

HRD FOR SOCIETAL SYSTEMS: A SOCIAL IDENTITY BASED APPROACH

N.M. AGRAWAL

This paper analyses the causes for failure of national development efforts. Incorrect choice of development approach has resulted in widening the gap between the rich and the poor. Based on the writings from psychology and sociology, a construct of "Social Identity" has been defined. Development efforts should make people aware of their social identity as it exists in their mind and the historical forces which are responsible for that identity and its dysfunctional effects. The paper recommends that change-agents for development should facilitate the poor and oppressed, to be empowered for managing a change in their social identity. It also highlights how voluntary organisations are better positioned as compared to the government agencies in facilitating the poor in their developmental efforts.

Dr. N.M. Agrawal is Senior Faculty, H.A.L. Staff College, Vimanapura, Bangalore.

Introduction

Developmental processes at societal level have to be multifaceted. Social development should ensure economic productivity. But simultaneously, equitable distribution of resources, and wider freedom of choice for the members of the social system involved, need to be achieved (Brown, 1988; Pareek, 1988). Rogers (1983: 121) has conceptualised development as a "widely participatory process of social change in a society intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities) for the majority of people through their gaining greater control over their environment". Socio-economic imbalances at societal level, have often been cause of revolutions causing loss of lives and resources. Hence, both developing as well as developed countries, incorporate social development programmes in their national plans, to minimise social and economic imbalances prevailing in their societies.

In India, concern for well being of the poor, particularly rural people, had its origin in the initial work of Christian missionaries from 1860 to 1920. Originally, the missionaries had not come to India for rural reconstruction, but the persuasion of Christian converts and the influx of orphans during famines, forced them to take measures to start some development assistance for them. A large number of the converts were from rural areas, and had liking for cultivation and hence, they were provided land by missionaries. In addition, many other developmental activities like schools for boys and girls, night schools for adults, cooperative societies and health facilities, were run by the missionaries (Pande, 1967).

After the year 1920, many Indians like Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and K.T. Paul did considerable work for community development. Paul, who himself was a farmer and lived in rural surroundings, implemented many socio-economic development plans for the depressed classes, as a secretary of YMCA from 1916 to 1930 (Pande, 1967). Rabindranath Tagore strongly believed that people should be self sufficient and hence, his emphasis was mainly on educating the people, rather than giving charity. In 1922, he started an institution of rural reconstruction at Sriniketana,

and introduced many socio-economical development programmes for the poor (Sen, 1943).

Gandhiji's concern for the poor needs no elaboration. His first intimate contact with Indian villages came in 1917 at Champaran (Bihar), where he had gone to assist the peasants, oppressed by the indigo planters. He started with opening a few schools for villagers in 1917. Subsequently, his whole life was devoted to the cause of the poor and freedom of the country. He started the 'Khadi Movement' to make the villagers self-reliant. In 1936, he settled down in *Sevagram* and started many development activities for the villagers (Gandhi, 1947; Asche, 1968).

After independence, development programmes have been emphasised in all the Seven Five Year Plans with particular focus on rural development. But in spite of more than 40 years of development efforts, a large percentage of the total population still live below poverty line. This paper makes an attempt to analyse the causes for failure of our development efforts.

Firstly, we have briefly reviewed the nature of development programmes implemented by the Government of India in the last 40 years. It is followed by reviewing the gap between the rich and the poor and the causes thereof. It has been argued that while designing and planning the development efforts at national level, Socio-cultural factors unique to our society have not been considered and it has resulted in widening the gap between the rich and the poor. Finally, we have discussed how identity based organisation development approaches can be used to resolve these issues, and make development efforts more effective.

Rural Development Programmes in India

India started experimenting with development programmes on a large scale by launching Community Development (CD) Programmes in 1952. Community Development Programme has been defined as (United Nation's definition, as quoted in Mukerji, 1967) the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities, to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. As suggested by the definition and as perceived by planners, the essential elements of the community development programmes were: (a) participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; (b) the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help, and mutual help and make them more effective. The community development programmes were very closely related with Five Year Plans, and as such greater attention was given to accomplishment of concrete visible and spectacular physical results than to the processes of community development. The initial evaluation of the programme indicated that the programme lacked people's participation (Taylor, 1956). The *Balwantrai Mehta* Study Team (1957, quoted in Mukerji, 1967) suggested the establishment of a three-tier system of democratic participation, for infusing vigour into the working of the community development programmes. It resulted in the programmes being transferred into national extension services in 1958 and the *Panchayati Raj* was introduced in 1959.

The objectives of the *Panchayati Raj* were democratic decentralisation and greater involvement of people. However, the programme did not exactly become a success. The reasons for its failure were (a) absence of rational criteria in grouping villages into blocks or locating the block headquarters, (b) the services provided at the block level were inadequate in quantity as well as quality to meet the needs of villages, (c) the social structure of the village society did not undergo much change and the institutional reforms were inadequate and poorly implemented, (d) in the villages and the cooperatives, the new faction-torn and caste-ridden institutions did not show any interest in the programme and (e) the programme was as a whole largely oriented towards welfare rather than development (Mishra, 1976).

