Sarvodaya philosophy of the movement is a synthetic ideology and a universal concept. All forms of creative altruism and evolutionary humanism, being from the marxian end of material integration, Rousseau's option of social integration, or Asoka's endeavour of moral integration, just to give a few examples, are inherent in the Sarvodaya philosophy practised by us for ours is an attempt to bring about total human integration [Ariyaratne Vol I, n.d.:48].

9 The historical parallels between education and Buddhism extend far into the past.

The following passage in Heinz Bechert's "Contradictions in Sinhalese Buddhism" recounts the following:

The Sinhalese had migrated from northern India, but quite obviously they were in a position of colonial settlers whose culture was underdeveloped when the first Buddhist missionaries reached at the time of Asoka. As can be observed repeatedly in comparable situations, the most conservative form of the new religion was accepted. Despite this, very soon a profound change took place, for the missionaries had to take over civilising tasks which had not been the task of monks in the mother country and which also did not correspond at all to the original concept of the Sangha. They become the upholders of the literary and educational tradition and developed a general school system. This led to an extensive identification of the interests of the Sangha with the special interests of the country and its people, and it is here that the historical roots of Buddhist nationalism lie [Bechert, 1973:13, emphasis mine].

10 This view conforms with that in the widely told story of how the Buddha refused to preach to a hungry man until his hunger was assuaged.

11 Sharp's reminder to development practitioners that healers ought to heal themselves first before they can assist others and Chamber's views on new professionalism portrayed in Chapter III both find an echo in the following quote from Ariyaratne:

We are now living in an era where personal development can no longer be limited to feasibility studies, project formulations and plan implementation, evaluation, and so on. This is an era where development has to be lived, especially by those at the top positions.

Of course, this sort of quest releases an entirely different process from the forces used to release high-energy consuming, planning and implementation processes. If they begin to look within themselves only then will they learn the art of understanding people and the science of helping them. Unless they change themselves radically they cannot bring happiness to themselves or to the people they want to serve. We should invite them to follow the examples of work which are already initiated by groups like Sarvodaya in thousands of places in Sri Lanka, in India, in Europe, in the North and South Americas and Africa [Ariyaratne Vol. III, 1985:43].

12 The Eightfold Path to be followed to eradicate *dukkha* is shown below as the Buddha taught it, accompanied by a commentary giving a more modern psychological interpretation put forth by Gerald Heard, an Anglo-Irish historian and philosopher (1889-1971) as cited in Buddhism: A Way of Life and Thought by Nancy Wilson Ross:

1. Right views or understanding.	1. First you must see clearly what is wrong
2. Right purpose or aspiration.	2. Next you must decide that you want to be cured
3. Right speech.	3. You must speak
4. Right conduct.	4. and act so as to aim at being cured.
5. Right livelihood.	5. Your livelihood must not conflict with your therapy.
6. Right effort.	6. That therapy must go forward the "staying speed", that is, the critical velocity that can be sustained.
7. Right kind of awareness or mindfulness.	7. You must think about it incessantly and
8. Right concentration or meditation.	8. learn how to contemplate with the <i>deep mind</i> . [Wilson Ross, 1980:24-5]

13 For example, the sutra "The Recollection of the Noble Three Jewels" states:

Generosity is the transcendent friend.
 Therefore, generosity is said to be essential.
 Generosity is the ornament of the world.
 Through generosity, one turns back from the lower realms.
 Generosity is the stairway to the higher realms.
 Generosity is the virtue that produces peace
 [Nalanda Translation Committee, unpublished].

In Buddhism there are two main factors contributing to enlightenment: the accumulation of wisdom (through meditation) and the accumulation of merit (through righteous deeds). Generosity is foremost among these righteous deeds since it paves the way for all selfless acts. Its practice is an integral part of Sri Lankan society as reflected in the Theravada custom where the laity accrues merit by offering monks their daily food, since the latter are meant to devote their lives to meditation. This societal 'division of labor' on the path to enlightenment practiced during the first 'turning of the wheel' was superseded with the later emergence of Mahayana teachings where monastics and laity alike engage in both practices. This has been likened to aspects of the European Reformation and labeled 'Protestant' Buddhism.

Some authors have referred to the emergence of 'Protestant' Buddhism in Sri Lanka in the last decades (M. Ames and T. Ling among others) and related it, in terms of Weberian theory, to economic development in the island. R.

Gombrich and

G. Obeyesekere, in their Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka, devote a whole chapter to 'Protestant Buddhism'. Unfortunately, what these authors seem to overlook are the historical and doctrinal aspects of this

evolution of Buddhist practices *within the context of Buddhism itself*, i.e. the Theravada/Mahayana nexus. The Sarvodaya Movement provides excellent grounds for a study focusing on this topic, too vast to be addressed further in this paper.

14 At Shramadana camps four Buddhist principles of social interaction are put into practice: generosity or sharing (*dana*), pleasant language (*priya vacana*), constructive work (*artha charya*) and equality (*samanatmata*) [Ariyaratne Vol. III, 1985:60].

Also practiced are the well known Buddhist *Four Brahma Viharas* or Sublime Abodes of the Buddha, described as adapted to development issues by Ariyaratne as follows:

Sarvodaya believes that mind is the supreme Dhamma. If the motivating force in the mind is *Metta or respect for all lives* then a human being who accepts this principle has to necessarily translate this thought into concrete *compassionate action* called *Karuna*. We are helping a landless cultivator to liberate himself from the bondage imposed on him by unscrupulous landowners not because we hate the landowner but because we love or respect the life of the poor landless cultivator. We are fighting the misdeeds of the doer, in this case the landowner, and not the doer himself. There is no trace of ill will towards him. It is a struggle against an unjust system. Only when loving kindness and compassionate action are practiced in this manner that we can get a positive emotional and intellectual reaction in the form of an immediate joy of service. This *altruistic joy* we have named *Mudita*. If an individual's action can sustain this quality of fighting the evil deeds and not the evil doers then only it can result in a more permanent development of a characteristic in one's personality which we have named *Upekkha or equanimity*. There is a thought, there is an action, there is an immediate reaction and finally there is a positive and more permanent character formation in the individual in such a process of thought and action [Ariyaratne Vol.I, n.d.:132, emphasis added].

15 The Youth Groups are the pivot of Sarvodaya's Village Development Program. There are various reasons that coincide to this effect. In most developing countries the youth outnumber adults. This usually leads to a surplus of young workers and Sri Lanka is no exception; according to figures mentioned to me by the Minister of Health, Dr. Attapattu, at a personal interview, 60% of the population is under 30 years old.

Kantowsky mentions statistics showing the high level of unemployment among youths (84% in the 15-24 age group), specially those with higher educational qualifications [Kantowsky, 1980:111-2].

These are precisely the youth that the Movement appeal to and recruits according to a study analyzing the non-formal education component of Sarvodaya's efforts at development:

The Movement's emphasis on youth and education is clearly reflected in the data on participation rates. Three-fourths of the respondents in the study identified youths as the most active participants. Similarly, 64 percent of the respondents described active participants as being people of "average education" (i.e. having a secondary school certificate), while 56 percent cited non-participants as being "people of little schooling". On the other hand the study showed that other socio-economic factors such as sex, social status, income, and employment were not distinguishing factors between participants and non-participants. However, this finding does seem to indicate that those with greater exposure to, formal education (school) are more likely to take advantage of nonformal training and development activities, such as those associated with Sarvodaya [Colleta, Ewing & Todd, n.d.:19].

It is also interesting to note in this regard that Sarvodaya began with students from a Colombo school and that educators, with Ariyaratne himself among their ranks, constitute the largest percentage among the professions represented in the Movement's Executive Council.

16 The enumeration of these "basic needs" was arrived at many years ago in a participatory way where villagers themselves isolated the following:

1. A clean and beautiful environment
 2. A clean and adequate supply of water
 3. Minimum clothing requirements
 4. A balanced diet
 5. A simple house to live in
 6. Basic health care
 7. Simple communication facilities
 8. Minimum energy requirements
 9. Total education
 10. Cultural and spiritual needs
- [CIDA, 1987:62].

It is interesting to note the precedence given to one's environment as well as the fact that employment and income are absent.

17 Sarvodaya includes, as part of its training for village leaders, techniques of non-violent action in a social context as well as personal meditation and contemplation techniques (adapted from age-old Buddhist sources focusing on the development of mindfulness and awareness rather than sectarian religiosity). These are practiced from village-level "family gatherings" to national and international level peace events. A step-by-step description of these peace generating techniques may be found in Ariyaratne's The Power Pyramid and the Dharmic Cycle, pp.161-165.

18 In a recent address to Sri Lankan professionals and NGO's Ariyaratne stated:

The kind of politics we practice today is neither participatory nor democratic. What we have today is the most degenerate form of politics where acquisition of power by parties plays the most critical role. So it is a form of party and power politics we have. People, services, principles, national interests, values and even human lives have no place in this degenerate system of party and power politics. . .

It is not an easy task to transform the present political system to a participatory system. Still, however much difficult it is, it can be done if the principal means chosen is a new kind of 'development politics'. Political parties themselves have to undergo an internal transformation. They must learn to progressively divert their energies from competitive power-politics to co-operative developmental politics. Consensus must be reached as to what in Sri Lankan context we mean by development, its objectives and targets, use of our natural resources and the role of the population both as participants and beneficiaries, the ways and means of devolving power to human groups and communities in rural and urban areas so that they would have authority over their community resources, production processes, planning, markets, technologies and so on. When such a series of development exercises are properly and intelligently generated their totality will grow into a pattern where democratic participation will become a reality [Ariyaratne, 1989:9, emphasis added].

19 This dogmatism is described in Word Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background, where in its discussion of the Ashokan tradition S.J. Tambiah states:

In Sri Lanka, this doctrine of identifying state and society with Buddhism created difficulties in the postcolonial era, when the larger society included non-Buddhist and non-Sinhalese speaking minorities. The ideology leads to an intolerant dogma that excludes other religions and languages from equal membership within the polity [Tambiah, 1976:520].

I fully agree with Tambiah's description as it applies to the ideology of the official Buddhist *nikayas* (denominations or sects) of the island, but I disagree with his subsequent discussion of the advantages of Hindu caste systems over Buddhism. He defends the caste systems' ability to incorporate all sectors of society, while claiming that he does not condone its hierarchic and exploitative structure. He then contrasts this with:

. . . Buddhism, which especially in its militant phases has associated itself with a political definition of its competence, tends to exclude and eliminate its 'aliens' and its minorities rather than try to incorporate them [Tambiah, 1976: 521].

What this passage of his lengthy analysis fails to point out is the simple fact that the practice of 'dogmatic Buddhism' is an ultimately illogical contradiction, due to the philosophical tenets that Buddhism has been based on and those it has evolved into over time. This is not the place for a detailed rebuttal; what I wish to portray is the need to make the important distinction between religious fundamentalism and true religious paradigm change when addressing the relevance of transcendental values in addressing societal transformation.

CHAPTER VII

MATHUPANTHYA AND KATUKENDEGOLLA

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

During the months of July and August, 1986 I went to Sri Lanka for six weeks to gather data and impressions about the Sarvodaya Movement and the country as a whole.¹ I lived and worked with members of the Movement while I did the field research. This chapter represents a partial account of my findings and conclusions. It focuses on three issues discussed in earlier chapters and relevant to this study: the role of *participation* in the Movement's village development program — a central concern — and two corollaries to it, *awakening* and *empowerment*.

In order to conduct this qualitative research I chose a participant/observer methodology and my main focus of concentration was the analysis of participation within the Movement. To this effect I utilized the typology presented in Rural Development Participation: Concepts and Measures for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation. In this monograph Cohen and Uphoff distinguish three dimensions of participation: a) what kind of participation? b) who is participating? c) how is participation occurring? Also to be considered is the context in which participation is occurring, the characteristics of the development project or programme, and the ways the environment will condition the kinds of participation that take place. I used the expanded version of the typology put forth by these authors as the basis of my interviews with informants.

When not engaged in interviewing and in recording data, I tried to integrate myself as much as possible within the activities and rhythms of daily life taking place in the villages, district centres, and Sarvodaya's headquarters so as to get an experiential exposure to what it felt like to be a participant of this Movement. On the other hand, I aimed to maintain a social scientist's inquisitively open yet analytical perspective. I am attempting in this study to blend these two complementary approaches by including both objective and subjective dimensions of research to describe as accurately as possible my knowledge and impressions about Sarvodaya.

