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NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING FOR VILLAGE RESIDENTS:
THE MAHARASHTRA VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Field of Education - Educational Anthropology

By

G. Alfred Hess, Jr.

Evanston, Illinois

June 1980

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ABSTRACT:

GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING FOR VILLAGE RESIDENTS:
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By

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The thesis of this dissertation is that Third World development is best done when it is based upon a strategy of wide-spread, comprehensive, village-level development; that such a strategy is most inexpensively accomplished, and with least social dislocation, but the use of a catalytic force embodied in a structured movement of volunteers; and that this movemental force can be rapidly created and trained by an intensive, liberational educational experience using imaginal methods.

It is proposed that the criterion of experimental, scientific success by which this thesis should be evaluated is the actual alteration of social reality which results from its employment in real-life situations. The dissertation is a preliminary evaluation of one such project conducted in the State of Maharashtra, India by the Institute of Cultural Affairs. It is the most advanced of a series of such projects in more than 30 countries. The approach of the study is rooted in the perspective of critical theory, grounded in ethnographic reporting of first-hand observation of the project and the training school which enlists the movemental volunteers.

The dissertation has two main sections. The first surveys the

theoretical context of development and the role of liberatory education in movements for social change. It concludes with an historical sketch of development in India. The second section describes and evaluates the Maharashtra Project: the social philosophy and educational methodology of the Institute of Cultural Affairs; the form, content, and impact of the Human Development Training School; and the economic and social alteration accomplished in one particular village, Maliwada.

This study discovered that a catalytic movement for development had been created, with over 500 full-time volunteers at work in villages across the state. All had been trained in the intensive liberational education experience of the H.D.T.S. This training shifted the cognitive behavior of the students; equipped them with new skills of communication, technology, and motivation; and altered the affective dimension of the students, expanding their world-view and opening them to choose new life careers.

As a result of the efforts of the graduates of the H.D.T.S., villages across the state are rapidly developing after the fashion of the demonstration village, Maliwada. There village income was tripled in two years by upgrading agriculture and introducing small scale industries. Urban amenities and services were made available and former residents moved back into the village, reversing the urban migration flow. Maliwada's approach was imitated by other villages wishing to develop. Thus, in this one instance, the thesis of this dissertation is supported.

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Introduction

The Interventionist Methodology

The twentieth century has been a period of dramatic social change in every part of the globe. Kenneth Boulding(1964:1) calls it the age of the Great Transition from civilization to post-civilization. Three great movements have prepared the way for this century of alterations: 1) Westernization, European expansionism and its cultural extension; 2) World Development, the internationalization of capitalism and the growth of a global economic system; and 3) Modernization, the explosion of scientific and technological discovery which has resulted in man's enhanced capacity to control his environment. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that to be alive in the last third of this century is to be caught up in one or another, or all three of these massive happenings.

But men and women must decide how they will participate in these movements of change. Some have chosen, at least in their professional lives, to stand outside these movements, to observe and analyze them. While most of these persons will acknowledge their entrapment in their own milieu, they strive to be detached, disinterested observers. Others find themselves inescapably drawn into the process of change and they seek to help fashion what that change will be like. Still others seek to combine these perspectives, using "objective analyses" in the service of programs of change.

The dramatic successes of the physical and natural sciences in providing men ways to understand and manipulate their environment, and thereby to substantially alter their standard of living, has resulted in the widespread adoption of "scientific methods" for the

study, and possible control, of social reality. This introduction will examine the major approaches to social science which have emerged, and build a perspective for participation in the movement towards global development.

I. The Empirical or Positivist Approach

Max Weber early set the central issue for those who would pursue a social science. He maintained that a scientific approach could be taken towards "social facts", but these must be separated from cultural values. He believed that values shaped social forms; they can be observed and studied, but values are sociologically unjudgable. The choices individuals and societies make between values are essentially arbitrary. Once the values have been chosen, a scientific approach can analyze the societal implications which result.

The positivist school of philosophy, especially under Auguste Compte's leadership, reinforced the fact-value dichotomy by dismissing knowledge claims for all but those things which could be empirically observed (the realm of the sciences) and the formal systems of knowledge (logic and mathematics). The positivist-empiricist approach, which is perhaps the dominant force in the social sciences, has attempted to analyze society from a value-neutral perspective.

Empiricist social scientists have sought to emulate the natural sciences. They have built up an extensive data base of observed "social facts". They have discerned regularities of

relationships between different sets of social facts. They have attempted to articulate laws of social behavior and to develop theories which would explain and interrelate these laws and regularities. But no generally accepted grand designs have emerged. When T.S. Kuhn(1970) produced his historical perspective explaining the development of natural science as a series of paradigm shifts, many social scientists appropriated his language and began describing the state of their efforts as "pre-paradigmatic". By doing so, they both laid claim upon a particular future(when some consolidating paradigm would eventually succeed) and justified their current disarray as scientific adolescence, a natural growth state.