Since the devotion of limited investible resources to regions all over the country had not yielded the desired results, it was thought that for solving problems like that of food, concentration of efforts in certain areas was a necessity. Accordingly, the Government of India launched a series of intensive agriculture area programmes during the sixties. These included Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) in the years 1960-61, Intensive Area Agricultural Programme (IAAP) in the years 1964-65, High Yielding Variety Programme (HYVP) in the years 1967-68.

The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74), increased the resource allocation to the agricultural sector, with the purpose of utilising the Green Revolution drive for achieving self-sufficiency in food grains and providing employment in rural area. The Fifth Plan (1974-79), declared its main objectives as the removal of poverty and attainment of self-reliance.

A minimum need programme, covering basic needs such as elementary education, supply, and medical care was launched during the plan. In the seventies many other target group based programmes were also launched, some of which are Rural Work Programme, Small Farmer Development Agency, Tribal Area Development Programme, Marginal Farmers and Agriculture Labourers Development Agency, Training Rural Youth for Self-employment, and National Rural Employment Programme. In the Sixth Five Year Plan a new section emphasising "Distributive Justice" was added. Also, the programmes which were exclusively meant for rural poor were clubbed together, and the programme was named as "Integrated Rural Development Programmes". The Seventh Five Year Plan was also geared to equity, removal of deprivation and a tangible rise in levels of social welfare and social consumption.

Thus, we observe that starting with the community development programme, many approaches have been experimented for rural development like target sector, target groups, growth centre, backward area centre, minimum needs and area planning with full employment. In addition many other welfare programmes, like Family Planning, Health and National Adult Education Programme, were operated by the Government of India and many other voluntary agencies.

Widening Gap between the Rich and the Poor

In spite of such large network of development programmes with emphasis on removing poverty and improving distributive justice, trends in the level and

distribution of private consumption, do not reflect improvements in living standards for the poor.

Griffin and Khan (1978), made an analysis of the trends in relative and absolute incomes of the rural poor since 1960. They undertook ten empirical studies and compiled figures for six Asian countries and for four states of India. The study shows that not only the absolute numbers but also the percentage of the rural population below the poverty line (based on income necessary for purchasing the minimum caloric requirement), has shown a steady upward trend: Even during periods of rapid agricultural growth, the share of the poorer sections in aggregate income and consumption has been falling.

More disturbing is the finding that, "in almost every case a significant proportion of low-income households experienced an absolute decline in their real income, particularly since the early 1960s" (Griffin and Khan, 1978: 296). Summarising the different studies on the trends of poverty, Shetty (1978), has concluded that barring a few exceptions, most of them have shown a rising trend.

The Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) was developed by the Overseas Development Council, Washington D.C. under the direction of Morris D. Morris in 1977-78, to measure the level of progress achieved by various countries in meeting basic human needs. The PQLI combines mortality, life expectancy at age one, and literacy into a single positive index. The logic in combining these factors is that, they represent a wide range of social conditions such as availability of nutrition and clean water, well being of expectant mothers, healthy general environment, skill to participate effectively in society and to share the benefits of economic growth. In a list of 150 countries, India was ranked a low ninety eighth (Morris, 1979).

Thus, empirical evidence suggest that in spite of our development efforts, we have not moved in the direction of eradicating poverty. Instead the gap between the rich and the poor has continued to increase over time. We shall now discuss the causes for this widening gap between the rich and the poor.

Causes for the Widening Gap

It has been suggested that incorrect choice of development approach, has resulted in widening the gap between the rich and the poor (Braro, 1983; Moulik, 1980). Development planners in India have chosen the conventional modernisation paradigm, which has derived its philosophical orientation from a well developed tradition of structural-functionalism in sociology. The modernisation approach assumes, that the objective of development is to become more like the west, and that the modernisation of western type is the obvious and undisputable goal for traditional societies.

Rostow (1960), has outlined five stages through which modern societies evolved and which are necessary stages in systematic change from underdeveloped to developed society. The first is the original stage of traditional society, next is the pre-take off conditions which involve developing a leading sector such as industrial infrastructure with increased agricultural activity generating the necessary surplus. The third stage is the take off when the industrial and institutional infrastructures

have been built and all sectors have been turned to high growth rates. Fourth is the drive to maturity, long periods of sustained growth with the emergence of new leading sectors to support the old ones; and this leads to the fifth stage of mass-consumption with the leading sectors shifting toward consumer goods and services. The model of development as suggested by Rostow does not consider the socio-political and historical context of a country and its influence on the process of development.

Moulik (1977), has called the development model used in India as the "harmony model". According to him, the basic assumption in the harmony model is that, different interests at the community or regional level can be developed simultaneously. In this model it is believed that innovations, be they technological, institutional or structural, can be introduced in a rural community through proper extension and service activities by using established local leaders, influential people and progressive farmers. It takes a *status quo* orientation about the social system in which a technological change is certainly favoured but without any change in the social and political structure. He has argued that it is these simplistic assumptions of the harmony model which have resulted in the poor being deprived of the gains of development.

The discussion so far suggests that social forces and social processes play a vital role in defining the scope and opportunities for development efforts. In the next section, we shall go on to develop and define the construct of social identity. It is followed by a discussion of the social identity of the poor in India.