The field research was conducted mainly, but not exclusively, in four types of settings: 1) Sarvodaya villages, 2) Sarvodaya district centres, 3) the Movement's central headquarters, and 4) governmental and non-governmental sources not belonging to Sarvodaya. Due to such constraints as the duration of my stay in Sri Lanka and the fact that this was a single person rather than a team effort this research is limited to:

- description and analysis of the implementation of Sarvodaya's Village Development Program in two villages, Mathupanthya in the coastal region and Katukendegolla in the highlands,
- focusing on the most important project being carried out in each village at the time of my visit, and
- with specific emphasis on the participatory component of the Movement's efforts and on some of the consequences, such as awakening and empowerment.

The analysis of this field data was carried out in Ottawa where the methodology used integrates two kinds of strategies: a) developing case

descriptions and, b) relying on theoretical propositions [Yin, 1984:100-2]. This chapter's analysis is organized as follows: descriptions of the two villages, Mathupanthya and Katukendegolla, in terms of A) the task environment, B) the most important project being carried out at the time, C) characteristics of the groups participating in these projects, and D) selected personal accounts of villagers interviewed. The central issues of *participation and its benefits* are then analyzed utilizing my own typology, as previously presented in Chapter III. This is done at four organizational levels within the Movement. The overall conclusions arrived at may be summarized as:

- Sarvodaya's Village Development Program is an application of a participatory development approach aimed at enhancing and sustaining personal and collective wellbeing.
- It has helped create optimum conditions that lead to well-being.
- In addition, it has enhanced well-being itself.

These statements are related to the central hypothesis of this study: that participatory development paradigms could create the optimum conditions to enhance and sustain the wellbeing of individuals and communities. Since there is no valid test for well being, I tested for *elements* of wellbeing, such as *awakening, material benefits, and empowerment*.

I. MATHUPANTHYA VILLAGE, PUTTALAM DISTRICT

A. Mathupanthya Village task environment

Informant: Mr. Padiraratna, Puttalam District Centre at Marawila

1. Physical and Natural Factors (geographic & biological):

Mathupanthya is located on a tiny island, 3 mi. off the main road between Colombo and Puttalam, on the West Coast of Sri Lanka and reached by a short (approximately 80 yards' long, 5 min. by row boat) shallow crossing at the end of a dirt road on the mainland. It was settled 80 to 100 years ago by five families who inter-married and grew. Its population is 484 people, comprising 70 extended families, living in 85 houses (10 permanent and 75 non-permanent wattle-and-daub) built on sandy soil within sight of each other. In addition there are 2 public buildings, the St. Jude Catholic Church and the Sarvodaya Pre-School, and 1 government building, the grade (1-5) school. There are also 12 latrines (shared by members of a family) and 8 wells (non-drinkable). There are no roads on the island, only footpaths.

2. Societal factors (cultural, social, political, & economic):

Ten percent of people over 30 years old are illiterate; most people over 30 years old have gone up to Grade 5. Almost eighty percent depend on fishing for their livelihood 6 months/year; ninetytwo percent belong to the Karawa caste and the remaining to the Govi caste; the latter are newcomers by marriage to the village. Fish is sold by the women in the mainland everyday; they are out from 4-9 AM and have to return because fish spoil. Some boats fish at night. The average income per family varies during two seasons of the year: rough season (no fishing): Rs. 400-600/mo.; calm season (fishing): Rs. 1,000-2,500/mo. No political information available; everybody is Catholic.

3. Historical factors (experience & perceptions):

The Sarvodaya Movement (SM) has been here since 1980-2. In this SM division there are 20 villages; there is more participation here than in other villages since it was through SM that they began meeting their basic needs. Since SM has been in the village the quality of life has improved in several ways: 1)

Savings level has gone up — a) village as whole (Rs. 3,000 in SM), b) children's savings scheme, and c) individuals at large save more (increased awareness); 2) People are more aware of each other's needs — further, they are willing to help each other; 3) Sanitation and health has improved — through SM they have built a number of wells, have been taught to boil water, also to wash their hands with soap;² 4) People have acquired home gardening knowledge — since SM has come they have access to services of an Agricultural Instructor (government employee), utilizing chemical fertilizers, who has provided seeds or seedlings; and, 5) Income generating activities have included sewing classes taught to 20 girls 5 evenings/week for 6 months. The next project under way is the building of a bridge by shramadana efforts over the shallow crossing to the mainland which, most likely, will change not only the income level of villagers but also the type of life that they lead.

B. Mathupanthya Village Pre-school Project

Informants: Mr. Lelwala, SM Divisional Coordinator, and Mr. Lucas, Samithi Treasurer. Also the three pre-school teachers: Ms. R.M. Milani, Ms. Shirani Mercedes Ramel and Ms. Mary Margaret Fernando.

1. How is participation occurring?

a) Basis of participation : In 1982 Mr. Lelwala saw that there was need for a SM pre-school — the village children were not attending the government grade school due to lack of incentives and malnutrition. He called the Samithi's Mothers' Group together, aroused their interest and explained the benefits of sending children to school. He also worked with the Elders' Group that had started in '80 but was not very functional. The mothers' main incentive to participate in the creation and sustained support of the pre-school was the

realization that without education it would be difficult for their children to get ahead in life.

b) Form of participation: The Divisional Coordinator related with the Elders' and the Mothers' groups for about six months to get the project organized; then he passed that responsibility to the committee that had been elected by Samithi members. The pre-school was started and is run as a co-operative non-profit venture. There is direct participation of children, teachers, and mothers in this project. The rest of the villagers participate directly only at shramadanas

c) Extent of participation: In terms of time involved, the pre-school was in a rented house for the first 6 months, then 2 1/2 years in a wattle-and-daub building. In July '85 they started building a permanent structure (entirely built by on-&-off shramadana efforts in 6 weeks' time). The project's range of activities covers those carried out in a usual pre-school day running from 7:30 - 11:30 AM (open play, prayers, roll call, rhymes, dances, drawing, and feeding time). The children learn socializing skills, are creatively engaged, acquire good hygiene habits, and are fed a wholesome meal. The teachers work with the Public Health Inspector when he comes to the village every 3-6 months, assisting by weighing the children and keeping vaccination records. There is a savings programme for the children and they have started a Children's Fair Programme. The pre-school runs 12 months per year, with 2 weeks' holidays every 3 months. Future projects they wish to embark upon include a library (Rs. 2,000 has already been donated to this effect by the Sarvodaya Society of Fishing Villages), a school vegetable garden, and a community kitchen.

Fig. 17 Sarvodaya Pre-School Mathupanthya Village

d) Effect of participation: Interrelationships among participants have become much tighter, person-to-person relationships have improved. People also evidence an increase in self-esteem. The mothers now have long-term vision for their children (for example, the individual savings scheme, and the Children's Fairs where sweets and other goods were sold with savings of Rs. 5,000 in the last 6 months). People think that they are taking care of their children better (if they were to die the children at least would have some education and savings). The mothers have been taught about nutrition by the pre-school teachers, the children are better nourished, and there are more incentives to send them to grade school when they reach that age.

2. What kind of participation takes place?

a) Decision making: For initial decisions, please refer to 1 a and b above. On-going decisions are made by pre-school teachers and the Mothers' Group; if necessary, they approach the Elders' Group or the Samithi Executive.

b) Implementation: The resource contributions included Rs. 15,000 of USAID funds channeled through SM to cover the costs of purchased building materials. Other groups in the village Samithi also contributed funds to the extent of their ability (for example: to hire a tractor for a shramadana). The reason given for this is that they do not want to go outside the village for help; they would rather take care of their own needs. This is facilitated by the fact that the members of the Samithi are also the executives of the village groups. The land for the pre-school was donated; the on-going materials for teaching are purchased by funds from the Mothers' Group collected through small dues. The Division Coordinator coordinates activities with the SM Divisional Pre-school Inspector who visits once a month and upgrades the program. Enlistment is accomplished at the end of the year, when pre-school teachers go from house to house checking for next year's entrants.

d) Evaluation: This is done by : 1) the SM divisional pre-school inspector; 2) the local health worker; 3) the government physician on regular check-ups; and 4) the SM Division Coordinator as well. The mothers do not officially evaluate since "they lack education and skills" to do so.

C. Mathupanthya Village Mothers' Group

Informant: Ms. Rosemaria Tamel, President

1. Background info

My informant is 31 years old. She is the mother of an 11-year old daughter and an 8-year old son. She joined the Mothers' Group (MG) in 1982 when it was formed — after 3 weeks they started the pre-school. She is more educated than most villagers (she has completed Grade 8). She is divorced and owns 3 acres of coconut land (her divorce settlement); her mother helps her from a near-by village. She had lived in the village for 5 years before MG was formed; she sent her son to the pre-school for 1 year. There are 32 mothers in the group — one for each child. The women continue to be part of the MG even when the children go to primary school (this seemingly contradicts the earlier statement that the number of mothers was the same as the number of children attending pre-school). MG meets regularly once a month, and there is almost 100% attendance, unless somebody forgets. She feels she has learned a lot from SM — whenever the Village Samithi hosts lectures by SM speakers, she attends them and participates in all the activities.

2. How is participation occurring?

a. Basis of participation: The impetus for joining MG is the mother's interest in the child's education; their main focus is the pre-school. When asked if the women could also look into their own educational needs she responds that parents do not have much time for classes [as such] ; the youth may do it through the Youth Group.

b. Form of participation: The MG's organization consists of 5 yearly elected officers (President, Vice-president, Treasurer, Secretary, and Assistant Secretary). They also have a standing committee of about 12 elected people who do whatever needs to be done.

I asked my informant the reason why they needed to elect officers and a standing committee and she mentioned that the reason why these 5 and 12 people are elected is because "it is necessary to assume responsibility for different tasks". Therefore, there is direct participation by all members, though it takes two forms: active and passive.

c. Extent of participation: Regarding the time involved, everybody puts in whatever is needed. My informant has been President for 4 years now because she keeps being re-elected. She visits the pre-school daily; she devotes an hour to an hour and a half everyday to these activities. The MG's range of activities include: staging a yearly concert; holding a Christmas party in December; organizing Children's Fairs (twice/month); also, they are trying to build a fence around the pre-school; they interact with the Village Samithi, the Elders' Group, the Youth Group, and the Fishermen's Group.

d. Effect of participation: When ask my informant why did she participate in the MG she answers that "it makes her happy" to do this kind of thing. She says (very candidly) that when she does things, the other mothers follow. She impresses me as a dedicated and 'natural' leader. It is her opinion that since SM came to the village everybody's living conditions has improved, for example: 1) the children have learned good manners, they now have a sense of respect for teachers and elders; 2) the women are now on more equal status with men, they have their group and exert their influence; 3) at the village level she finds everybody interacts more closely since SM, and 4) she considers that her own relationship with her two children has improved since she joined SM.

D. Personal Accounts

1) Informant: Mr. W. Sebastian Tisera, fisherman, 39 years old, married, has five children. Mr. Tisera describes himself as a very poor villager. In answer to my questions about what changes, if any, had SM brought to his village he reports: before SM came the village was a "bare land", not much happening, no education for the children. When SM started the Catholic priest strongly discouraged the 100% Catholic population from participating but they overrode his objections because, after listening to some SM speakers, they thought they could benefit. Overall, their expectations have been fulfilled, for example: the footpaths are being improved, rich people were persuaded to donate land for the pre-school, for the first time 3 village members are receiving allowances for their work (viz. paid by the MG & Samithi to pre-school teachers). After Dr. Ariyaratne visited the village for the pre-school opening ceremonies villagers feel that now they are benignly "looked after". He contrasts SM with the government. he had come to Mathupanthya 30 years ago; during these years all the government did to improve their condition was build a grade school and give them 10 latrine slabs. He feels the government is useless for villagers — they had never gone with requests for jobs or land; only to ask the authorities to intervene to secure access to the only fresh water well which is located on the property of one of the wealthier families which will not share with others. The government failed to do anything, so they have given up on the well and to a great extent, also on the government. He believes that "day by day" things were improving: they were not going backwards. He personally benefitted by this project because he had one or two children of pre-school age who did not have to be looked after so that both he and his wife could go to market on days when there was a good catch. He

thinks that, on the overall, SM's influence has been beneficial for the village; he gave a longer account mentioning how the villagers used to drink arak and argue;³ the youngsters realized this was due to their parents' lack of education, they asked them to change their ways, and relations were improved. As a result, the police had not come to Mathupanthya in the last fifteen years. This type of beneficial personal and collective change is again taking place since SM entered their village.