Robert Merton is the foremost example of the empiricist school. In _Social Theory and Social Structure_(1949), the first edition of which antedates Kuhn's work, he argues that social science should not be compared with contemporary physics, but with the early stages of the physical sciences. "Between twentieth-century physics and twentieth-century sociology stand billions of man hours of sustained, disciplined, and cumulative research"(1949:6-7). As a strategy to reach the goal of scientific maturity, Merton advocated the development of "theories of the middle range".

Merton distinguished social theory from general orientations towards data, from methodologies and emphasis on statistical and quantification techniques, from the analysis of sociological concepts such as "status" or "role", and from "_post factum_ sociological interpretations"(1949:90) which explain observations

but are not(to use a Popperian term) "falsifiable". Merton acknowledges the dearth of scientific laws in the social sciences. He defines such a law as "...a statement of invariance derivable from a theory"(1949:92).

In the context of commenting on a Durkheimian analysis of suicide rates among Protestants and Catholics, Merton puts forward his understanding of the elements of systematic theoretic generalizations:

1. They proceed to greater abstraction from particular data.
2. They are derived from interrelated descriptive propositions.
3. They permit perception of diverse, testable, consequences which may also explain other, apparently disconnected social patterns.
4. Thus they are predictive in nature.
5. They must be precise and determinate, in order to be testable.*

Merton's own theoretical orientation(professedly, middle range theorizing) focused upon extending Durkheim's functional analytic approach.

Merton's emphasis upon middle range theories cut against the grand theorizing of people like Talcott Parsons, whom Merton accused of merely holding generalized, unverifiable social orientations (1949, in the enlarged edition, 1968:52). Merton focused on more limited problem arenas in the absence of a guiding overall theory of society, as a strategy towards achieving a general theory at some unknown future time. His approach to theory corresponds directly to the empiricist approach to social problems.

* I am indebted to Bernstein(1976) for this summary of Merton's argument.

Sociologists, as distinct from the majority of anthropologists, have traditionally been more involved in seeking solutions to conditions their analyses identify as "social problems". This approach raises directly the issue of how problems are defined. Ernest Nagel(1961:492), in seeking to defend the empirical approach against "impossibility arguments", acknowledges that the definition of social problems leads back to the Weberian fact-value issue. He distinguishes two types of value judgments: the "characterizing" judgment which evaluates whether or not a condition exists(e.g., is there a large enough variation from the normal number of red corpuscles in a blood sample to say that anemia is present?) and the "appraising" judgment which labels anemia as "bad". Nagel claims it is possible to restrict social science enquiry to "characterizing" value judgments and thereby preserve its value-neutral orientation.

The empiricist claims he is able to study and advise on social and political conditions with the same kind of neutral, disinterested stance that the natural scientist brings to his studies. Whatever his perspectives and interests as a citizen, as a theorist he presents objective data and conclusions, subject to cross-checking and refutation by other social scientists. Richard Bernstein has graphically summarized this stance:

> His job qua theorist is to interpret the world, not to change it; he interprets it by offering and testing theoretical explanations. He knows, or at least believes, that if one is seriously interested in "changing the world", this can be best accomplished through scientific knowledge--especially knowledge of the probable consequences of different courses of action.

> Therefore, he endorses a categorical distinction between theory and practice or action....The task of the social scientist is to describe and explain social phenomena as accurately as he can....His task is not to make prescriptive claims about what ought to be--not to advocate a normative position.(1976:44f).

This middle-range theoretical position, disinterested and value-neutral, leads to major difficulties when the social scientist is consulted as an expert on social conditions. Nagel acknowledges the issue which arises in the determination of what problems to research. The research agenda is often set by the availability of public and/or private funding or by the ready access to data already collected for other purposes(e.g., census data) rather than as a part of a systematic research program(1961:486).

James Rule goes further in critiquing the empiricist approach. He argues that the empiricists assume there is a general consensus on what social problems are and that, therefore, empirical studies can discover solutions leading to ameliorative change which will have direct and positive effects for the whole society. Merton defined a social problem as "...a substantial discrepancy between widely shared social standards and actual conditions of social life"(1971:799). He described such "problems" as objective states of affairs, discernible by functional analysis on the basis of an organismic approach to society. He used the neutral sounding term "dysfunctional" to label such conditions.

However, Rule suggests that "...disputes over what constitutes 'shared social standards' (are) at the very heart of the conflicts which often pass as 'social problems'." He continues that even

when there is agreement on what a social problem is, "...the significance of the offending condition, and the details as to what would constitute its betterment, are matters of partisan difference" (1978:38f). Rule asserts that Merton is unable to provide any objective criteria for identifying social problems and evaluating insights for social betterment--what "improvement" would really entail. He argues that alternative solutions represent partisan positions in conflicts of interest. Therefore, "...a purely technical role for the social scientist...." fails(1978:44).