Social Identity of the Poor in India

"Social identity" as a construct is not listed in any encyclopedia of psychology, social-psychology or sociology. But a review of literature on these subjects provides certain clues, which help to delineate and develop the construct. According to Freud (1926), identity is a psycho-social construct. While formulating his links with Jewish people, he has spoken of "inner identity" in psycho-social context.

Symbolic interactionists have suggested that socialisation plays a vital role in identity building (Strauss, 1959). Socialisation, is defined as the life long process of inculcation, whereby an individual learns the principal values and symbols of the social system, in which he participates and the expression of those values in the norms composing the roles he and others enact (Mitchell, 1968: 194). Social systems in a society which define hierarchical rankings in the society and the nature of socialisation are stratified. Social stratification in turn refers to the distribution of social status in the society which depends upon the economical, honour and political status of an individual (Weber, 1958: 180-194; Sherif and Sherif, 1948: 624).

Erikson (1959), in his study of re-education of the American Indians, had found that Sioux Indian's historical identity counteracted to the occupational and class identity of his re-educator, the American Civil Service employees. He has pointed out that "the identities of these groups rest on extreme differences in geographic and historical perspectives (collective ego-space-time) and on radical differences in economic goals and means (collective life plan)" (Erikson, 1959:21). He has further

observed that in the remnants of the Sioux Indian's identity, the prehistoric past is a powerful psychological reality.

Kardiner (1939), in his study of psychodynamics of primitive social organisation, had found that a group of people living in the same area and socialising in the same way display similar personality characteristics.

The discussion so far suggests that:

- Identity is a psycho-social construct.
- Socialisations play a vital role in identity building.
- People in a group who have similar socialisation experiences, are likely to have similar identities.
- Group identity is based on historical and geographical perspective of a group and the economic goals and means available for a group.

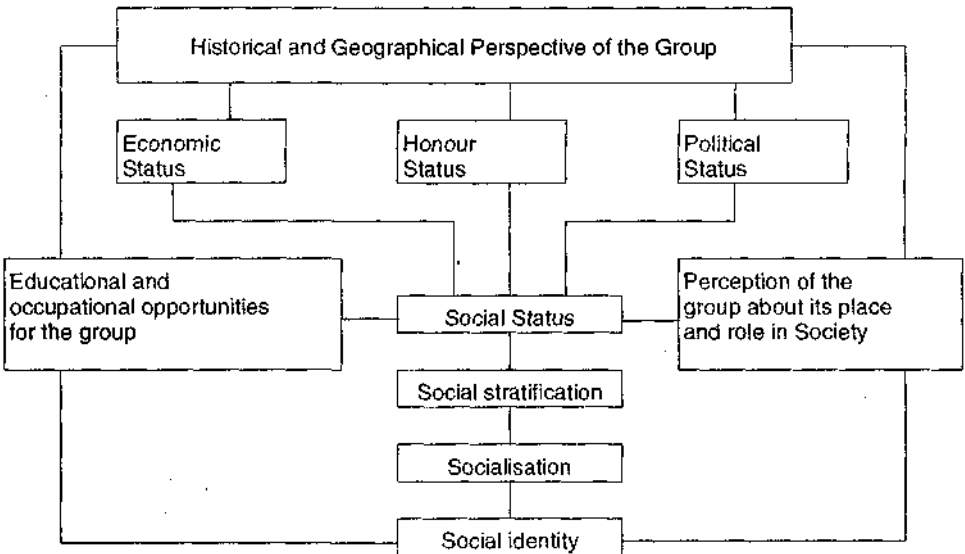
Based on the above, we define:

Social identity is a psycho-social construct, referring to the collective self concept of a group or class of people. This is determined by external factors such as historical and geographical perspective of the group, its social status and educational and occupational opportunities of the group. Internal factors such as the group's perception of its place and role in the society, should be considered as well.

Figure 1 depicts a model showing how social identity of a group is built.

Figure 1

A MODEL DEPICTING THE PROCESS BY WHICH SOCIAL IDENTITY OF A GROUP IS BUILT



Studies on Indian society has suggested that caste is an important aspect of social status and stratification (Weber, 1958; Desai, 1969; Beteille. 1966). According to Desai (1969: 38 and 39):

In India caste largely determines the function, the status, the available opportunities as well as the handicaps for an individual. Caste differences even determine the differences in modes of domestic and social life, types of houses and cultural patterns of the people which are found in the rural areas. Caste has fixed the psychology of various social groups and has evolved such minutely graded levels of social distance and superior-inferior relationships that the social structure looks like a gigantic hierarchic pyramid with a mass of untouchables as its base and a small stratum of elite, the Brahmins, almost equally unapproachable as its apex.

In India, thus low caste people are not only economically weak but also have a low social-identity. In a study of *chamars*, the leather workers belonging to lower castes, Briggs (1920), had observed that they were economically weak, and also they were so conquered and broken by centuries of oppression, that they have but little self respect left and had no ambition. The public schools were virtually closed to *chamars*. But teachers and pupils in the schools made it most difficult for low caste boys to sit in the class rooms. The feeling was widespread that an ignorant *chamar* was the only useful *chamar*.