2)Informant: Mr. Jiwadasa Lelwala, S.M. Divisional Coordinator, 34 years old, married, no children, education: Grade 12. He lives 3 mi. from Mathupanthya, close to the main road to Puttalam. He was originally from the highlands; in 1980 he was working as an assistant shopkeeper in a sugar corporation when he heard about SM and attended family gatherings. He joined and was sent to Moratuwa headquarters for a 2-week training course. He was attracted by the egalitarian and creative atmosphere at SM, also the fact that he could speak his mind openly. Upon completing the course he returned to his village to work as a SM volunteer; he had quit his job earlier and went back to live with his parents. After one year of work he was appointed Divisional Coordinator with an allowance of Rs. 500 per month. (SM has allowances rather than salaries; salaries are usually higher and include contributions to provincial and national employees' funds). He did not mind being paid less since he wants to work for SM rather than for money.⁴ He is married to another SM volunteer, the Pre-school Inspector for this area. Of the 26 villages in his Division he has selected 20 to start implementing the 5-Stage Village Development Program. Among some of the income generating activities he is contemplating for villages in his Division are the manufacture of bricks and the planting of cash-crops

(peanuts, cabbage, and chiles) to be accomplished through shramadana efforts. Instead of doing it individually, they are considering doing these projects as whole villages. He feels that SM's greatest contribution is the kinds of relationships that it fosters among people rather than other (more material) aspects of development efforts.

II. KATUKENDEGOLLA VILLAGE, KANDY DISTRICT

A. Katukendegolla Village Task Environment

Informant: Mr. Sisira Navaratne, Kandy District Coordinator

1. Physical and Natural Factors (geographic & biological):

Katukendegolla is a small village in the interior highlands at an elevation of 2,100 feet. It is connected to the main road from Kandy (13 miles but one to two hours away by bus) by a narrow shramadana-built road that turns into a footpath as it approaches this enclave (approximately 1Km. long). Most villagers seldom go to Kandy. They take care of their needs at a nearby larger settlement called Pamwila, which is mainly a trading centre (a few stores, a police station, and a post office) for plantation workers and surrounding villages. The houses at Katukendegolla are scattered over hilly rocky terrain, with hardly any level spots except those created by human-built terracing. It is surrounded by tea plantation lands and by virgin "jungle" (as the woodlands in this part of the country are known). This land is not suitable for cultivation, there are no paddy fields in this area, only tea plantations, so villagers must go out of the village to find jobs. Since they are not skilled, jobs are usually temporary and very hard to find. Malnutrition is widespread, most families have one or at most two meals a day, whereas the average Sri Lankan

cats three meals a day. The village has a population of 160 people making up 28 families, 26 of which belong to the Karawa caste and 2 to the Goyigama.

2. Historical Factors (experience and perceptions):

The original settlers came to Katukendegolla in the early '40's. In 1956 new villagers arrived from the surrounding area because they had lost their houses in a landslide. Consequently, it is a recent settlement where 93% of the villagers have come from within a 2.5 Km. radius due to shortage of land or natural disasters in adjacent villages.. Years ago they had registered with the government as a Young Farmers' Association in order to claim legal status for the lands they occupy but their efforts were not successful. Before SM's efforts with the villagers they thought of themselves as neglected members of society, not capable of much due to their geographical isolation and their very poor living conditions; these are very marginal lands for habitation and most of them are unskilled laborers. SM came to this village in 1981 and several shramadana projects have been completed successfully since then: latrines were installed, paths opened and maintained, a pre-school started (had been discontinued by the time I arrived), gravity-fed potable water brick reservoirs have been built (two reservoirs and 4 taps), and permanent brick houses constructed by each family (this report focuses on this last project).

Fig. 18 New House and Homemade Bricks. Katukendegolla Village

3. Societal Factors (cultural, social, political, & economic)

Socially, villagers had such a low-self image that they were too shy to even talk to the first SM workers that went to see them. Their personal understanding as well as their living conditions have changed so there is only a faint trace of this now. Some of the more educated villagers organized a local UNP association during the '77 elections - villagers decided they would all vote for that party (more than 90% of adult population of the village votes) in

hopes of gaining favors but the politicians' promises never materialized. The only ones who benefitted were the few who had acted as party organizers and were rewarded with government jobs, a widespread practice in the country. People now are politically disillusioned and very skeptical; this paved the way to SM's entrance to the village. It also led to conflicts over who would be more esteemed as village leaders — people connected with the UNP or with SM? With the exception of UNP families, they have settled for the latter mostly because SM 'delivered as promised'. Except for a couple of families, this village is caste and economically very homogeneous. There are 95 people (47 men and 48 women) capable of working; 50% of these are unemployed (15 men and 35 women) because of lack of opportunities.⁵ The average yearly income per family was Rs. 842 in 1985. 89% of the total village income comes from sources outside the village, a very different situation than in traditional villages.⁶ All villagers are Buddhist except for 1, which is Catholic.

B. Katukendegolla Village Housing Project

Informants: Mr. Sisira Navaratne, Kandy District Coordinator;

Mr. K.G. Premadasa, Samithi President; Ms. Amitha

Dissanayaka, former SM pre-school teacher and GW.

1. Who participates?

a) Local residents: 27 of the 28 families participate — mostly the 30 to 50 year old group. Those who have steady outside jobs per force participate less. Meetings are mostly attended by men, though when the men cannot come the women of the family go. In terms of land ownership all families have small

plots of land — of the 28 families, 66% have encroached or squatted on land. 25% of the families came because of their relationship with other families and maybe got some land from their relations, 7% bought land from people who sold it (though there were no legal documents). Only after completing construction of these permanent structures and paying taxes were these villagers granted a certificate from government sources.

b) Local leaders: The Sarvodaya's Rural Technical Services (RTS) head mason, since he lived two years in this village, acted as the project's main leader. RTS personnel are trained not only as technicians but also as community leaders, so that they can perform similar tasks to GW's. In the course of their stay other village leaders emerged, notably Mr. Primadasa, the Samithi President.

c) Government personnel: none involved.

d) Outside skilled personnel: 4 masons and 4 apprentices at the site (one of these masons was referred to above in 1b) and RTS personnel at the Kandy District Centre .

e) Foreign personnel: 3 Helvetas engineers, in particular Mr. Rudolf Stark, stationed in Kandy, and his counterpart in Colombo who trains RTS technicians for SM. As far as this informant was concerned Helvetas had the best program of all SM donors , viz. the most efficient and skilled personnel and a 'development philosophy' and methodology very similar to SM's.

2. What kind of participation takes place?

a) Decision making: The initial decisions were taken by Mr. Navaratne who requested construction funds from Helvetas and got the villagers committed to the self-help component of this project. In order to show their commitment the villagers were requested to make 6,000 bricks per family.⁷ After that stage

Mr. Navaratne's role was mainly administrative and the villagers assumed responsibility for most decisions, such as choosing one among the three floorplans designed by Helvetas as the model for their village. The villagers accomplished the brick making, the subsequent land terracing, and the construction of houses at each site through cooperative shramadana efforts. The ongoing decisions were made collectively at formal meetings twice a month and at 'family gatherings' which took place once a week. The operational decisions were taken by the RTS masons who instructed the villagers and directed the project in situ.

b) Implementation: The resource contributions for this project included those furnished by RTS/Helvetas (approximately Rs. 11,800 per house) and those provided in-kind by the villagers (approximately Rs. 8,800 per house)⁸. The administration and coordination of the housing scheme was carried out by the head mason, Mr. Karunapala and Mr. Premadasa, the Samithi President. Both men related to RTS personnel in Kandy. The recruiting of volunteers for this project presented no problems since, with the exception of only one family, all the villagers wanted new houses and were very motivated to get things done. The housing scheme's preliminary stages began in February, 1982 and final completion was planned for October, 1986.

c) Consequences: The material benefits were the brand new houses constructed, as well as building a road and upgrading footpaths. As a result of constructing permanent structures the government granted them proper deeds for their lands under the Swarna Bhoomi Programme. Several of them have learned how to keep accounts and, if they can, to save. The social consequences were mainly derived from the 'family gatherings' where people learned social graces and how to interact with each other (before they hardly spoke to each other). The building of a road to reach the main road to Pamwila

and the upgrading of footpaths linking their houses has broken down their isolation and also contributed to better communication. Among the personal consequences the most important is a new-found sense of security and identity. As a result of family gatherings now everybody speaks their mind — "even the ladies". My informant felt that even children had benefitted directly because they learned the skill of brick making. He spoke in terms of being "no longer afraid" : if he now wanted to build an addition to improve his house, he is confident he can do it. As a result of this new-found confidence the villagers are now planting trees and spices around their houses as well as becoming more interested in income generating activities, such as obtaining SM's loans for buying cows, goat, or poultry or making and marketing bricks. Among the spiritual consequences people are now more aware of Buddhist principles, they now attend funerals and religious ceremonies which they did not attend before, they have become more understanding and patient with each other. In sum, the entire village participated in an active and direct way and benefitted from this project; the only exception was the family who chose not to participate and benefitted (albeit indirectly) by the improved paths and roads.

4)Evaluation: RTS/Helvetas personnel carried out a technical evaluation but nobody at the village or Kandy District Centre was entrusted with the task of evaluating broader aspects of this project to determine how it is affecting the villagers' perceptions and actions.

C. RTS/Helvetas Housing Project Characteristics

Informants: Mr. Rudolf Stark, Helvetas engineer stationed in Kandy
Mr. Gamini Soysa, RTS staff at Kandy District Centre

1. Entry effects: The technological requirements were supplied by Helvetas and RTS working in conjunction with villagers. An important factor they stress from the beginning is that this is not a Helvetas or SM project — it is the villagers'. In this case the villagers had to prove their commitment by building a specified quota of bricks per family before Helvetas and RTS granted their request for funds and technical assistance. Among the technical skills required to carry out this project were: surveying, designing, drafting, carpentry, and masonry. Resource requirements were described in more detail in section 2b above. The source of 1/3 of Helvetas funds comes from direct contributions by Swiss citizens and 2/3 by the Swiss international aid agency. In Sri Lanka Helvetas also receives funds (approximately 20% of its budget)

from UNICEF and other international NGO's. RT's headquarters did not contribute any other funding for this project.

2. Benefit effects: The beneficial effects included the provision of adequate housing where before there had been leaky and dilapidated buildings as well as fostering an attitude of creativity and confidence unknown to the villagers. They now have discovered that by personal and cooperative effort they are indeed capable of improving their lives.

3. Design effects: The programme linkages for this project reflected the common interests in Helvetas' and SM's approach to development. Helvetas' development policy is based on a commitment to benefit the people of the lowest economic level applying the principles of self-help, self-reliance, and partnership. SM's 10 Basic Needs and 5-Stage Village Development Programme are congruent with Helvetas' aims so that there is a common-purpose linkage between the programmes of these two NGO's and the projects they sponsor jointly. Helvetas' main link to SM is RTS

with whom they work in a funding, advisory, and training capacity. There is a lot of programme flexibility and administrative accessibility at both NGO's since they are both geared to respond to bottom-up requests if these fall within the scope of the services they provide. In terms of administrative coverage, Helvetas receives requests from SM's district coordinators twice a year. They then conduct preliminary surveys to ascertain if projects are technically feasible and later discuss the order of priorities according to their budgetary limitations. When the project has been approved by the District Coordinator and Helvetas, the latter take over by working in conjunction with RTS at each specific site. The important task of bookkeeping — according to this informant a lot of money has been saved through efficient accounting practices — was carried out by Helvetas paid personnel (they provide normal salaries rather than allowances) who were, as well, working for RTS.

D. Personal accounts

1) Informant: Mr. K.G. Karunapala, RTS Head Mason. In 1981 he had worked in the water project at this village. He returned in 1984 and lived with the villagers for two years. The District Coordinator had instructed him to introduce villagers to SM principles since he had received leadership training. In order to do this he organized "family gatherings" and gradually carried out a programme of SM cultural and spiritual activities designed to awaken villagers to their own potential. It became clear in the course of his account that he both led and followed the villagers' initiatives and that he blended these two functions very well. When asked to describe what took place at these gatherings he told how they started by taking the Five Buddhist Precepts ⁹ and reciting SM religious chants to awaken compassion and then

sat with backs straight and closed eyes meditating for a short while. (He himself had been taught meditation by a Buddhist monk and by a Helvetas engineer stationed in Kandy before Mr. Stark's arrival). I asked him about the villagers' response and he said they always expressed they were refreshed after meditating and wanted to do it. After meditation they took care of business matters. Plans were made for shramadanas which usually took place the following day, on Sundays. After this they engaged in social activities. He thought that they needed a lot of encouragement socially so he helped them by organizing "games of logic" ¹⁰ in which everybody participates, enacting dramas, singing songs, and reciting poems, always teaching them to express themselves. They had also started to collect funds to start a library. Though most people could hardly read and write, he instructed those who could in how to take minutes. He believes that the main benefits reaped were mostly spiritual and cultural and that these were badly needed in this village.