Some empiricists, such as Edward Banfield and James Q. Wilson(1963:3), openly recognize that social/political problems usually represent disagreements between contesting parties. Their approach is a radical affirmation of scientific disinterest, justified by the cynical conviction that knowledge is not a significant element in resolving such disagreements. Therefore, they suggest that, in effect, social science has no relevance for the solution of social problems. It may be of assistance to one or the other party to the dispute, but will not be determinative in and of itself.

Rule, in the preface to his book, suggests that this is in fact how applied social science research is often used in governmental circles. Research is selected to bolster already held positions, rather than as objective indices to potential solutions to problems(1978:viii). He further charges that attempting to take the objective, "purely technical role" leads social scientists into adopting the perspective of the ruling governmental elite, accepting

their value orientation in defining social problems, and thereby tailoring their solutions to the consumers of their research.

Such a pragmatic perspective is perhaps best represented by Daniel Bell, and his colleague Irving Kristol. In the first edition of the journal, The Public Interest, they argued that it is best for the social sciences to take a pragmatic, non-ideological approach. Ideologies "...propose prefabricated interpretations of existing social realities--interpretations that bitterly resist all sensible revision"(1965:3f). Thus, Bell and Kristol sought solutions that were non-ideological, non-political. Rule summarizes his criticism of this approach, "This is precisely the difficulty with social problem solving; it is a profoundly political enterprise from beginning to end, and its ideology is nonetheless important for being concealed...."(1978:23). He goes on to point out that even the definition of something as "problematic" implies some vision of how society ought to be, and what kinds of action, or inaction, should be invoked. These choices, whether called ideological or something else, are political choices between conflicting views of society and conflicting programs for society. If the pragmatist ignores this reality, he simply hands over his decision-making to those in power whom he is serving.

This politically conservative, pragmatic, anti-ideological approach is also present in the sociological writings of Karl Popper. Popper, even more directly than Bell and Kristol, advocated rational planning which was open to public debate, moderate in scope, and

incremental in nature. A former Marxist, he opposed "utopian planning", which entails sweeping rearrangements of society, in favor of "piecemeal social engineering" because there is no way to anticipate the effects of sweeping social changes and the extent and complexity of utopian plans makes their feasibility exceedingly difficult to assess. "At present," he writes, "the sociological knowledge necessary for large-scale engineering is simply non-existent"(1963b,I:162). In this perspective, and echoing the above discussion of Merton's middle-range theories, Popper argues for a step-by-step approach, where the causal factors can more easily be discerned, in which the innovator can learn from his mistakes, and in which the scientist can quickly discern and react to unexpected consequences. He justifies his position by admonishing men to "Work for the elimination of concrete evils rather than for the realization of abstract goods"(1963a:361).

Popper, obviously, is susceptible to the same criticisms of political servitude just made of Bell and Kristol. However, in framing his argument as an antithesis to Marxian utopian social planning, he elicits a further critique. Popper chooses to gloss over the possibility that there are large scale social forces which are responsible for the existance of undesireable social conditions. By ruling out comprehensive approaches, he seems to deny the possibility of systemic causes of social problems. His solutions seem to treat the symptoms of social conditions while ignoring root causes. This position is consistent with a more conservative political

stance and a certain naivete about political realities: that political leaders will take the "right" course of action to solve social problems if they are made aware of what those courses are. It seems to ignore the possibility that those political leaders may represent an interest group which actually benefits from the continuance of the particular condition. It seems overly confident in the power of a good idea to win out in a contest with the lure of material advantage.

But it must be acknowledged that Popper sounds an important warning note about the necessity of evaluating the effects of social change, and the increasing possibility of untoward and unexpected consquences as the scope of change increases. Unfortunately, he slights the untoward effects of inaction and piecemeal amelioration. His one-sided approach does not give assistance in the attempt to weigh one type of risk against another, in order to determine at what point it is preferable to do piecemeal change and when to concentrate on systemic change. The certainty of continued suffering would make assuming uncertain risks more palatable.

Gunnar Myrdal represents a significant divergence in the empirical approach. His position is especially significant for those who are concerned with the questions of global development. It was his similar critique of the piecemeal approach of Marshall Plan-like attempts at direct technology transfer to less developed countries that reversed international thinking and policies about development(Cf., Rich Lands and Poor, 1957). He suggested that

single-dimensional political actions only have significance in their larger social context, and pointed to the gap in technical capacity to employ large-scale technological transfers. He pointed out the interconnection of educational and economic development and advocated a comprehensive approach to development that took account of the level of social capital overhead already in place, the educational level, the administrative and capital infrastructures, and a host of other dimensions.