Though more than 70 years have lapsed since Briggs conducted his study, the situation does not seem to have changed much. In a study of school drop outs among *Harijan* children (Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Corporation, 1975), it was found that because of their appalling poverty, the *Harijan* parents could not meet the basic physical needs much less the schooling expenses of the child. Also the humiliating and discriminating practices indulged in by school teachers and ill-treatment meted out to the *Harijan* child by them and the classmates, were other factors which discouraged continuance of schooling on his/her part. The general hostility among upper castes towards the well-being and development of *Harijans*, their ability to keep them perpetually under their hegemony and use them as beggars (work without pay), their constant and deliberate efforts to create a negative self-image among them, are some of the community disincentives, which multiply the cases of drop out among *Harijan* children.

Bhatt (1975) had found that seventy three per cent of the *Harijans* continue to be illiterate, as compared to only four per cent of other high castes and sixteen per cent of *Brahmins*. Income distribution by caste also showed a clear trend that, low caste people had the lowest earnings. It was also found that *Harijans* and lower castes considered themselves to be least influential in respect of political influence at national and community level. Myrdal (1968) and others (Frankel, 1971; Dobb, 1971) have suggested that inequality in social status in society leads to unequal distribution of income. Myrdal has convincingly argued that inequality of status is an independent variable and that inequality of income is a dependent variable in Asian countries, when the process of development results in an overall increase in income, the additional income is distributed according to inequality of status, so that persons of higher status get a larger share than persons of lower status. In other words, the

social identities of various groups in a society continue to ensure, that the additional income is distributed in proportion to the existing income distribution leading to a further increase in gap between the rich and the poor.

Discussing the sense of identity arising from the caste system in villages, Heredero (1977: 24-25) has commented, "(It) is a great help to caste people but it is odious to the scheduled castes and they would prefer to hide their origin. To use Marxian terminology, they are in a state of total alienation: they do not identify themselves with their own group and they are rejected by the upper castes with whom they would like to identify. To put it differently, since society despises the scheduled castes, they too have learned to despise themselves".

Their context, not understood in its entirety by others, the poor are often criticised for being lazy and unproductive. Further, their being lazy and unproductive are attributed as the cause of their poverty (Gupta, 1982). Freire says (1972a: 38), "so often do they (the oppressed) hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything; that they are sick, lazy and unproductive, that in the end they become convinced of their unfitness". Another characteristic associated and observed in the poor and the oppressed is their sense of helplessness and belief in fatalism (Briggs, 1920). But it is their exploitation for centuries by money-lenders, middlemen and the upper castes people through begging system in villages, which has resulted in their being fatalists.

Bureaucrats, who are usually responsible, to implement government sponsored development programmes, have their own social identity, much different from the identity of the poor. This becomes another cause of poor not being benefited from development programmes. Esmann and Uphoff (1978) have observed that there is a difficulty of communication between members of the bureaucracy and peasant cultures. This derives from the "social distance" between educated, urbanised official whose rules, procedures and rewards are determined by the bureaucratic structures in which they operate, on the one hand, and semi-literate, low income, low status and politically weak peasants whom they are expected to serve on the other. Officials tend to feel superior to peasants and demand deferences in ways that inhibit effective communication and service; peasants generally respond with diffidence or avoid contact with officials. Moreover, it is both prudent and easier for officials to work with the larger and more progressive farmers as they can understand and adopt innovations faster.

Our discussion so far suggests the need for uplifting the social identity of the poor. The government has tried through constitutional measures to provide justice and equality to its citizens. While article twenty three prohibits begging and other similar forms of forced labour, article forty six directs the state to promote educational and economical interest of the weaker sections of the people, specially, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and to protect them from social injustice (The Constitution of India, 1979). Though data about employment in government services and public sectors suggests that, certain percentage of low caste people have benefited from them (ICSSR, 1983), observations by Issacs (1965) and Parvathama (1968) suggest that there is a big gulf between legal provisions and actual practice in the field. Also, it is observed that the privileges for the scheduled castes have

strengthened rather than weakened caste alignment and identity. The educated members of the scheduled caste communities want to forget their former social identity, but they have not been able to build up a satisfactory new identity (Issacs, 1965; Beteille, 1966).

It is in the above context that we discuss next, how various interventions can be used to help the poor and oppressed, to change their social identity and experience development and growth.

Changing Social Identity

The classical model of planned change suggested by Kurt Lewin (1947), consists of three stages: Unfreezing, changing and refreezing. Agrawal (1991), based on his work on transfer of learning from classroom to work setting, has extended the model of planned change to consist of following five stages:

- i. Awareness about the need for and direction of change.
- ii. Empowering for change through learning relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes.
- iii. Planning for change.
- iv. Implementation of change.
- v. Refreezing of change.

In context of changing the social identity of the oppressed, unfreezing implies making them aware of their present social identity, the causes thereof, and its dysfunctional effect on them. The process of creating awareness should empower the oppressed to plan and implement the change. The process of freezing can be facilitated by working with the total group so that the group members could support each other. The new emerging social identity should become the platform for further change, development and growth.

Freire (1972a) has strongly advocated the need for building conscientisation and creating critical awareness through praxis amongst the oppressed. Conscientisation refers to "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1972a: 15). The processes of conscientisation and critical awareness make the oppressed aware of the historical forces responsible for their present social identity. These processes also have the potential to empower the oppressed to plan for the change. For these processes to create awareness and empowering amongst the oppressed, they must go through the process of praxis: reflection and action about the world as it exists.