2) Informant: Ms. U.G. Hemalatha, housewife, married with 4 children ranging from 9-months to 8-years old. She came to the village 9 years ago when she married; her husband has a steady job at the nearby tea plantation. They own 1/2 acre of land; she has completed Grade 6. When she came to the village everybody lived in very small houses that leaked in the rainy season so that people became sick. She attended 'family gatherings' but only goes to formal meetings when her husband cannot go. She mentions that 'family gatherings' have been discontinued since the head mason left a month ago. She used to be a member of the Women's Group but it disbanded after Amitha left and the next pre-school teacher married and re-located. The children used to gather edible leaves and do crafts that they sold at Children's Fairs and put into savings but this is no longer done. Home gardens that were begun

were discontinued after Amitha left. She confirms that government politicians never gave them anything — only Sarvodaya. She emphasizes the material benefits that were reaped. She is looking forward to participating again in SM projects, especially income generating efforts.

FIELD DATA ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

This analysis focuses on the Movement's Village Development Programme, specifically on the issue of participation and its contribution to enhanced and sustained wellbeing in each of the two projects researched. This is presented through four organizational levels in the Movement. Based on the data gathered from informants (partially presented above), printed matter, and my impressions as a result of personal involvement, this section then comes to analytical conclusions about the Movement as a representative case of participatory development efforts.

The specific focus of participation and the benefits that accrued from these participatory development efforts at sustained development in the two village projects I researched, the Mathupanthya Village Pre-school and the Katukendegolla Village Housing, may be summarized by analyzing types of participation (shown in matrix form) taking place at different levels of organization within the Movement as follows:

I. Village Level

At the village level both projects had a high component of direct/active participation by all members. In Mathupanthya the pre-school children,

teachers, and mothers were both participants and beneficiaries in this project. The children benefitted by socializing with each other and being stimulated to engage in creative activities, by being fed at least one nutritious meal/day, by being instructed in habits of personal hygiene and good manners, by participating at fairs, and by accruing savings and learning how to save from an early age. Also their physical growth and health were more easily monitored by the visiting physician. The village teachers acquired teaching skills and were rewarded for their efforts by allowances. The mothers acquired useful information about their children, health procedures, and nutrition. In addition, they became organized in a women's group and could voice their concerns through their representatives at the village Samithi. Mathupanthya as a whole benefitted since now more children were entering the grade school and because the pre-school project marked the beginning, as in many other villages, of the Movement's consolidation of its 5 stage village development programme. In the course of the interviews I held it became evident that people's lives were being changed by association with Sarvodaya, not only by material benefits but also by its 'philosophy'.

I was left with the overall impression that people's personal and collective awareness was being awakened in the process of aiding them to satisfy their basic human needs.

In Katukendegolla, all villagers except one family participated and benefitted. Here the Movement had already began its activities and this housing scheme was the fourth SM project the villagers were embarking upon. Among its most important beneficial effects I found the following: acquiring new skills and confidence; receiving title to the lands they had illegally occupied; creating a more adequate, comfortable and healthy

habitat; ¹¹ increasing communication among villagers and with the outside; and realizing that by pooling their efforts they could satisfy their basic needs. I detected in the villagers' attitudes a pronounced interest on the material benefits which was understandable considering that they had been extremely deprived and had received a relatively large input of material resources. At the time of my visit they seemed to have interrupted some of the cultural, social, and spiritual components of the Movement's approach to development, such as 'family gatherings', which hopefully they would resume when they undertook their next SM project.

In both villages participants expressed that they had: become more aware of themselves and their condition, felt better about themselves, had improved relations with each other, had become more skilled and confident in the process of taking care of their own needs, and had accrued the material benefits they had sought. Through their association with the Movement and their cooperative shramadana efforts, they were gradually creating from the bottom up the conditions for their enhanced and sustained wellbeing. The projects they participated in had awakened them inwardly and empowered them outwardly, so that they felt more capable of envisioning and enacting actions towards desired change, both at personal and collective levels of participation.

Table VIII

Types of Participation in Two Village Projects Researched

	Direct	Indirect
Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-school children, teachers, and Mothers' Group • All villagers (- 1 family) in housing project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villagers represented by both local Samithis
Passive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatively less active members in Mothers' Group • Villagers too young or too old to work in housing project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families with no pre-school children • Family which did not build new house

II. Divisional Centre Level

Participation at this level took the form of coordination of the logistics of the projects researched. This was carried out by a Divisional Coordinator, supported by 3 or 4 assistants and 2 Gramadana workers. The Movement now comprises nearly 300 of these centres and all staff has had previous experience in participating at village level development work. These centres allow for information and resources to flow among villages in a particular locale, which otherwise would be isolated. They also support the Lifeline and SEEDS activities of the villages, connect them with available government services in the area, and engage in most of the report writing involved in these programmes.

Table IX

Types of Participation at Divisional Centre Level

	Direct	Indirect
Active	Divisional Coordinator, GW's, & other staff involved in the two projects researched	Villagers involved in the two projects researched
Passive	Other staff at Divisional Centre not involved in the two projects researched	Villagers of adjacent villages within same district

III. District Centre Level

Participation at the District Centre level is in the form of administration of the projects' budget allocations and other related activities such as accounting, expenditure control and disbursement of funds. Participation also takes the form of training at the development education institutes that these District Centres run. These tasks are carried out by the District Centre Coordinator and her/his staff. People also participate through a District Executive Council which acts in an advisory capacity. There are 28 District Centres; of these, the 10 most active in addition to a District Coordinator, also have a Field Director as well.

Table X

Types of Participation at District Centre Level

	Direct	Indirect
Active	District Coordinator, GW's, and other members of the staff involved in the projects researched	Villagers involved in the project
Passive	Members of the District Level Executive Council & other staff not involved in the two projects researched	Villagers of adjacent villages in the district

IV. Central Moratuwa Headquarters Level

Participation at the central headquarters level takes the form of long-term and broad-scope decision making, monitoring, and evaluation of projects. The Movement's participants at this level perform such functions as relating to donors, administering funds thus obtained, formulating projects and reporting their outcomes. Most participants at Moratuwa are either members who have been with the Movement for a long time and have progressively taken on broader responsibilities, or professionals who have recently been drawn by its philosophy and contribute in their particular areas of expertise. Villagers participate at Moratuwa headquarters when they come for conferences or to acquire development skills, since it is the Movement's main locus for training courses and workshops.

Table XI

Types of Participation at Moratuwa Headquarters

	Direct	Indirect
Active	District Coordinator and other headquarters' staff involved in the two projects researched	Villagers involved in the two projects researched
Passive	Members of the Executive Council of the Sangamaya & other staff not involved in the two projects researched	Other Movement members at large; donors & their constituencies

In terms of participation at the three organization levels of the Movement beyond the villages discussed above (i.e. divisional, district, and headquarters), the members I interviewed and lived with felt, with few exceptions, that their work was related to a 'cause'. This cause was to further their own awakening and that of their fellow human beings, the essence of Sarvodaya's message. Though they received allowances for their work, in terms of material benefits, a lot of personal time is donated by these committed members since for them this is not only a job or their vocation — it is their life. For many of them, not only at the centres but also at the villages, their activities revolve mostly around Sarvodaya. For these members the awakening element, particularly in the young, is very strong. So is their sense of empowerment. The latter is related to a feeling of standing on some 'sane' ground. In the midst of poverty, turmoil, and brutality, Sarvodaya provides the precious alternative of living a wholesome human life in an otherwise economically bleak and psychologically demoralized setting. To them

Sarvodaya is not merely saying a loud NO to that reality, it is effectively working to change it.

In order to analyze the more generalized findings of the participant/observer field research of the Movement as an exponent of sustainable participatory development efforts, the following paragraphs will briefly review the Movement's activities from the perspective of the aspects, or theoretical propositions, presented in Chapters IV and V.

As the case study material shows, the Sarvodaya Movement is a *participatory and holistic agent of personal and societal transformation*. Though different people are able to integrate their message with varying degrees of awareness and change, this message, viz. that *awakening and development are synonymous*, is both the means and the goal of their *endogenous* approach. I found the Movement to be a genuine product of Sri Lankan culture and society, performing indispensable functions that the state cannot provide or collaborating with government authorities to assist them in performing those that they are capable of offering. Sarvodaya's vision of development is firmly grounded in grass roots efforts while, at the same time, it *combines elements of both micro and macro perspectives*, as reflected in Ariyaratne's latest works. They have earned themselves a well-deserved reputation for *equity* and deliverance of services that are aimed to reach the neediest no matter what their ethnic background, caste, religion, age, or sex. Though firmly grounded in the *transcendental values of Buddhism*, these are used to include rather than exclude the participation of non-Buddhists in the Movement. Their approach is *multidisciplinary and human-centred*, maximizing *synergistic links* that are put into effect by villagers themselves.

Their Five-Stage Village Development Program has created a *spatially connected and common-interests linked network* of over 5,000 villages which aim to combine *devolution and decentralization* while implementing a cohesive strategy of *development from below*. These efforts have a strong *self-reliant* component mainly carried out by means of shramadana, the voluntary sharing of labour, food, and ideas . Based on my attendance of these, I sensed that shramadanas and 'family gatherings' of varying duration are instrumental not only in getting tasks done, but also in creating the ideal type of society and modus vivendi that the Movement seeks to propagate. Consequently, they are a most valuable agent of transformation where *means and goals are one*.

The *Ten Basic Human Needs* that they aim to satisfy intend to create a no-poverty no-affluence society with a *participatory democratic culture* rooted in Sri Lanka's past but spearheading its future through a process of *non-violent* revolution. Such process intimately connects the *need for an inner paradigm shift to occur so as to bring about an external paradigm change*. This connection happens with varying degrees of depth and strength, as is likely to be the case anywhere in the world where such attempts are being made.

This non-violent revolution in Sri Lankan society is intimately connected with the Movement's emphasis on the relationships between *peace and development, inner and outer manifestations of peace, and personal and collective efforts to achieve sustainable peace* in a society deeply wounded by internecine civil war. As far as I could discern Sarvodaya's sustainable peace cum development integrates as well an *ecologically conscious* perspective

which emphasizes that science and technology are to serve human beings, rather than the inverse. In their activities, therefore, they tend to favour practices such as *organic gardening and agriculture, and soft technologies*, whenever appropriate. I visited Sarvodaya experimental farms that were utilizing bio-gas as sources of energy and read reports on fuel maximizing stoves but was unable to ascertain to what extent these are being used by people themselves or if the technology research centres are conducting their work in a participatory way.

Among the hardest aspects to observe were issues relating to oral communication.¹² In this regard I was obviously hampered by my lack of knowledge of local languages. Despite this limitation and based on my impressions and the information offered by those more intimately connected with the Movement, I venture to say that all three types of communication discussed in Chapter V are taking place, depending on the level of intimacy and the function the communication is meant to perform. *Shared-awareness communication* is aimed for, though not always achieved, at 'family gatherings' and among those that keep intimate and frequent contact with each other. *Two-way communication* is the one mostly used, specially in the performance of everyday tasks and duties, and *one-way communication*, though discouraged by the Movement is widely accepted culturally in Sri Lanka, and often times does take place. In terms of *media* communication the Movement makes ample use of written materials in the form of pamphlets, charts, and books. It also prints and distributes two periodic publications, Dana magazine in English and a Movement newspaper in local languages. The fact that Sarvodaya owns a modern printing press has greatly facilitated the spread of its message within the country and abroad. Another characteristic

in terms of communication is related to the size of the island. Since the country is relatively small, personal appearances of its leaders (mostly Dr. Ariyaratne) are frequent and very influential. They inspire adherents and give cohesion to the Movement, widely perceived as the 'Sarvodaya family'.¹³ This last characteristic partially counterbalances deficiencies in modern telecommunications methods and roads and it also accounts for the important role of his charismatic leadership when the Movement is compared to other networks involved in societal transformation in more industrialized parts of the world.

The Movement's approach also *equates development with education*. Their present activities may be divided between a) *maintenance learning*, such as teaching survival or income generating skills, and b) *innovative learning*, such as when they teach meditation techniques or leadership skills. With regards to the promotion of such educational skills as training in mindfulness and awareness through the use of meditation techniques, I found that these are being used mostly in the context of *peace* -related activities, such as workshops and rallies. With a few exceptions, I encountered little follow-through in terms of incorporating these practices into one's daily lifestyle. This is a lamentable under-utilization of a very valuable tool to bring about fundamental change. Dr. Ariyaratne, an experienced meditator himself, is aware of the need to integrate meditation in one's daily life but this is an area where more personal and collective efforts could be encouraged.