In his characteristic role as a foreigner studying indigenous social conditions(whether of Blacks in the U.S.A. or peasants in Asia), Myrdal was very conscious that solutions to social problems were neither neutral, nor of general benefit, but would favor some interest over others. He attacked the notion that any conditions could be justified simply by articulating that they perform a function, as if every function can be neutrally affirmed, e.g., that an entrepreneur performs a function in society and therefore merits profits(Cf., 1953:20). He insisted that such analyses were already partisan. He similarly insists that any pretensions to objective knowledge of the "common welfare" are illusory and incapable of being accepted by all reasonable observers.

Thus Myrdal comes back to the Weberian problem of fact and value. He affirms that values are not logically verifiable, but indicates that they are not wholly independent of empirical beliefs, either. People have "reasons" for the values they maintain, even if these beliefs are often opportunistically selected and arranged(1944:1027).

This desire in man to be rational suggests a strategy for the social sciences, one Myrdal embodied in his study of the role of the Negro in American society. The scientist can identify the "selective perceptions" which support the continuance of social conditions which are inconsistant with a people's more generalized value positions. He can generate accurate information to offset these illusory perceptions and thus make more rational the relationship between ultimate values and instrumental practices. Thus, his study emphasized the gap between the American egalitarian Creed and the practice of discrimination against Negroes. The scientist's role is to confront the illusory beliefs that sustain prejudice so that the actual relation between the races might approximate the egalitarian principles of the Creed. This strategy was used later by the Civil Rights Movement in its appeal to white middle-class liberals and in the courts. It was singularly unsuccessful with other segments of the populace, and 25 years after the initial Supreme Court victories, American society is still highly stratified on the basis of race.

In a position particularly significant to those interested in global development, Myrdal advocates adopting the values of the society being studied as the criteria for making more rational the beliefs and actions of that society. "A value premise should not be chosen arbitrarily; it must be relevant and significant in relation to the society in which we live. It can, therefore, only be ascertained by an examination of what people actually desire"(1958:2). As in the American situation, when values at different levels conflict

with each other, the more general ones should be chosen. However, Myrdal goes even a step further. Acknowledging that many values are maintained because of distorted perceptions of social reality, he suggests the investigator, especially in developing countries, may need to adopt values members of the society <u>would surely hold</u> if only the distortions were removed!

> To a scientist engaged in making society more rational, it must be questioned whether he should not want to use the valuations people would have if their beliefs were correct and not distorted....(1969:66).

Thus, Myrdal, in seeking to make a society more rational, echoes Weber's contention that the analysis of social facts and causal relationships can help people to pursue their own value ends more rationally. In the same light, Myrdal attacks the disjunction of proposed programs for development from predictive analyses of their feasibility. Myrdal's British colleague, Paul Streeten, goes farther and suggests, "Programs without prognoses are idle wish dreams or empty protests"(Streeten, 1958:xiv). Streeten acknowledges that a prognosis may hinge on what a people believe to be possible, and that these beliefs about possibility are themselves alterable. So he is led to conclude, "Faith can move mountains"(1958:xxviii). Thus, social science can provide insight on choices of alternative programs---not on the basis of a comparison of the ultimate values they express, but on the basis of a comparison of their respective prognoses, and the consistency of the means with the ends.

But Myrdal steps beyond Weber in advocating the adoption of, not just the currently held values of a society, but those he himself projects would be held if current distoritions were removed by the application of sociological insight. In addition to the naive confidence that people will alter their beliefs just because they are disclosed to be inconsistent with other beliefs they, or their larger society, also hold, Myrdal calls down upon himself the charge of investigator-subjectivity in attempting to predict what values a people would hold if conditions were to change.

II. Critical Theory Approaches

In Frankfurt, a school of thinkers emerged in the middle decades of this century which attacked the Weberian dualism of fact and value. Led by Max Horkheimer, and including Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, the school's efforts culminated in the work of Jürgen Habermas. They were deeply critical of the positivist and objectivist bent of social science, and especially of the attempt at epistemological dominance which Habermas called "scientism", in which the scientists' and society's belief in science elevates it from <u>one</u> form of knowledge into the <u>identification</u> of knowledge with science.*

* Cf. the recent statement of John C. Sawhill(1979), president of New York University, advocating an approach to "...ethical inquiry as a science, analogous to biology or chemistry or physics." See also Dobbert(1970) for a more substantial account of the "religion of science".

Horkheimer claimed that knowledge and interest are inextricably connected in the scholar. In the 1930's, he decried the attempt in traditional theory to split man into "scientist" and "citizen"(1972:209f). Critical theory is more radical than traditional theory. It criticizes the "givens" of life, is unwilling "...to accept the prevailing ideas, actions, and social conditions unthinkingly and from mere habit...." but is an "...effort which aims to coordinate the individual sides of social life with each other....to examine the foundations of things...."(1972:270).