For a change to occur, a change agent working with the oppressed must have a profound love for them, more importantly, he must firmly believe that the oppressed are capable of change, can learn and create a new identity for themselves. In fact, Freire has argued that only human beings are capable of praxis and that is what differentiates human being from animals.

Freire (1972b) has been using adult education interventions as an opportunity to create awareness in the oppressed. He derives the generic words, used for teaching them alphabets, from the context in which the illiterates live. It makes learning easier for them and the process of learning gets converted into the process of unfreezing

their existing social identity. The learning process builds up a self-confidence in the individual so that, he can change his social identity. In India also similar approaches to adult education and development have been reported (Saraswathi, Ravindran and Sundari, 1982; D'Abreo, 1983).

Heredero and his team-mates inspired by Freire's philosophy and work have been using many OD based interventions for rural development and social change (Herdero, 1977). Some of the objective of the rural development programmes conducted by them are:

- To increase the self-confidence of the participants; to effect a behavioural change from a state of diffidence ("we can not") into a state of confidence ("we can").
- At the social level the aim is to resolve the polarity of inferiority and superiority. To restore participants' sense of self-respect so that they may overcome their feelings of inferiority before the upper castes.

According to Heredero in Indian society, the individual has little meaning apart from the community. In fact attempts to help him outside the community can be dangerous not only because the chances of success are very small, but also much harm may be done since social values are usually upheld by the caste group in villages. Therefore, he usually takes a homogeneous group of twenty to twenty-five people, belonging to same caste and village, for training purposes. Using T-groups, role-playing and problem solving techniques, people are made aware of their own strengths. They are provided inputs in achievement training, technical and administrative methods in agricultural practices. These people after training, go back to their villages and act as change-agents in their own caste groups.

Based on the analysis of the courses conducted by them, it is reported that such programmes create social awareness and build self confidence in the poor. They start exerting their rights. In a village in which the programme was conducted, the *gramsevak* was not very effective. They reported the matter to Taluka Development Officer. He, too, was not very sympathetic at first. The villagers insisted and told him that if justice were not done they would go to District Development Officer and if necessary to state minister. It resulted in transfer of the erring *gramsevak* and a more duty conscious person was placed (Herdero, 1977: 103). It is also reported that the training has resulted in substantial economical gains for the villagers through cooperative movement.

Seva Mandir, a voluntary organisation, working in the field of adult education also uses various occupational development techniques for creating awareness amongst the oppressed. A training group was arranged for the members belonging to two villages from Kherwala Tribal Block of Udaipur district. One group of participants reached about two hours late for the programme. Discussion in the programme started with about late coming of the group for the meeting and then it was related to their present socio-economical condition. Also, role plays were used to make them realise the importance of unity and the need for knowing the rules and regulations to deal with government officials. It has been reported that members from both villages have achieved their planned tasks, like school construction and running of *Balwari*. The members from the second village had infighting which had resulted in delays in implementing the programmes (Singh and Shrivastava, 1982).

The *Jawaja* project was initiated by the Centre for Management in Agriculture, at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad. The experiment was started with the aim of working towards influencing change in the social system through economic activities with emphasis on the development of the people, particularly, disadvantaged weaker sections to manage their own affairs to organise and guard themselves against exploitation. The experiment was called the "Rural University". It was emphasised that as far as possible the activities should use local physical resources and greater emphasis should be placed on value, added through trained man power. The training should also be the responsibility of local resource persons. The capital intensity of the projects was kept low (Matthai, not dated).

The project implemented many economic activities like weaving, leather work, improved cultivation of tomato and its marketing, agave cultivation, milk dairy and nonformal education was also introduced. Though many set-backs and conflicts occurred during the implementation of the project, slowly it has helped to uplift the poor. Moulik (1980), summarising the leanings from the project, he said that the effectiveness of people oriented development programme with primary focus on learning to be self-reliant and self-generating resources, depends largely on patience and persistent process work by the external change-agents with the target group rather than the size of financial investments in the programme.

The *Tilonia model* of development (Roy, 1986-87) empowers the participants by (a) providing the poor access to project planning skills; (b) disseminating information to them about various government schemes; (c) making the communities self-reliant and (d) providing the poor organisational support in dealing with the socio-economic political system. While the model ensures empowering of the participants, it also ensures that a change-agent learns on a continuous basis as a professional by managing new challenges. In fact, unless a change-agent also perceives that he is benefited as a professional, by helping the poor, he may not be able to sustain his interest. Alternatively, if he takes his job as a charity, his abilities to help the poor to change their identities gets limited.

Managing Change and Conflicts

The above case studies clearly highlights the potential of various occupation development techniques for solving social identity related issues in development efforts. But a question arises: will it not result in caste conflicts in villages? In situations where oppressed are not aware of their strengths and the possibilities of change, a conflict of interest still exists, but it results in the oppression of poor. Literature on conflict resolution suggests that successful conflict resolution requires working through the causes of conflict rather than suppressing it (Blake, Shepard and Mouton, 1965; Agrawal, 1984). Roy (1986-87), based on experiences and learnings from the *Tilonia model*, recommends that, in spite of opposition from better offs in a rural community, a project benefiting the poor should be implemented. In fact, he believes that a change comes only out of conflict, and opposition to a project should be constructively used to benefit the target group. However, he further adds that conflict should be non-violent and legal.