After visiting Sri Lanka it is my estimation that the Sarvodaya Movement's appeal is based mainly on two factors. First, the inability of the government to provide for the needs of the poor due to the combined lack of

resources and of creativity. I came across wide-spread disillusionment with the state's policies and with its abilities to fulfill campaign promises. At the village level, this is the factor that opens the door for the first SM workers to come in. At other levels of the organization it is also the main motivation for members of different professions to become involved in the Movement's work. The perception that the state is no longer capable of catering to the needs of its citizens is now being juxtaposed by an increasing number of people to perceptions that Sarvodaya has a track record of thirty years of development work — that it has, and still does, 'deliver'. Sarvodaya seems to have earned a reputation for a well-deserved 'trust', both with the poor and the not-so-poor of Sri Lanka as well as with members of alternative movements abroad. This is not to deny that numerous critics exist, nationally and internationally, but so far they have not been capable of undermining the Movement's consolidation as a successful development NGO.

This success is related to the second factor that accounts for their appeal: the Movement's approach to development is *participatory, holistic*, and couched in *popularly understandable terms* and *placing the 'last' first*. Because this approach was forged *organically* over a long period of time by interacting with common people and incorporating the 'last' into the process of development, rather than being devised and implemented by the 'first' from above, it is readily understood and sensible to carry out. I found that this was recognized even by the higher echelons in the bureaucracy since both the Minister of Health and the Secretary to the Minister of Agricultural Development and Research told me that they found Sarvodaya's work very valuable in that they could use the Movement's network to deliver government services more effectively. Another important contribution towards a better

micro/macro linkage is that some government personnel are being sent for training to Sarvodaya development education centres.

When focusing on the implementation of their approach I noticed a wide-spectrum of degrees of internalization of Sarvodaya's awakening efforts. This internalization is important because it addresses the question of whether the Movement is merely an aid-disbursing agency or an organization creating the favourable conditions conducive to personal and collective paradigm shift. Or, placed in a different perspective, what is the gap between the Movement's theory of development and what is taking place in people's lives out in the field.

I found that the spectrum of degree of internalization ranged from people who relate to SM as they would to any other organization providing employment or assistance without any personal awakening or awareness of change other than of a material nature, to people who conceded that Sarvodaya was involved in "something bigger" (meaning spiritually and culturally) but they felt they themselves were not. These people had their own motivation for doing development work and wanted to act under Sarvodaya's umbrella of efforts. But most of the people I had contact with belonged to the other side of the spectrum, i.e. they were at varying degrees of internalization of paradigm shift, depending on the length of contact with the Movement and their own personal propensities. Many and varied were the accounts I heard of having "changed", that is, of having altered the form and purpose of one's life after coming in contact with the Movement. Some were just beginning their efforts, knowing that they were attracted to Sarvodaya's message but still trying to understand how it fitted their lives. Others were

veterans whose lifestyle and position within the movement reflected years of personal and collective involvement.

Despite this diversity, which was to be expected, I was left with the overall impression that, given time and proper conditions, the Movement's awakening message does get across to those who are ready for it. With regards to the creation of these proper conditions I would venture to offer two recommendations, one concerning self-evaluations and the other women.

Given that the efforts at conscientization at village, divisional, district, and Headquarters levels evidenced a high level of grass-roots participation it is highly desirable that people themselves who are participating at these different levels conduct their own evaluation of what they are involved in. This process of self-reflection seems essential in order to integrate theory and practice in organic sustainable development efforts. These self-evaluations could take the form of personal reflections to themselves and/or be done collectively as well. For example, each mother and the Mathupanthya Mothers' Group as a whole could be encouraged to reflect on the benefits and mistakes of their project. And also on how participation in the project changed (or did not change) their personal understanding and actions. Contrary to what I was told, one need not be "educated" to accomplish this. If something along these lines had been done at Katukendegolla for each project that had been completed, maybe people themselves would have realized that they were not internalizing Sarvodaya's message as evidenced by the lack of continuity in crucial activities (for example, 'family gatherings', Children's Fairs, and savings) once the SM animator left the village. It is also advisable that these self-evaluations or self-reflections be done by GW's at divisional

centres and by all those involved in the project at the District Centre, and also at Moratuwa headquarters.

According to a District Co-ordinator who was one of my informants, he did not conduct such evaluations because nobody at Headquarters had requested them nor was going to read them if they were offered. His remarks prompt me to say that the main motivation for evaluations need not necessarily be outsiders, donors, or superiors but that they are an excellent heuristic exercise unto themselves that could be perceived as awakening the evaluator herself/himself. In addition, it would not be a bad idea if the Movement's theoreticians [such as Ariyaratne and members of the Sarvodaya Research Institute] consulted and paid heed to this self-evaluating component of their projects and programmes. Whatever the form it takes, it seems important that the Movement's participatory efforts incorporate a self-evaluation component which addresses in people's own terms Sarvodaya's spiritual, moral, cultural, social, political, and economic aspects of an awakening process (the theory or view), so as to foster critical awareness and increase the probability of success of their endeavours (the practice). Such exercise might help bring together theory and practice. It would also diminish chances of the Movement becoming identified in people's reality with a surrogate economic/political entity that merely looks after some of their material needs.

Another observation I would like to offer is that it would be very beneficial if more women were incorporated in positions of leadership beyond the sphere of activities of village groups, where they constitute 77% of participants.¹⁴ For example, only two of the twenty eight District Coordinators

were women at the time I was visiting. This skewed representation is also found at the level of the Executive Council of the Sangamaya at central headquarters; only 7 of the 75 members in this executive body are women (this includes one of the Vice Presidents).¹⁵ I found that women in leadership positions at Moratuwa were mostly in charge of welfare efforts; the Movement's development efforts were almost exclusively under male leadership.

In terms of development activities, it seems that the more active and direct the type of participation (i.e. village or urban shanty town level), the more women participants we find. As we approach levels beyond the confines of the village (that is, divisional and above) the percentage of women in leadership positions declines sharply. These are the levels where villagers' interests are being *represented by others*. This is reflected in the matrices shown above where, from the divisional level up (Tables IX, X, and XI), villagers are shown to participate in an active but indirect, viz. through representatives, capacity. At these levels women's interests are hardly represented by fellow women. This is an area where much work could be done.

The Movement has started the Sarvodaya Women's Movement in 1987. I have not visited Sri Lanka since then and from the printed matter I have been recently sent most of the activities seem to be focusing around creating income generating opportunities through interaction with SEEDS or in collaboration with other international NGO's. These are mostly, but not entirely, confined to traditional women's activities such as sewing; growing, processing and/or selling food and edible and medicinal plants; and cottage

industries (coir, hemp, batik). This is unfortunate since it reinforces the tendency found in most societies, and Sri Lanka is no exception, to relegate women's training to stereotyped traditionally female, low paying occupations rather than training them for more lucrative skills.¹⁶

I can offer two reflections based on the reports I received and in reference to the presentation of women issues made in Chapter V. First, if the emphasis of the programmes conducted so far is on training women for income generating activities, it is to be hoped that men are being led to culturally accept responsibility for, and being trained to perform, domestic skills traditionally limited to women only. The fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons need to approach household and child-rearing duties in a new light and the Movement could be very instrumental in this regard, since a lot of its activities are focused on changing attitudes, particularly in the young. A similar educational approach to the one used to combat the habit of alcoholism (see Ref. # 3) could be effectively attempted to combat the habit of female deprivation. I would recommend that the income generating training be a simultaneous two-pronged approach, so that as women's lives change, so do men's. In other words, the awakening/empowerment component here would be that new income generating training is both for women and men (in terms of new income opportunities for the former and of more wholesome and just habits for the latter).

Secondly, it seems that the Sarvodaya Women's Movement sprang to life fully grown since merely a year after its inception Ariyaratne's Foreword to the 1988 Annual Report states that "The membership exceeds that of any other

women's organization in Sri Lanka". This is clarified further when the report describes:

Presently there are 5, 637 Sarvodaya Villages and [sic] have 3,582 active Women's groups (Mothers Organizations) in them. The membership exceeds 139,447 [Sarvodaya Women's Movement Annual Report, 1988:4].

This means that the Mothers' Groups which are closely linked to the village Sarvodaya preschool, since when a child is registered the mother automatically becomes a member [Macy,1985:80], have in turn, automatically become the 'Women's Movement'.

If this is the case, there are both advantages and disadvantages to this approach. Its advantages are that through such automatic enlistment the Sarvodaya Women's Movement does not have to concern itself with recruiting and traditional barriers to entry and also it has immediate access not only to a well-established communications and organizational network but also to funds and expertise. The detrimental side of such an arrangement is the fact that since women did not volitionally choose to become members of a women's movement to address women's issues specifically — their primary interest was enrolling a child in a preschool — they might not know what they are engaged in. This would be a case of either formal (to avoid sanction) or imitative (without understanding) participation, rather than responsible participation which results from free conscious decision (these were categories of participation mentioned in Chapter III).

If this were so then, at the personal level, women might not be able to participate consciously. Collectively, the Women's Movement as a whole might not be capable of forging an organic vision of its own, that is, one that integrates their aspirations and capabilities, both as women and as Sarvodaya

members. These situations, though disadvantageous, are not insurmountable if the women become aware of these risks, individually and as a group, and take countervailing steps to avoid them. Failure to do so would considerably hamper their capabilities to inspire motivation and create favourable conditions for the emergence of female power from within. This, in turn, would have adverse effects on the new kind of society the Movement as a whole is attempting to bring forth, since it would perpetuate conditions of *andocracy* (i.e. dominator systems relations) rather than creating values and practices conducive to *gylany* (i.e. partnership systems relations). This is one area where, so far, neither paradigm shift nor non-violent revolution seems to be taking place in Sarvodaya's approach.

Despite these shortcomings this case study has led me to conclude that the Sarvodaya Movement's efforts do indeed support the hypothesis presented in this essay: that participatory development paradigms could create the optimum conditions to enhance and sustain the well-being of individuals and communities ranging from the local to the global scale. As the material in this and the preceding chapter shows, Sarvodaya has created these optimum conditions for wellbeing, both within the organization and Sri Lankan society at large, through its focus on participation, co-operation, and self-help. Its participatory strategy of development has also contributed to sustained wellbeing by its awakening and empowering capabilities, which have not only delivered material benefits but have created a network of groups that co-operate synergistically to carry out their holistic efforts at personal and societal transformation. I have not addressed the topic of Sarvodaya's influence beyond the shores of Sri Lanka, and this concluding section seems to be a good place to discuss the global impact the Movement might have.

Sarvodaya's message finds resonance within other South as well as North societies. The Movement formed an organization in 1981, Sarvodaya Shramadana International, to explore this resonance and establish ties with like-minded individuals and groups in other societies since the alternatives it presents address crises that are shared by all of us, in one form or another. This is particularly true because, as in the case of the Chinese ideogram in Fig. 2, it portrays crises not only as danger but also as opportunity.¹⁷ All societies have the opportunity at present to combine personal with societal transformation; to blend transcendental values with mundane issues; to include grass-roots ventures of all types; to strive for what one considers right without falling into competitive partisan traps; to create avenues for the expression of human creativity that include children, youth, and the aged, and; to discover skillful processes and techniques that foster the participation of all members of society ready to embark upon such transformations as an affirmation of their local identity and their global consciousness.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

¹ I spent six weeks conducting research in Sri Lanka on the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, having been invited by the Movement's founder and president, Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne. I wish to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude for the warm hospitality and the access to information offered to me by all members of the Movement. In particular, I wish to thank Dr. Ariyaratne whose invaluable co-operation made this research possible and who, then as well as now, continuously responds with directness and openness to my inquisitive concerns about Sarvodaya.

Since, unfortunately I speak neither Tamil nor Singhalese, I was assisted in my work in the villages by Mr. Manjushri Fernando, of Tamawila village, who acted as interpreter and informant in the gathering data stages of this research. To him and his family I wish to extend my sincere thanks. Among the English-speaking members of the Movement who took time from their busy schedules to provide information I wish to specially thank Mr. Ariyawansa Withana, Puttalam District Coordinator and Mr. Sisira Navaratne, Kandy District Coordinator, in whose districts were located the two villages studied in this report; Mr. Gamini Soyza, of the Kandy District Centre, Mr. W.G. Ganegama, Director of Sarvodaya Rural Technical Services; Mr. Sathis de Mel, Director of Programmes and Projects, and Mr. Mohideen, Assistant Director of Marga Institute and member of the Sarvodaya Sangamaya Executive Committee. I also wish to express my appreciation to the following for the interviews they granted me during my stay in Sri Lanka: Dr. Attapatu, Sri Lanka's Minister of Health, Mr. Waragoda, Secretary to Sri Lanka's Minister of Agricultural Development and Research, Mr. Rudolf Stark of HELVETAS and Mr. Sam Kenrick of OXFAM. I am also grateful for the encouragement and assistance in establishing contacts extended to me by Mr. Nissanka Wijewardane, Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka's mission to the United Nations. The list of people who housed and fed me, with whom I lived, talked and worked in the villages, district centres, and Moratuwa Headquarters is too long to include here; nevertheless, I must mention my sincere appreciation for the generous and cordial reception they extended to me as a fellow human being and as a researcher.