Critical theory is motivated by the practical intent of improving human existence. It is suspicious of ameliorative changes that leave men as recipients, and seeks to be so identified with oppressed peoples that its "...presentation of societal contradictions is not merely an expression of the concrete historical situation, but also a force within it to stimulate change"(1972:215). It is concerned with the way the superstructure of society is organized, not merely the elimination of one abuse. In these statements, the echoes of Hegel and Marx are obvious, and like Marx, Horkheimer claims that the effectiveness of critical theory is to be judged on its ability to motivate the oppressed class to radically transform society(1972:231). This would be a union of theory and action.

However, Horkheimer became increasingly discouraged about the likelihood of a genuine proletarian revolution. If not the prolitariat, who then would be the revolutionary class? To whom should critical theory be addressed?

Jürgen Habermas attempted a solution to this determinative problem. He began by using the classical Greek scholars to criticize the separation of political action and morality implicit in the Cartesian, and later positivist, approach to science. He derides the attempt to achieve technical control over historical actions as an inauthentic replacement of the political process of arriving at a rational consensus of the citizenry about the matters that affect their destiny. He calls this a "depoliticization" of society and an attempted legitimation of technologism(1970:75).

Habermas' solution anticipates the emergence of an "enlightened" class. To that end, he articulates what Bernstein (1976:192) calls a "philosophical anthropology". He speaks of three types of cognitive interests: technical, practical, and emancipatory, which relate to three types of science: empirical-analytical, historical-hermeneutical, and critical, each of which are grounded in one dimension of human sociality: work, interaction, and power. Work involves purposive, rational action by which man seeks to control his environment for survival. Interaction involves communication and intersubjectivity by which community is possible. Power involves man's capacity to shape his own destiny. Critical theory is essential to this task because it goes beyond the empirical search for "...nomological knowledge....to determine when theoretical statements grasp invariant regularities of social action as such and when they express ideologically frozen relations of dependence that can in principle be transformed"(1971:310; cf., Streeten above, pg. 14).

Thus critical theory acts as a force for enlightenment which disolves reified power relationships and resistences, thereby emancipating those who attend to it. Emancipation is a central theme for Habermas, and key to that is the kind of personal self-knowledge that can lead to a radical cognitive, affective, and practical transformation resulting in an enhanced autonomy and responsibility. These are crucial elements in the coalescence of a revolutionary movement. In this context, the choice of program options, especially at the strategic level, revolves not so much on theoretic solutions or empirical analyses(though those are involved) as on the differing capacities of the choices to create a consensus "...among the participants, who....are the only ones who can know what risks they are willing to undergo, and with what expectations"(1973:33). Political action, policy options, are not reducible to technological issues, but concern those strategies which can motivate revolutionaries to common action.

Critical theory, while radically in opposition to empiricism as a vehicle for determining effective social action, is itself subject to three crucial criticisms. The first is a short-coming on the basis of its own criteria of effectiveness. No revolutionary class has emerged to embody critical theory. Horkheimer's ambivalence about the likelihood of a prolitarian uprising is still being borne out. The Marxist predictions of a massive prolitarian revolution have not yet occurred anywhere in the world. Habermas' emancipatory interest has likewise not found sociological embodiment and has added to the

confusion of who the intended consumers of critical theory are. Without a revolutionary movement, his approach is hardly distinguishable from bourgeois liberal idealism. Secondly, without specific content, critical theory is resistant to any kind of feasibility evaluation. There is virtually no basis for making a prognosis of the effectiveness of adopting the critical theoretical approach as it is abstractly presented. Lastly, as Bernstein points out, Habermas provides no illumination of how one practically would organize the "process of enlightenment"(1976:216).

III. Interventionism and Applied Anthropology

Anthropology has experienced the social science controversy more intensely than other disciplines. At one point there was a major debate as to whether or not it should even consider itself one of the social sciences. Evans-Pritchard(1962), after years of common labor with Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, broke with them by advocating the position that anthropology had more in common with history and the humanities than it did with the social sciences.

Some anthropologists have assumed a posture similar to Banfield's, that anthropology has no practical relevance to social issues, a position which has been reinforced by recent disclosures of governmental manipulation of anthropologists and their research for purely nationalistic ends, to the disadvantage of the subject people. However, the majority of anthropologists would feel more compatability with Merton's approach, the search for middle-range theories and for

solutions to problems of limited scope based upon empirical research. In this perspective, they are in line with Malinowski, the pioneer of an anthropology based upon first-hand, empirical field research, and of collaboration with government servants in creating an enlightened and more rational approach to colonial administration.

Within the empiricist school another debate has centered on the subjectivity-objectivity question. This debate has sometimes been characterized in Kenneth Pike's categories as the emic - etic controversy. The attempt to understand and describe how a strange people think and feel about their life is difficult to formulate in falsifiable hypotheses. At the other extreme, careful, quantifiable work has been done on social cohesion and genetic inheritance, which has produced such hypotheses with predictive capacity(e.g., Chagnon, 1974). The polarity of empathetic observation/description and the search for quantifiable regularities continues.