In Shahada subdivision of Dhulia District in Maharashtra, tribals were exploited and oppressed by local mill owners and landlords. Having read a press report about the alleged murder of some labourers in the above subdivision, by a western educated landlord, a number of young persons including some students from Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay reached Shahada and started a *Shramik Sangathan*. A traditional devotional singer was used to discuss social problems with the poor men and women to make them aware of their rights and objective conditions. Confrontations with the exploiting rich peasants and in particular with the monopolists of the sugar mill cooperatives resulted in some immediate relief and benefits to the *Bhil Tribes*. The movement also resulted in women organising themselves into groups and fighting alcoholism and indiscrimination against women (Moulik, 1977).

The process of changing the social identity has also the potential of creating intra-personal conflicts among the oppressed as well as the oppressor. Freire (1972a) has argued that both the oppressed and the oppressor suffer from the "Fear of Freedom". While the oppressed are afraid to embrace the freedom, the oppressors are afraid of losing the "Freedom to Oppress". For oppression to end, oppressed should have a new social identity and that means both oppressed and oppressor should go through a process of resolving their intra-personal and inter-personal conflicts. Emerson (1962) has suggested that power balance between two parties reduces the dependence of one party over the other party. By helping the poor to redefine their social identity, a power balance can be created between the oppressed and the oppressor. It can reduce the dependence of the poor on the rich and the possibilities of exploitations of the poor also gets reduced considerably.

Some observations which emerges from the above case studies are:

- (a) Change-agents in all the cases were volunteers and were involved in those interventions because of their identification with the cause of the poor.
- (b) The interventions focused on building strengths of the poor and helping them to redefine their social-identity rather than providing resources.
- (c) There was a greater emphasis on action-research strategy for helping the poor to plan and implement the change.

In contrast to the above discussed voluntary development interventions, in most of the government sponsored development programmes the planning is centralised. Centralised planning of the development programmes provides publicity to the party in power that it is concerned about well being of the poor. The political parties depend upon the poor for their continuation in power. Hence, they tend to emphasise visible gains in development programmes rather than building the capabilities of the poor. The bureaucrat who are responsible to implement the programmes are also only concerned about meeting the targets, because they are being evaluated based on those targets.

Sharma (1979), based on the analysis of sterilisation data in the Family Planning Programmes, has concluded that coercion and target based approach does harm the cause of development efforts. Following mass vasectomy camps the performance improved considerably during 1971-72 and 1972-73, but had a big drop in the year 1973-74. Similarly during the emergency years the performance improved substantially, but was lowest for the last 8 years in the year 1977-78. It is observed

that in subsequent years the family welfare education suffered a big set back and the local leaders and politicians were reluctant to associate themselves with educational efforts, like, public demonstration.*

Some of the successful voluntary health programmes, like, Rural Health Project, Jamkhed (Subramanian, 1982; Arole and Arole, 1975), Pachod Health Programme (Dayal Chand and Soni, 1982) have been successful because of their being local need based and active participation by the local people. Community Health Volunteer (CHV) programme, started by the Government of India, is a reasonably effective programme, as suggested by the evaluation report (National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, 1979). The major reason for its success is that a health volunteer is usually a local person, selected by local people and is also administratively controlled by them.

The major objective of Project Linkage Programme, started by the Government of Gujarat, was to provide employment to local tribal people. Sethi and Agrawal (1988) have found that, since the programme design had evolved more as a response to need of industries, it failed to reflect the needs, aspirations and values of rural people.

Conclusion

Thus development of human resources at societal level, will require working with a new definition of development, with a greater focus on empowering the poor by creating awareness about the causes of his underdevelopment. A change agent working with the poor should have absolute conviction in possibilities of the poor being able to rewrite their destiny by their own efforts. Further, he should be comfortable to work on peripheries rather than being a central figure in a developmental intervention. Finally, the process of change is likely to succeed when the theories of change to be used for developmental efforts evolve from the context of the poor.

As a part of the conclusion, based on our arguments, we propose below two propositions about development interventions.

Proposition-1

The greater the identification of a change agent with the beneficiaries, and the lesser the dependence of the change agent on the beneficiaries, the greater will be the focus of the development intervention on building the social identity of the beneficiaries through education and training.

Proposition-2

The greater the use of action research strategy in implementing the development programmes, the greater is the possibility of building the social identity of the beneficiaries, and the lesser will be their dependence on a change agent in the long run.

* It is based on the discussion the author had with a senior official working with the Ministry of Welfare during a Development Programme at MM, Ahmedabad.

The strategy for testing the above proposition will imply evaluation of development programmes. Evaluation of development programmes in their own right has become an important subject. Development programmes involve scarce resources and very often they depend upon other external agencies, like developed countries for supply of resources. Hence, it becomes important to evaluate their effectiveness (Suchman, 1967).