² It is especially important that people acquire the habit of washing their hands carefully with soap since no toilet paper is available (there was none in the latrines I used) but instead people rinse themselves with water, using their left hand. It is also customary to eat without utensils, using the right hand only. Even though different hands are used for each activity it is of utmost importance to use soap when washing to prevent spread of diseases transmitted by minuscule larvae or worms that may pass from one hand to the other and into the digestive tract, causing amoebic dysentery and tapeworm infestation.

³ Alcoholism is particularly widespread in coastal fishing villages and disrupts, as wherever it happens, the ability to function sanely not only for individual alcoholics, but also their families, and in cases, entire villages. The Movement is particularly well suited to approach this important yet very

touchy subject because both in its theory as well as in its implementation of development efforts it starts by addressing personal experience and builds up from there. Alcoholism and its consequences are topics talked about by SM staff when they approach these villages, at stage I when they are trying to create a psychological and practical infrastructure. During my stay in the coastal region I witnessed drunken behaviour on several occasions and also found out that both toddy and arak (the fermented coconut beverages most widely used in the area) are processed and distributed by government owned distilleries and shops. An exception to this is when people are too poor to purchase these so that they resort to illegal manufacture and sales. An excellent study on this topic was carried out at the Sarvodaya Research Institute by Nandasena Ratnapala entitled Alcohol and People. This topic also came up during my conversations with Mr. Withana, Puttalam District Coordinator. In his view a lot of villages in his district are so poor as a direct result of money spent to buy alcohol, which can be as high as two thirds of the family income. The best way Sarvodaya has found to combat alcoholism is by changing the awareness in children and youngsters and by offering contrasts and comparisons encouraging improvement, rather than judging and preaching [Tape #3].

4 The Movement relies heavily on volunteer labour as the self-help component of grass-roots development. When it comes to permanently employed members of its staff it does not pay as much as a similar position would pay outside the movement mainly for two reasons: 1) it lacks the funds for higher compensations (even now the admittedly low allowances of Rs. 350 being paid to GW's is SM's highest recurring cost) and, 2) it aims to foster in its members an awareness of "right livelihood" — this takes into account basic needs and balanced consumption — rather than employment [CIDA, 1987:40].

5 The breakdown of those employed was as follows: 15 are plantation labourers, 1 is a plantation security guard, 2 are government workers, 7 casual labourers who do not have a specific job but just walk in the morning and find a job — maybe painting, working in a garden or a field. The last do not have a specific trade or skill, they might go 10 mi. one day, a half mi. another day. 3 do petty trading in food or leaves, and 4 are self employed.

6 The breakdown for the disbursement of family income was as follows: 89% for food, 4% for clothing, 2% for fuel like kerosene, 0.93% for medical expenses, 0.91% for education, 0.86% for housing needs, 0.59% for transportation, 0.45% for social services in the village, and 0.01% for entertainment and 0% for communication, like newspapers. In 1985 the total village income was Rs. 280,174 but they spent Rs. 398,280 — the difference had to be borrowed from local money lenders who charge interest rates as high as 25%. The debt is usually accrued by charging food at the near-by stores or obtaining loans from government sources which are seldom paid back.

7 They had never made bricks before but they accomplished this task through shramadana using the clayish soil around their houses which, though poor for cultivation, proved excellent for making bricks. This was done in a cooperative effort where they helped each other forming teams of 8 people, with 2 people (including children) working together per mold. Within 5

months' time every single family of the 27 participating in the project had their 6,000 bricks ready.

8 The breakdown of these contributions is as follows: RTS supplied cement, aluminum sheets for roofing, windows and doors, reinforcement rods, coconut rafters, nails, tiles, transportation and the services of professional masons and their apprentices. The villagers supplied bricks, sand, and rubble plus the unskilled labour. They also provided accommodations for the masons and their lunch and tea on working days.

9 These Five Precepts or *Pañca-sila* comprise the minimum moral obligations of the lay Buddhist: not to destroy life, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to tell lies, and not to take intoxicants [Rahula, 1978:80].

10 Here he is supposedly referring to Sri Lanka's riddles, an ancient popular educational tool testing one's wits. In Sinhalese Folklore, Folk Religion, and Folk Life Ratnapala writes:

The riddle or the Teravilla is popular in Sinhalese folklore. In every village house one finds rural folk who could recite a number of such riddles. Riddle-lore was considered as an integral part of one's education. An erudite person is expected to know riddles and the answers to those riddles [Ratnapala, 1980:234].

Ratnapala also describes in this work the instructive role played by proverbs, folk games, folk tales, folk dances and folk songs. It is not surprising, therefore, that Sarvodaya uses all these didactic tools, to the extent of writing their own 'Movement songs'.

11 It was too early to estimate the effects of the housing project in improving health conditions, but the Kandy District Coordinator had figures for the potable water project that had already been completed. In two surveys conducted a year before and after its completion they found an average of:

<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
11 cases of malaria	3 cases of malaria
4 cases of skin diseases (including small pox)	1 case of skin disease
2 cases of diarrhea	
4 cases of coughs and swollen ears	

These figures show the beneficial effects of the project on the villagers' health.

12 A researcher who gives a detailed account of communication within the Movement is Hans Wismeyer in a whole chapter of his From Charisma to Bureaucracy?: Organization and Ideology in the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka.

13 This is particularly true since Dr. Ariyaratne is the most visible exponent of Sarvodaya's ideology, of which he is also the sole creator. He frequently travels around the country, and sometimes makes peaceful incursions into

war-torn territory. Numerous people have expressed concern over the Movement's future were Dr. Ariyaratne to die and the question of his successor, if there were any, is a subject discussed in the literature about the Movement and also sotto voce among its members. For example, one of my informants strongly felt that Dr. Ariyaratne instead of "spreading himself thin" should concentrate in training a small group of "disciples" who would internalize his teachings and could then act as implementors and exponents of his philosophy and style of life. When I voiced the topic of succession in my discussions with Dr. Ariyaratne he responded that he has contemplated these matters himself and arrived at the conclusion that it is better if no successor is appointed now ; he prefers that things work themselves out organically later.

14 In Diversity in Harmony: A Study of the Leaders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka Hans Wismeiyer reports the findings of a survey he conducted which showed that of the 25% of leaders that were female the majority functioned at the village level. They were usually unmarried and younger than 30-years old, living in very economically poor conditions since "they reported more children and adults being dependent on the family income than their male colleagues" and "female leaders are significantly more liberal on issues related to the movement's traditional attitudes". Other important findings included that the level of education of female leaders was significantly lower than that of male leaders and that they are likely to have had no previous job experience before joining the Movement [Wismeiyer, 1981;288-97].

15 Macy's research, first published in 1983, reported that:

women constitute ten percent of the national Executive Committee and Elders' Council. . . Even on the Gramodaya (village awakening) level their responsibilities are usually placed under the direction of males [Macy,1985:81].

16 Among those I observed during my fieldtrip the only exception to this tendency was the training of female 'draftsmen' by Helvetas' in conjunction with RTS. Undoubtedly other exceptions could be found, but these would, at best, represent efforts at tokenism rather than fundamental change in opening opportunities for female leadership and access to the more remunerated and responsible positions within the Movement.

17 Three publications that deal with Sarvodaya's global impact are J.H. Craig's pamphlet Towards a Western Version of the Sarvodaya Movement, and the Sarvodaya Research Institute's Sarvodaya and World Development and Applicability of the Sarvodaya Concept to Industrialized Societies, the annals of conferences on this topic.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The material presented in this essay has portrayed different levels of a paradigm shift that may be changing our perceptions and understanding of who we are and, consequently, may change us, personally and collectively. This shift was described in terms of the transition from mechanistic to holistic versions of reality now beginning to place as we reach the close of the twentieth century. This emerging holistic paradigm may offer us an *alternative*, in both senses of the word: it is a *different option* and it is also *that which alters*.

Set within the broader context of this shift in our perception and understanding of reality, this piece of research aimed at investigating the extent of the emergence of a concomitant change taking place in alternative paradigms of development. Development was presented in terms of human fulfillment, as individuals and as societies. From this holistic perspective, development also entails both inner and outer well-being. Just as the vaster paradigm shift heralds an evolution of consciousness, paradigms of development reflect this change by addressing concerns that go beyond considerations of having to encompass, as well, considerations of being.

Consequently, the basic tenet of this presentation is that the inner realm of being and the dimension of meaning are essential to development. Referred to in these pages as our inner paradigm shift, viz. being conscious of one's consciousness, this is the kernel in the seed of change. This is so because when consciousness changes, everything else changes as well. The most

significant shift relevant to this study is from *fragmented* to *participating* consciousness. As would be expected, such changes in human consciousness are also reflected in our understanding and experience of what development is and could be. Since human consciousness is embodied in people, therefore, *people or the third system*, constitutes the major focus in this analysis of paradigm shift in development.

Thus, the main change addressed in this study, the inclusion of the realm of being, may mark a new era in development thought and implementation to the extent that human beings, rather than production and consumption, are conceived as central to the problematique. From this perspective, *development becomes the transition from participating consciousness to participation in processes of personal and societal transformation*. People's participation in development, therefore, is of crucial importance. The transition from participating consciousness to participatory action and back again describes a heuristic process of fulfillment of our human potential, also known as development. This understanding of development is referred to as participatory development. It not only incorporates concerns about growth and equitable distribution, but includes as well a human fulfillment dimension by addressing people's transcendental values. The emerging paradigm of participatory development is not yet fully mature, but its incipient framework and salient aspects are becoming discernible enough to be addressed in a cohesive way. This research, though far from being exhaustive, was such an attempt.

The hypothesis presented in this study is that participatory development paradigms could create the optimum conditions to enhance and

sustain the well-being of individuals and communities, ranging from the local to the global scale. The research conducted was presented in terms of its context and intent in Chapter I. Against a background of the tradition of evolutionary personal and cultural transformation, the material presented in this introductory chapter portrayed the failure of mainstream mechanistic development paradigms to address the urgency of our present human predicament evidenced in such perilous conditions as major ecological disruption, increasing cleavages in our social fabric due to the sustained poverty of more than two thirds of humanity, and the dangers of nuclear catastrophe. Mechanistic approaches to development serve mainly to reinforce these trends. This presentation offered an alternative holistic perspective where people are the vast reservoir of untapped resources which could make a world of difference. Therefore, participation is considered central to development.

Chapter II presented the evolution of considerations about participation in development in terms of a historical sequence. These concerns were described as passing through bilateral, multilateral, and global phases yet remaining within the constraints of old paradigm assumptions which, unfortunately, failed to integrate the inner dimension of meaning when addressing development issues.

Chapter III portrayed the emergence of a participatory framework, or modality of thought and action, as a collusion of innumerable efforts (some covered in this presentation and others not) diffused through paradigm shifts in the physical and social sciences as well as in the fabric of local and global communities. A people-centred approach to development transcending

ideological and national boundaries, having no central headquarters or budget, and even lacking an ascribed organizational structure is marking its beginnings. The discussion covered such topics as the emerging paradigm's normative, conceptual, empirical, and practical dimensions, the differences between 'first' and 'last realities; the principle of conservation and mutation of social energy, the heuristic character of participation, and the importance of synergy. It also portrayed participatory grassroots organizations as the foundation of a truly democratic society comprised of self-regulating communities.