The most startling example of a different anthropological approach is that which its originator, Allan Holmberg, called Participant-Interventionism. The Vicos Project, under the auspices of Cornell University(1952-57), was a radical departure from "normal" anthropological undertakings. A self-styled project of guided social change(Cf., Holmberg, 1959, 1960a & b), this project directly contravened the accepted approach of non-interfering participant-observation. Instead of trying to avoid causing any changes, beyond those inevitable by the introduction of an outsider into the culture, the Vicos Project was a deliberate attempt to occasion social change.

While anthropologists have often been consulted as experts on cultural resistances to technological innovation and modernization, dating at least to Malinowski's work(Cf., 1945) and even to some contacts in the predecessor agencies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as early as 1879(Foster 1969:196ff), this was a unique attempt to study change by occasioning it. In this sense, it was also a repudiation of the restriction of the social sciences to the investigative mode, and an assumption of the experimental mode of anthropological research.

There are many similarities between Holmberg's approach and that of the Critical Theorists. This was a clear effort at overcoming the so-called theory-action dichotomy. It was a comprehensive approach, in contrast with the largely piecemeal innovative approach of most applied anthropology. It was a self-conscious effort to initiate change rather than merely observe or advise on changes initiated by others. It proceeded from an evaluation of the central contradiction relative to modernization: isolation of the peasants from the larger socio-economic context as engendered by the feudalistic hacienda system, to a reasoned program of how to overcome this contradiction. It identified the potential revolutionary class(even if it did not label them as such), the haciendistas themselves. It focused its attentions on the development of human dignity by emancipatory guidance. A firm focus on individual enlightenment was maintained and embodied in planned change. Its elements were as diverse as the upgrading of the community school to encouraging

service in the armed forces, which expanded enlistees' worldviews. It took strategic decisions which would motivate the hacienda's peasants to become the catalysts of change, themselves. Much empirical data was gathered, patterns of change were noted, quantification of results was recorded, but these were servants of the larger enterprise of totally reconstructing the social structure of Vicos.

But, unlike the critical theorists, Holmberg adopted a Weberian separation of value and science. After an extensive catalogue of specifically held values which were the foundation of the experiment at Vicos, he affirms that "...no such value stand, of course, can ever be validated by science...." Yet, sensitive to the charge of blatant manipulation, he adds, "...we and a surprising number of Vicosinos....believed them 'to be good and desireable ends'"(1960a:473). While it might appear that this last statement is an acknowledgement of Myrdal's advice to accept the values and objectives of the people being studied, Holmberg quickly reveals this is not the case. Vicos was a carefully controlled experiment, with at least 130 separate and externally determined social goals. Hypotheses were tested and replaced until the goals were accomplished. Though the envisioned community would be egalitarian and democratic, the project was paternalistically created and freedom was progressively and beneficently bestowed. It was no happenstance that Holmberg began as the hacienda's patrón.

As unappetizing as such paternalism now appears, looking back through several decades of the struggles of oppressed peoples for freedom, it was a significant challenge to normal detached empirical social science. A year after leaving Vicos, Holmberg wrote, "I remain convinced that the interventionist or action approach to the dynamics of culture, applied with proper restraint, may in the long run provide considerable pay-off in terms both of more rational policy and better science"(1960a:471). The pay-off in policy had to do with insight into how development could be accomplished. However, since this project was too expensive to ever replicate, and since nations may not expect patrons to all be equally beneficent, the policy pay-off has been less than Holmberg hoped. The pay-off in better science, while also now largely ignored, is more specifiable. Vicos was a comprehensive and controlled experiment in social reconstruction. It was not a research field for idly checking out popular hypotheses. It was an experiment in reaching 130 specified developmental goals in all aspects of the culture, and of discovering the best ways to do that. There was nearly complete control of all interventions and of all variables. If an hypothesis was falsified in practice, another had to be found to replace it, and the process would continue until success was achieved. This entailed the kind of collective feedback which Holmberg maintains is rarely found in the social sciences, but is the backbone, especially in applied research, in the natural sciences. "Development requires correct insights, hypotheses, and analytic models. It compels their never-ending

revision until they pass the test of application"(1960a:477). Like the critical theorists, Holmberg's criteria of experimental scientific success is to be found in the actual alteration of social reality. It is in comparing the results with the predicted results. It is not content with mere description.

More recently, the Institute of Cultural Affairs, basing its approach on its own signal community experiment in the Westside ghetto of Chicago a decade after Vicos, has emerged as an agency which is self-consciously experimenting with social reconstruction with similarities to both Vicos and the Critical Theorists. Eschewing the detached, disinterested analytical approach of the empirical social sciences, just as Holmberg did, the I.C.A. recalls Sartre's phrase, "It is in changing the world that we can come to know it"(1970:252). Like Holmberg's project, the I.C.A.'s world-wide network of village development projects are comprehensive attacks on the structures of those village societies. But they fit within a particular understanding of the current critical contradiction in society that is different than Marx's, and considerably more specific than Habermas' approach.