Since the dependent variable "social identity" is a socio-psychological construct, it is likely to take considerable time to notice significant variation in it. A post test design with non equivalent groups can be used in the given situation. This design utilises a single post treatment observation for the impact variable for both the treatment group and a non randomly selected control group. This design makes it possible to compare a group of cases where a certain activity has been undertaken and a group of cases where a different activity or no activity has occurred (Cook and Campbell, 1976; Campbell and Stanley, 1966). This design is frequently used in social science research, but it usually does not allow strong causal inferences. Hoole (1978) has used it to study how National Green Revolution Programme in Indonesia, resulted in national increase in agricultural production by using Thailand as a control group. He had incorporated time series data also in the analysis.

In the proposition stated by us the independent variables are the change agent's attitudes towards and nature of his relationship with the beneficiaries, and the strategy for implementing the development programme. The topology of development programme, like government versus voluntary organisations can provide some clue towards it. In addition attitudinal scales can be used to measure commitment of change agent towards the cause of the poor and the reasons for his involvement. An analysis of the implementation strategy on the dimensions of power sharing, mutuality of goal setting and deliberateness on the part of beneficiaries can help to define whether the programme follows action research strategy and to what extent. The dependent variable 'social identity' can be operationalised by measuring the responses of the beneficiaries on two aspects, namely, his perceptions of changes in his economic, social, and political status and the image of the group to which he belongs. The data can be supplemented wherever possible by participant observer approach either by the researcher or his confidants in the given situation.

A validation of these propositions will go a long way to restate the theories of development and possibly make our development efforts more effective.

REFERENCES

- Agrawal, N.M. : "Determinants of inter-generation Conflict in Organisations". *Vikalpa*, 9(2): 121-134.
1984
- 1991** : Innovations in Transfer of Learning from Class-room to Work Situations. *UTD*, Vol. XXI, No. 5-6, Sept-Dec. 14-23.
- Arole, M. and R. Arole : "A Comprehensive Rural Health Project in Jamkhed (India)", K.W. Newell (ed.) *Health by the People*, 70-90, Geneva: WHO.
 1975
- Asche, Geoffrey : *Gandhi: A Study in Revolution*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
 1968
- Beteille, Andre : *Caste, Class and Power*, Bombay: Oxford University Press.
1966

- Bhatt, Anil
1975
Caste, Class and Politics, Delhi: Manohar Book Service.
- Blake, R.R., H.H. Shepard and J.S. Mouton
1965
Managing Intergroup Conflict in Industry, Houston, Tex: Gulf Publishing.
- Braro, J.S.
1983
The Political Economy of Rural Development, New Delhi: Allied Publishers.
- Briggs, G.W.
1920
The Chamars, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp.
- Brown L. David
1988
"Private Voluntary Organisations and Development Partnerships", Pradip N. Khandwalla (ed.) *Social Development*, 71-78, New Delhi: Sage Publishers.
- Campbell, D.T. and J.C. Stanley
1966
Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research, Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Corporation
1975
School Drop Outs Among Harijan Children: Causes and Cure, New Delhi: CIRI.
- Cook, T.D. and D.T. Campbell
1976
"The Design and Conduct of Quasi-Experiments and True Experiments in Field Settings, M.D. Dunnett (ed.) *Handbook of Industrial and Organisational Research*, 223-326. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- D. Abreo and A. Desmond
1983
From Development Worker to Activitist, Bangalore: DEEDS.
- Dayalchand, Ashok and M. Ibrahim Soni
1981
" 'Form Dais' Training to Women's Organisation: The Pachod Health Programme", in W. Fernandes and Rajesh Tandon (Eds.) *Participative Research and Evaluation*, 127-150, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Desai, A.R.
1969
Rural Sociology in India, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Dobb, Murice
1971
"A Note on Theories of Development and Underdevelopment", A.R. Desai (ed.) *Essays on Modernisation of Underdeveloped Societies*, Part I, 159-165, Bombay: Thacker and Co. Ltd.
- Emerson, R.M.
1962
"Power-dependence Relations", *American Sociological Review*, 27:31-41.
- Erikson, E.H.
1959
Identity and The Life Cycle, New York: International Universities Press, Inc.
- Esman, M.J. and NT. Uphoff
1978
"The Organisation of Rural Development: Reflections on Asian Experience", Sudeshkumar Sharma (ed.), *Dynamics of Development*, Delhi: Concept Publishing.
- Frankel, F.R.
1971
India's Green Revolution: Economic Gains and Political Costs, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Freire, Paulo
1972a
Pedagogy of the Oppressed, New York: Penguin Books.
- 1972b:
Cultural Action for Freedom, New York: Penguin Books.
- Freud, S.
1926
Ansprache an die Mitglieder des vereins B'nai Birth. Gesammelte Werke. 17:49-53. London: Imago. 1941: Erikson (1959). *Opposite Cited*, pp. 101.
- Gandhi, M.K.
1947
India of My Dreams, Compiled by R.K. Prabhu, Ahmedabad: Navjivan.