Chapters IV and V presented different aspects of participatory paradigms and of their implementation, respectively. In order to relate these to the basic hypothesis of the study, the aspects were juxtaposed to the assumptions, actions, and consequences of mechanistic development efforts, showing how the latter have led us to our present critical conditions. The aspects presented as an organic kaleidoscope in these two chapters are the constituents I found most common in the participatory development efforts researched for this study. They include processes of awakening, liberation, or conscientization that address inner and outer paradigm shifts, a multidisciplinary view of the problematique of development, the centrality of human beings, the basic significance of territorially localized bottom up efforts, the importance of a mentality of self-determination and practices of self reliance, the critical role of equitable distribution of benefits or ills that accrue, the consideration of basic needs not merely as deprivation but as signalling the potential for their fulfillment, the crucial incorporation of ecological thinking and environmental considerations, and the necessity of a user focused perspective when dealing with technology. The aspects of

implementation were described within the parameters of a new paradigm of power and politics which included: the importance of the state in creating synergistic linkages between micro practices and macro strategies of development, the pervasiveness and utility of networks, and the importance of addressing sustainable peace as the other side of the coin of sustainable development. Also included in the discussion were the relevance of shared awareness communication patterns and the media, the urgent need to close the human learning gap since it underlies all other critical issues, the emergence of participatory action research as a key methodological and practical tool, the indispensable contribution of women to holistic processes of personal and societal transformation, and the salient role of NGO's as third system organizations involved in social learning, planning, and implementation

The second part of the research used the analysis of the efforts of the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka as an empirical exponent of a participatory development approach. This case study was the subject of Chapters VI and VII, which covered theoretical and implementation aspects of the Movement's efforts, respectively. This was done by placing the Movement in the historical context of Sri Lanka and the tradition of Ashokan Buddhism from which its holistic approach to development emerged. These chapters gave a detailed account of their approach to personal and societal awakening, focusing on Sarvodaya's Village Development Program and its implementation in two villages, Mathupanthia and Katukendegolla.

Emphasis was placed in this empirical part of the study in documenting the centrality of participation and its benefits in Sarvodaya's approach to development. The analysis of this field data tested for elements of awakening.

improved living conditions and quality of life, and empowerment (themes already presented in the first part of the presentation) as representing conditions fostering and sustaining personal and collective wellbeing.

From this analysis I conclude that the Sarvodaya Movement's efforts do indeed support the hypothesis presented in this study to the extent they are creating the optimum conditions for wellbeing (both within their NGO as well as in the context of Sri Lanka's society and global development efforts at large) by implementing a strategy of development whose salient characteristics are emphases on transcendental values and people's participation. These conditions are contributing to sustained wellbeing by their awakening and empowering capabilities, which are moving in the direction of improving the standards of living and the quality of life of the poor and neediest sectors of the population by a network of third-system groups that cooperate synergistically to carry out their holistic efforts at personal and societal transformation. These ongoing processes as they evolved over the last thirty years, and continue to evolve, seem to be increasing people's capabilities of human fulfillment.

In order to appraise the contribution to paradigm shift in development of such efforts as those of the Sarvodaya Movement, it might be useful to look at their approach in the context of an evolutionary perspective as reflected in the progression of development understood as improvement in: a) standards of living, b) quality of life, and c) states of being represented in Fig. 19 as expanding superimposed concentric areas of more and more encompassing relevance.

Fig. 19

Three Understandings of Development

a) standards of living b) quality of life c) states of being

This evolution of understanding is a reflection of the transition from a mechanistic to a holistic world view and paradigms of processes of transformation. In development thought and implementation this expansion has taken place to some extent over the course of the last four decades and it points to a widening of the scope being encompassed from quantitative to qualitative and, subsequently, to transcendental concerns.

If we appraise what is now taking place, we find efforts at all three [superimposed] levels of this diagram. Their incidence could be represented clustering as in Fig. 20, with fewer occurrences as the radius, or broader scope of development concerns, gets larger.

Fig. 20

Present incidence of different understandings of development

a) standards of living b) quality of life c) states of being

In the figure above the Sarvodaya Movement is a representative of efforts taking place in the outer reaches (c) of our present understanding of development. Its approach stems from a worldview of holistic scope and is presented here as an example, some of whose functional characteristics could be emulated by other efforts in both South and North societies since the crises we now face can no longer be addressed through mechanistic solutions that have tended to create, and now further exacerbate, the problems through emphases on simplistic and linear approaches. The sustained failure of such approaches might be leading us to the brink of irreversible disaster.

For those who consider that to some extent a more desirable state of affairs could be sought through alternative holistic paradigms of development encompassing complexity and synergistic linkages (so that we might reach

conditions as represented in Fig. 21 below), it becomes fruitful to reflect upon some of the material presented in both the theoretical and empirical parts of this research so as to enumerate *functional* characteristics worth emulating, as follows:

Fig. 21

More desirable incidence of different understandings of development

a) standards of living b) quality of life c) states of being

Characteristic #1. A paradigm of development stemming from a holistic world view Any holistic system of transcendental values, whether secular (such as deep ecology) or religious (such as liberation theology) may perform this motivational and integrative function. The choice depends on cultural heritages and personal and collective propensities.

Characteristic # 2. An understanding of development that combines personal with societal transformation. This understanding follows from the previous characteristic, since systems of transcendental values are a) motivational, in

so far as they provide ultimate meaning to one's existence (the essence), and b) integrative, in that they foster societal participation as the relative outward manifestation (the ethics) of this ultimate essence. From this perspective to develop as a human being (or as a civilization) is to seek fulfillment through personal and societal efforts that lead to inner transformations of consciousness and outer transformations of worldly conditions, so that more and more beings might accomplish this task.

Characteristic #3 A strategy of development based on people's participation.

As a result of an understanding that people need to engage in development activities so as to personally and collectively evolve, strategies such as shramadana activities need be provided, where people from grass roots to top levels of management willingly and consciously participate, because in doing so they achieve personal and collective fulfillment. Whatever form these strategies might take, it is essential that they be micro manifestations of the macro ideals sought, so that means and goals become, existentially, one process. To this effect they could include the participation of groups usually excluded, such as children, youth, and seniors.

Characteristic # 4. An emphasis on learning that enhances human creativity.

In order to transform crises into opportunities a massive input of human creativity is being called for. Strategies of participatory development could create opportunities not only for maintenance but also for innovative learning, so that anticipation and participation become integrated into our personal life styles and our cultural patterns. Given the accelerated rates of change and the increasing complexity of our lifestyles, the main effective

adaptation to cope with such conditions is through a fuller utilization of our learning capacities.

Characteristic #5. A view of development as a local cultural phenomenon of global proportions. This entails a thorough grounding in local tradition so that these traditions themselves might evolve by changing formally in response to present realities yet at the same time retaining their essential integrity. Here each part of the whole is also the center, which by means of self-identity contributes to diversity, and by virtue of common destiny acknowledges planetary unity.

Characteristic #6. An implementation of development as an ecological organic system of interrelationships based on synergy and cooperation. This entails a reversal of present conditions of fragmentation and competition that prevail in most interpersonal and intersystem relationships, where prevalent personal and cultural values favour being on top rather than working with . This participatory approach, instead, fosters our living in harmony with other beings comprising both animate and inanimate realms of existence

Characteristic #7. A conscious effort at treating women, female attributes, or the feminine principle as a dyadic counterpart of men, male attributes, or the masculine principle where, as in ying and yang, one cannot exist without the other. Consequently, the imperative need to foster partnership rather than dominance systemic relationships between these two complementary dyadic halves of the whole. This means that practices that lead to harmony in this dyadic unity need to take place at different levels, emerging from the inner realm of one's being passing through the outer plane of one's personal

relationship with others, and leading to the aggregate terms of the social structuring of all our human endeavours.

Characteristic #8. A practice of development as a means for science and technology to be used for people's benefit rather than being utilized for purposes of profit or virtuosity . The harnessing of human inventiveness through approaches to development that place its control where its impact is mostly felt, that is, with the users of the products of scientific and technological innovations, rather than in the hands of experts or economic interests

Whether these characteristics keep evolving or not in our so called real world is entirely up to each one of us.

Fig. 22. Endless knot or knot of eternity.

This ancient holistic symbol depicts the interconnectedness of all phenomena.

APPENDIX

Appendix I

TITLE IX UTILIZATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT

Sec. 281. (a) In carrying out programs authorized in this chapter, emphasis shall be placed on assuring maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of the developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions.

(b) In order to carry out the purposes of this title, programs under this chapter shall

- (1) recognize the differing needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the respective developing countries and areas;
- (2) use the intellectual resources of such countries and areas in conjunction with assistance provided under this Act so as to encourage the development of indigenous institutions that meet their particular requirements for sustained economic and social progress; and
- (3) support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self government

(c) In the allocation of funds for research under this chapter emphasis shall be given to research designed to examine the political, social, and related obstacles to development in countries receiving assistance under part I of this Act. In particular, emphasis should be given to research designed to increase understanding of the ways in which development assistance can support democratic social and political trends in recipient countries.

(d) Emphasis shall also be given to the evaluation of relevant past and current programs under part I of this Act and to applying this experience so as to strengthen their effectiveness in implementing the objectives of this title

(e) In order to carry out the purposes of this title, the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of this Act shall develop systematic programs of inservice training to familiarize its personnel with the objectives of this title and to increase their knowledge of the political and social aspects of development. In addition to other funds available for such purposes, not to exceed 1 per centum of the funds authorized to be appropriated for grant assistance under this chapter may be used for carrying out the objective of this subsection.

5 of/de 5

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Appendix II a): Excerpted from the United Nations Declaration of Social Progress and Development, 1969.

MEANS AND METHODS

Part III (articles 14 through 27) of the Declaration enumerated various means and methods for achieving the above objectives.

Among the means and methods to which particular attention was to be paid were the following: national and regional planning for social progress and development, as an integrated part of balanced over-all development planning (article 14); the adoption of measures to ensure the effective participation of all elements of society in the preparation and execution of national plans and programmes of economic and social development (article 15); and increased investment in the social and economic fields through the rational and efficient utilization of national resources (article 16).

Article 17 called for the adoption of measures to accelerate industrialization, especially in the developing countries, as well as for measures to overcome the adverse social effects which might result from industrialization and urban development.

The Declaration further called, in article 18, for the adoption of measures which would: ensure to all men not only their political and civil rights but also their economic, social and cultural rights; eliminate all forms of discrimination and exploitation; implement democratic agrarian reforms; introduce low-cost housing programmes in both rural and urban areas; and develop transportation and communications.

Article 19 advocated the provision of health, social security and social welfare services to all; and the institution of appropriate measures for the rehabilitation of the mentally and physically handicapped.

Article 20 called for the provisions of full democratic freedoms to trade unions, the effective participation of trade unions in economic and social development, and the adoption of measures for the development of harmonious industrial relations.

Article 21 spelled out various ways to improve and extend the adoption of free general, vocational and technical education, including the formulation of policies to encourage the constructive use of leisure time and to avoid the "brain drain."

Appendix II b): Excerpted from the United Nations International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Decade.

On 24 October 1970, when the Assembly adopted, without vote, the International Development Strategy for the Decade (see pp. 311-12), it noted in an operative paragraph that an essential part of the work during the Decade would consist of the mobilization of public opinion in both developing and developed countries in support of the Decade's objectives and policies.

It was further stated therein that Governments of the more advanced countries would continue and intensify their endeavour to deepen public understanding of the interdependent nature of the development efforts during the Decade—in particular of the benefits accruing to them from international co-operation for development—and of the need to assist the developing countries in accelerating their economic and social progress.

Also, the efforts which developing countries themselves were making to meet the requirements of their economic and social progress needed to be more clearly and more generally made known in developed countries. Similarly, Governments of the developing countries would continue to make people at all levels aware of the benefits and sacrifices involved and to enlist their full participation in achieving the objectives of the Decade.

By another decision, taken on 11 December 1970 (resolution 2685(XXV)), the General Assembly recalled that the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade had called for a close link between the United Nations Disarmament and the Development Decades.

In this connexion, the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to propose measures for the mobilization of public opinion in support of the link between disarmament and development and thus encourage intensified negotiations aimed at progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective control. (See pp. 405-7 for further details.)

**Appendix II c): Excerpted from the United Nations Cocoyoc Declaration,
1974.**

THE PURPOSE OF DEVELOPMENT

Our first concern is to redefine the whole purpose of development. This should not be to develop things but to develop man. Human beings have basic needs: food, shelter, clothing, health, education.

Any process of growth that does not lead to their fulfilment—or, even worse, disrupts them—is a travesty of the idea of development. We are still in a stage where the most important concern of development is the level of satisfaction of basic needs for the poorest sections in each society which can be as high as 40 per cent of the population. The primary purpose of economic growth should be to ensure the improvement of conditions for these groups. A growth process that benefits only the wealthiest minority and maintains or even increases the disparities between and within countries is not development. It is exploitation. And the time for starting the type of true economic growth that leads to better distribution and to the satisfaction of the basic needs for all is today. We believe that 30 years of experience with the hope that rapid economic growth benefiting the few will “trickle down” to the mass of the people has proved to be illusory. We therefore reject the idea of “growth first, justice in the distribution of benefits later”.