If the Marxist contradiction analysis could be over-simplified as the alienation of the proletariat from both the means of production and the results of his labor, the I.C.A. analysis could be characterized as the alienation of "local man" from significant participation in, not just the economic, but also the political and cultural dimensions of his society by the mega-structuring of all of these sectors. Thus,

a strategic approach is formulated which focuses upon restoring to local citizens the capacity to forge their own destiny. It includes a self-conscious program of enlightenment, awakening participants to the extensive possibilities of which they have not been aware. Like Vicos, its programmatic objectives are quite measureable, at least in some arenas, e.g., a tripling of the income of the village within two years of the initiation of the project is a common objective in the less developed lands. Thus, the I.C.A., while practically embodying most of the insights of a critical theoretical approach, meets the three major critiques leveled against Habermas and his earlier colleagues(see above, pages 18f).

In later chapters the details of how the I.C.A. embodies this approach will be examined and evaluated. But one other methodological observation is required. The I.C.A. acknowledges the importance of the empirical sciences in the control of the environment, and of understanding the dynamics of social interaction and community. But, like Habermas, its primary emphasis is upon the emancipatory interest which releases victimized local man to claim his own destiny. To do so, the I.C.A. employs a method of continual contradiction analysis similar to that described by Critical Theorists. Unlike Holmberg's approach, this method resists stultification in any doctrinaire articulation of the proper programmatic content of social reconstruction. The manifestations of the central contradiction preventing a more human future are unique to each particular location, and shift across time as a

result of social change(Cf., Wallerstein 1979:vii-xii, "Some reflections on history, the social sciences, and politics" for a more detailed treatment of this point). The essence of this method is seen plainly in the structure of the week-long consultation which initiated each village project(see Chapter 6, Section IV, "The Mechanisms of Initiation").

IV. The Methodology of This Study

It is my thesis that Third World development is best done when it is based upon a strategy of wide-spread, comprehensive, village-level development; that such a strategy is most inexpensively accomplished, and done with least social dislocation, by the use of a catalytic force embodied in a structured movement of volunteers; and that this movemental force can be rapidly created and trained by an intensive, liberational educational experience using imaginal methods.

Like Holmberg and the Critical Theorists, I believe that the criterion of experimental, scientific success by which this thesis should be evaluated is the actual alteration of social reality which results when it is employed in real-life situations. It is in comparing the actual results with the predicted results and in comparing the actual results with the previous conditions that the validity of prescriptive theses is determined. I intend to give support to the validity of my thesis on the basis of one case study in Maharashtra, India. The project described and analyzed here was conducted by the Institute of Cultural Affairs. It is the most

advanced of a series of such projects in more than 30 countries. But as a development project, it is still very new, having been initiated only five years ago. Thus, this analysis is in the nature of an interim evaluation, and will be limited to the experience of one session of the educational training school and to results in one village. Five years from now, a more extensive evaluation can be made of the whole project, and its effect on the 25,000 villages of Maharashtra. Similarly, at that time, a cross-cultural analysis can be made of the projects conducted in countries of widely diversified cultures and economies.

My approach to this study is rooted in the perspective of critical theory, grounded in the ethnographic reporting of first-hand observation of particularities. However, the anthropological approach is more akin to Holmberg's participant-interventionism than of the less ambitious, description-oriented, participant-observation mode. I do not mean to eschew empirical and statistical measures; they will be employed as appropriate, but not as an end in themselves. My sources vary from the important theoretical writings on development and education of the leading academicians and Third World leaders, to the documents of the Institute of Cultural Affairs and other related organizations, to my personal notes of first-hand experiences and of the corporate reflections of Institute staff and Nava Gram Prayas (New Village Movement) volunteers. It is my hope that these reflections, analyses, and documentation may be of assistance to these dedicated volunteers, for it is by their efforts and sacrifice that the basic

needs of their neighbors and countrymen are being met.

This dissertation has two main sections. The first surveys the theoretical context of development. I begin by examining the Global Society which is emerging in the latter half of the twentieth century: the nature of its political linkages, its economic interdependence and its growing cultural commonnesses. I then recount what might be called "classical development theory", primarily as propounded by Walt Rostow, and its critique by the world-system and dependency theorists. It is the postulate of "underdevelopment" which provides the foundation for Third World agendas for development which have emerged in the last two decades, and which provide the theoretical framework for a strategy of rural development. The final chapter of this section reviews the history of development in India, the host nation for the particular case study to be reported in the second section.