- Government of India
1956 *Second Five Year Plan*, New Delhi: Planning Commission.
- 1979 *Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, 1978-83*, Revised, New Delhi: Planning Commission.
- 1979 *The Constitution of India*, Allahabad: Central Law Agency.
- 1980 *Manual of Integrated Rural Development Programme*, New Delhi: Ministry of Rural Construction.
- Not dated *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan— 1974-79*, Vol. I and II, New Delhi: Planning Commission.
- Not dated *Fourth Five Year Plan: A Draft Outline*, New Delhi: Planning Commission.
- Not dated *Third Five Year Plan*, New Delhi: Planning Commission.
- Griffin K. and A.R. Khan
1978 "Poverty in the Third World: Ugly Facts and Fancy Models. *World Development*, 6(3): 295-304.
- Gupta, Ranjit
1982 "Poverty Trap: Lessons from Dhampur" in D.C. Korten and F.B. Alfonso (Eds.), *Bureaucracy and the Poor, Closing the Gap*, New Delhi: McGraw-Hill.
- Heredero, J.M.
1977 *Rural Development and Social Change*, New Delhi: Manohar.
- Hoole, Francis W.
1978 *Evaluation Research and Development Activities*, London: Sage Publications.
- ICSSR
1983 *Social Information of India: Trends and Structure*, Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corp.
- Issacs, H.R.
1965 *India's Ex-Untouchables*, New York: The John Day Company.
- Kardiner, A.
1939 *The Individual and His Society: The Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organisation*, New York: Columbia University Press in Mitchell (1968) *Opp. Cited*, P. 132.
- Lewin, Kurt.
1947 "Frontiers in Group Dynamics". *Human Relations*, 1 (1): 5-41.
- Matthai, Ravi
Not dated *Experiments in Educational Innovation of The Rural University*, Ahmedabad: I.I.M.
- Mishra, R.P., K.V. Sundaram
and V.L.S. Rao
1976 "Regional Development Planning in India". *Vikas*, 143-144, Quoted in I.S. Sundaram. *Anti Poverty Rural Development in India*, pp. 28, Delhi: D.K. Publications.
- Mitchell, G.D. (ed.)
1968 *A Dictionary of Sociology*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Morris D. Morris
1979 *Measuring the Condition of the World's Poor*, New York: Pergamon Press.
- Moulik, T.K.
1977 *Techniques of Mobilizing Rural People to Support Rural Development Programme*, W.P. No. 171, Ahmedabad: IIM.
- 1980 *Action Research on Rural Development for Rural Poor: The Dharampur and Jawaja Projects*, W.P. No. 320. Ahmedabad: IIM.
- Mukerji, B.
1967 *Community Development in India*, Revised Ed. Author listed in library catalogue as B. Mukherjee. Bombay: Orient Longmans.

- Myrdal, Gunnar
1968
Asian Drama: An Enquiry in to the Poverty of Nations, Part I, New York: The Twentieth Century Fund.
- National Institute of Health and Family Welfare
1979
Repeat Evaluation of Community Health Volunteer's Scheme-1979, Part I and II, New Delhi: National Institute of Health and Family Welfare.
- Pande, V.P.
1967
Village Community Projects in India, New Delhi: Asia Publishing House.
- Pareek, Udai
1988
"OBS and Social Development", Pradip N. Khandwalla (ed.) *Social Development*, 99-105, New Delhi: Sage Publishers.
- Parvathamma, C.
1968
"The Case for the Indian Untouchable", United Asia, Sept-Oct, 1968, 20(5), 279-286 quoted in Sachidananda. "Research on Scheduled Castes with Special Reference to Change" in ICSSR (1974), *A Surrey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 276-310, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Rogers, E.M.
1983
Diffusion of Innovations, New York: Free Press.
- Rostow, W.W.
1960
The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roy, Tilonia
1986-87
The Tilonia Model as a New Approach, A paper presented at the International Conference on Organisational and Behavioural Perspectives for Social Development, Ahmedabad: MM, 29 December 1986-2, January 1987.
- Saraswathi, L.S., D.J. Ravindran and T.K. Sundari
1982
"Training for Adult Education Animators" in Om Shrivastava and Rajesh Tandon (Eds.) *Participatory Training for Rural Development*, pp. 85-100. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.
- Sen, Sudhir
1943
Rabindranath on Rural Construction, Santiniketan: Visva-Bharti in Pande (1967). *Opp. Cited*.
- Sethi, Dipti and N.M.Agrawal
1988
'Project-Linkage' Programme: Understanding the Process of Evolution and Review of Pilot Project Experience, Working Paper No. 729, Ahmedabad: MM.
- Sharma, R. Baldev
1979
The Family Planning Programme in India: Its Record of Performance in the Seventies, Jamshedpur: XLR1.
- Sherif, M. and C.W. Sherif
1948
An Outline of Social Psychology, New York: Harper & Row.
- Shetty, S.L.
1978
"Structural Retrogression in the Indian Economy since the Mid-Sixties", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XIII (6-7), Feb., Quoted in Brara (1983), *Opp. Cited*.
- Singh, Manohar and Om Shrivastava
1982
"Training to Organise People at Level for Rural Cooperatives" in Om Shrivastava and Rajesh Tandon (Eds.) *Participatory Training for Rural Development*, pp. 57-67. New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in India.
- Strauss, A.L.
1959
Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Subramanian, Ashok
1982
The Rural Health Project, Jamkhed. A Mimeographed Paper, Ahmedabad: I.I.M.
- Suchman, E.A.
1967
Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programmes, New York: Russell Sage.

- Taylor, C.C.
1956 : *A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme*, New Delhi: The Government of India quoted in Mukerji, B. (1967), *Opp. Cited*.
- Weber, Max
1958 : *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited and translated by H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, New York: Oxford University Press.