Development should not be limited to the satisfaction of basic needs. There are other needs, other goals, and other values. Development includes freedom of expression and impression, the right to give and to receive ideas and stimulus. There is a deep social need to participate in shaping the basis of one's own existence, and to make some contribution to the fashioning of the world's future. Above all, development includes the right to work, by which we mean not simply having a job but finding self-realization in work, the right not to be alienated through production processes that use human beings simply as tools.

Appendix III a):

Conceptual Framework for the Pilot People's School System

Strategies	Implementing Activities	Intermediate Results	Long-Term Impact
Leadership Development Building effective development-oriented leadership groups for managing the system at municipal and village levels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Orienting municipal leaders/agencies - Training Barangay Councils - Establishing and training Rural Reconstruction Committees - Continued capacity building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Municipal leaders actively involved - Barangay Councils supportive - RRCs become village development management group: identify needs, select courses, select and support barangay scholars 	Human Development Leadership groups have the capability to continually identify their problems and acquire and use skills and resources to solve them.
Technology Transfer Simplifying and transferring scientific knowledge and skills to rural people through trained para-professionals or barangay scholars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Needs assessment - Identification and preparation of curriculum - Training barangay scholars - Follow-up and support barangay scholars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Barangay scholars learn and use new skills - Barangay scholars share new skills with others - New skills and knowledge actually benefit rural poor households and communities 	Socio-Economic Development Poor households and communities actually solve major problems in areas of livelihood, health and education
People's Organization Building new and viable village and areawide cooperative associations of the rural people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promoting organizations at village and area levels - Training leaders in management skills - Supporting, consulting - Linking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Viable village organizations emerge - Viable areawide coops emerge - Effective management - Serving interests of the rural poor 	Institutional Development New effective organizations controlled by the rural people thrive and make human and socio-economic development a self-sustaining process.

Self-sustaining,
Areawide Integrated
Rural Reconstruction

Source: Mayfield, 1985:47

Appendix III b):

Characteristics and Dimensions of the Three Phases of Rural Development

Phase	Activity	Process/Results	Function
1. Entry	Mobilization	Helping/Trust Building	Problem Identification Leadership Identification
2. Preparation	Implementation	Learning/Skill Building	Community Acceptance and Involvement/Appropriate Technology Transfer
3. Withdrawal	Self-Sustainment	Organizing/Institution Building	Local Organization Managing
Discipline Appropriate to Each Phase	Interactive Focus	Training Focus	Skills Needed
1. Psychology/ Anthropology	"To" (Dependency)	Awareness/ Construct Expansion	Group Formation Consciousness Raising Decision Making
2. Sociology/ Education	"With" (Participation)	Practice/Experience/ Feedback	Problem Solving Conflict Management Project Implementation
3. Political Science/ Management	"Through" (Capacity Building)	Internalize/ Autonomy/ Internal Motivation	Management Entrepreneurship Political Negotiation

Source: Mayfield, 1985:68

Appendix IV: Source Max-Nef et al. 1989:33

Matrix of needs and satisfiers*

Needs according to existential categories Needs according to axiological categories	Being	Having	Doing	Interacting
Subsistence	1/ Physical health, mental health, equilibrium, sense of humour, adaptability	2/ Food, shelter, work	3/ Feed, procreate, rest, work	4/ Living environment, social setting
Protection	5/ Care, adaptability, autonomy, equilibrium, solidarity	6/ Insurance systems, savings, social security, health systems, rights, family, work	7/ Cooperate, prevent, plan, take care of, cure, help	8/ Living space, social environment, dwelling
Affection	9/ Self-esteem, solidarity, respect, tolerance, generosity, receptiveness, passion, determination, sensuality, sense of humour	10/ Friendships, family, partnerships, relationships with nature	11/ Make love, caress, express emotions, share, take care of, cultivate, appreciate	12/ Privacy, intimacy, home, spaces of togetherness
Understanding	13/ Critical conscience, receptiveness, curiosity, astonishment, discipline, intuition, rationality	14/ Literature, teachers, method, educational policies, communication policies	15/ Investigate, study, experiment, educate, analyse, meditate	16/ Settings of formative interaction, schools, universities, academies, groups, communities, family
Participation	17/ Adaptability, receptiveness, solidarity, willingness, determination, dedication, respect, passion, sense of humour	18/ Rights, responsibilities, duties, privileges, work	19/ Become affiliated, cooperate, propose, share, dissent, obey, interact, agree on, express opinions	20/ Settings of participative interaction, parties, associations, churches, communities, neighbourhoods, family
Idleness	21/ Curiosity, receptiveness, imagination, recklessness, sense of humour, tranquility, sensuality	22/ Games, spectacles, clubs, parties, peace of mind	23/ Day-dream, brood, dream, recall old times, give way to fantasies, remember, relax, have fun, play	24/ Privacy, intimacy, spaces of closeness, free time, surroundings, landscapes
Creation	25/ Passion, determination, intuition, imagination, boldness, rationality, autonomy, inventiveness, curiosity	26/ Abilities, skills, method, work	27/ Work, invent, build, design, compose, interpret	28/ Productive and feedback settings, workshops, cultural groups, audiences, spaces for expression, temporal freedom
Identity	29/ Sense of belonging, consistency, differentiation, self-esteem, assertiveness	30/ Symbols, language, religion, habits, customs, reference groups, sexuality, values, norms, historical memory, work	31/ Commit oneself, integrate oneself, confront, decide on, get to know oneself, recognize oneself, actualize oneself, grow	32/ Social rhythms, everyday settings, settings which one belongs to, maturation stages
Freedom	33/ Autonomy, self-esteem, determination, passion, assertiveness, open-mindedness, boldness, rebelliousness, tolerance	34/ Equal rights	35/ Dissent, choose, be different from, run risks, develop awareness, commit oneself, disobey	36/ Temporal/spatial plasticity

* The column of BEING registers *attributes*, personal or collective, that are expressed as nouns. The column of HAVING registers *institutions, norms, mechanisms, tools* (not in a material sense), *laws*, etc. that can be expressed in one or more words. The column of DOING registers *actions*, personal or collective, that can be expressed as verbs. The column of INTERACTING registers *locations and milieus* (as times and spaces). It stands for the Spanish ESTAR or the German BEFINDEN, in the sense of time and space. Since there is no corresponding word in English, INTERACTING was chosen 'à la fin de mieux'.

Appendix V a):

GREEN POLITICS—POINTS OF UNITY

1. **NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.** We base our philosophy on a proper understanding of the purposes and workings of nature and do not try to impose an ideology upon it. We seek to transform society based upon this understanding.
2. **CONSENSUS DEMOCRACY.** We conduct all our meetings according to the principles of consensus democracy, emphasizing unanimous or near-unanimous agreement on all decisions. No representative may make decisions on behalf of the Greens without the approval of the entire membership. We encourage the use of consensus democracy in all social, economic and political institutions.
3. **NONVIOLENCE AND FREEDOM.** We oppose the threat or use of physical violence to resolve international, civil, political and personal conflicts. We encourage the nonviolent enforcement of all private and public rules and laws. We recognize that a nonviolent society would be a very free society and encourage tolerance of others' views and actions.
4. **SOCIAL ECOLOGY.** We emphasize the connection of domination and violence toward the environment and toward our fellow humans. We seek a nonviolent society in which the needs of individuals, communities and bioregions are balanced and integrated and in which economic resources are used consciously, democratically and appropriately to further this end.
5. **STRATEGY.** We will oppose ecologically and socially destructive policies and practices through nonviolent political protest and civil disobedience activities. We will promote alternative projects and institutions consistent with our Green philosophy. We will cooperate in solidarity with all groups in substantial agreement with these points of unity as participants in the international Green movement.

Appendix V b)

PLATFORM OF THE JAPANESE GREEN PARTY

It is our opinion that modern civilization has abused the environment beyond the limit of its tolerance and we are facing a disastrous contradiction in all areas of our society, including the political, economic, educational, and scientific.

In order to liberate ourselves from this contradiction, we must harmonize the lives of human beings with the natural environment, and discard materialism, the pursuit of profit, and the idea that human beings are the center of all things.

1. We have seriously reconsidered our present social system, including conventional politics, economics, science, and education, and are determined to work for the establishment of a society based upon new values, in which humans and nature can coexist without the destruction of nature.
2. We will gather people who have realized the same, and establish a new political organization. This organization will not commit the errors of existing systems such as centralization and institutionalism, but will be operated according to democratic principles which are based upon the individual integrity of each member.
3. We will work for the establishment of a naturally governed society which is based upon the principles of the living cosmos, and which transcends anthropocentrism.

—Translated by Rick Davis

Appendix V c): Source Devall/Sessions, 1985:22

WHERE YOU AT?

What follows is a self-scoring test on basic environmental perception of place. Scoring is done on the honor system, so if you fudge, cheat, or elude, you also get an idea of where you're at. The quiz is culture bound, favoring those people who live in the country over city dwellers, and scores can be adjusted accordingly. Most of the questions, however, are of such a basic nature that undue allowances are not necessary. This test was adapted from the version appearing in *CoEvolution*, no. 23 (Winter, 1981).

1. Trace the water you drink from precipitation to tap.
2. How many days until the moon is full (plus or minus a couple of days)?
3. Describe the soil around your home.
4. What were the primary subsistence techniques of the culture(s) that lived in your area before you?
5. Name five native edible plants in your bioregion and their season(s) of availability.
6. From what direction do winter storms generally come in your region?
7. Where does your garbage go?
8. How long is the growing season where you live?
9. On what day of the year are the shadows the shortest where you live?
10. Name five trees in your area. Are any of them native? If you can't name names, describe them.
11. Name five resident and any migratory birds in your area.
12. What is the land use history by humans in your bioregion during the past century?
13. What primary geological event/process influenced the land form where you live?
14. What species have become extinct in your area?
15. What are the major plant associations in your region?
16. From where you are reading this, point north.
17. What spring wildflower is consistently among the first to bloom where you live?
18. What kinds of rocks and minerals are found in your bioregion?
19. Were the stars out last night?
20. Name some beings (nonhuman) which share your place.
21. Do you celebrate the turning of the summer and winter solstice? If so, how do you celebrate?
22. How many people live next door to you? What are their names?
23. How much gasoline do you use a week, on the average?
24. What energy costs you the most money? What kind of energy is it?
25. What developed and potential energy resources are in your area?
26. What plans are there for massive development of energy or mineral resources in your bioregion?
27. What is the largest wilderness area in your bioregion?

Appendix VI: An Outline Map of Technology Practice
Source: Pacey, 1983:49

Appendix VIII a): Sarvodaya's Organizational Chart I

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP OF LANKA JATIKA SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA SANGAMAYA

Appendix VIII b): Sarvodaya's Organizational Chart II

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People's Declaration for National Peace and Harmony. Adopted on the Conclusion of the General Conference held on October 1983 at the Bandaranaike Conference Hall, Colombo. Available in pamphlet form from SM.

Transcripts of Taped Interviews

Conducted by the author as part of field research, 1986

Tape #1. Mr. Thomas Pieters, Dutch Civil Engineer stationed at Sarvodaya Headquarters.

Tapes # 2 & 3. Mr. Ariwansa Withana, Sarvodaya Puttalam District Coordinator.

Tape #4. Ms. Soma Hookikaduwa and Mr. Winsor Silva, Sarvodaya Anuradhapura District Centre.

Tape #5. Mr. Sisira Navaratne, Sarvodaya Kandy District Coordinator.

Tape #6. Mr. Rudolf Stark, HELVETAS engineer stationed in Kandy.

Tape #7. Dr. Gunapala Dharmasigiri, Professor of Buddhist Studies, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

Tape #8. Mrl G. Soyza, Sarvodaya Rural Technical Services, Kandy District Centre.

Tape #9. Mr. W.G. Ganegama, Director of Sarvodaya Technical Services at Headquarters.

Tape #10. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya Movement President, (8/1/86).

Tape #11. Mr. S. de Mel, Sarvodaya Director of Programmes and Projects at Headquarters.

Tape #12. Mr. S. Kenrick, Sri Lanka country representative for OXFAM (UK).

Tape #13. Dr. Attapatu, Sri Lanka's Minister of Health.

Tape #14. Mr. Mohideen, Marga Institute Assistant Director and member of Sarvodaya's Executive Council.

Tape #15. Mr. N.U.K.K. Waragoda, Secretary to Sri Lanka's Minister of Agricultural Development and Research.

Conducted by author in Ottawa

Tape # 16. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, 5/20/1988.

Tape #17. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, 7/7/1989.

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