The second section is entitled "A Strategy for Micro-Development" and describes and analyzes a particular attempt to embody my thesis about village level development by the Institute of Cultural Affairs in Maharashtra, India. The sixth chapter presents the social philosophy of the Institute, as it has articulated it in papers and speeches; the chapter presents the general approach to be embodied in specific village development projects. The next chapter examines the educational methodology of the Institute, called "Imaginal Education", and relates it to educational and epistemological theory. Chapter eight describes the Human Development Training School, the educational

project conducted by the I.C.A. to train village volunteers of Nava Gram Prayas, the catalytic New Village Movement. Chapter nine presents the intra-psychic alterations occasioned in the students of the H.D.T.S. which made them effective catalysts of village-level development. The last chapter analyzes the changes in one village, Maliwada, as a demonstration of the rapid development this strategy enables. The conclusion summarizes my whole argument.

Part I

THE DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

Chapter 1

The Emergence of a Global Society

The twentieth century has witnessed the emergence of widespread self-consciousness that today we humans live in one common global society. Academicians, holding various theoretical positions and definitional stances, may argue over whether there really exists something that can be called a society on a global scale, or, if there is, when it can be said to have emerged. This century does not lack for great symbolic events to represent the "one world" manifestation: Einstein's articulation of $E=MC^2$, World War I, the League of Nations, World War II, the atomic bomb, the United Nations Charter signing in San Francisco, Mao's victory in China, Congolese independence and the rise of the new nations, sputnik, the man on the moon, the OPEC oil shock. But whether it be by the picture of the "earthrise" or the arrival of the transistor radio in his village, local man, all over the globe, recognizes his connection to a common humanity. He recognizes that his world involves regular and systematic interconnections with peoples near and far. He grasps himself to be part of a global society.

Hedley Bull(1977:13) articulates four essential elements for the existence of a society: common interests, common values, common rules, and common institutions. His state-centrist argument is that there now exists a "society of states" which participate jointly in these common elements. Others, such as Morse(1976) and Alger(1977) would go further and suggest that individuals, sub-state units, and supra-state organizations also participate in these same elements; that to narrow the focus to nation-states is to miss the

full significance of the emergence of the global society.

Others, such as Pierre Teilhard de Chardin(1965) and Kenneth Boulding(1956), following more closely after Durkheim's "collective consciousness"(1915), focus upon the common awareness of mankind around the globe, which Teilhard calls the Noosphere. Both of these scholars, in language echoing Durkheim's "consciousness of consciousness", focus upon contemporary man's heightened self-consciousness to speak of this century as the emergence of a new global age of post-modernity or post-civilization.*

In this initial chapter I intend to simply show that Third World development takes place, or fails, in the context of social interconnection and interdependence in the political, economic, and cultural(defined in a more restricted sense) arenas. It is a world of political linkages which enweb men and women across the whole globe in formal and informal relationships. It is a world of economic interdependence in which the actions of any have repercussions throughout the whole system, though the capacity for significant impact is unequally distributed. It is a world of growing cultural commonness in cognitive procedures, essential elements of life style, and symbolization. It is this world-wide coalescence that I mean to denote by a global society.

* For a further explication of this theme, see Chapter 7, The Epistemological Basis of Imaginal Education.

I. The Emergence of the Global Society

Hannah Arendt, in accounting for the current state of The Human Condition(1958:248ff), speaks of "three great events (which) stand at the threshold of the modern age and determine its character..." The expansion of Europe established political-military dominance and carried the culture of the Western world across the whole globe. The rise of capitalism accompanied European expansion until a singular world economy was established. Both of these events were made possible by, and in turn helped to fashion, the rapid expansion and development of science and technology. While various authors have argued for the primal determinancy of one or another of these "events", to me, the evidence appears more persuasive that it was the systematic and interdependent interaction of these three developments which has produced the current global society. Depending upon the problem to be solved, attention may be focused upon one or another of these overarching trends: the threat of ecological disaster--the development of science and technology; the exploitation of the underdeveloped world--the rise of capitalism; the fragility of democratic governments in the "new nations"--the expansion and decline of European colonialism. But even by thus narrowing the focus, one cannot ignore the other accompanying factors. They are inextricable and interpenetrating.

The history of the world to the 16th century is the accumulated histories of isolated regions. It was about 1500 A.D. that the various peoples on the distant landmasses of the globe were first brought into direct contact with each other. L.S. Stavrianos(1975:3)

compares the ending of regional isolation(by the voyages of Columbus) to the breaking of the bonds of planetary isolation by the astronauts who landed on the moon. What had been parallel histories, which at times impinged upon one another, became a unified history of man.

At the time, an impartial observer might have suggested it would be more likely for China, whose civilization was more advanced, more cohesive and more powerful, to dominate the world scene than for Europe to do so. In fact, long before the Portugese had sailed past Cape Verde to reach present-day Sierra Leone, still on the Northwest African coast, the Chinese, under Cheng Ho(1405-1433), had conducted seven maritime trade expeditions around South Asia to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and East Africa(Stavrianos, 1975:74). But the consolidated Chinese empire cut off its westward ventures while the divisive state powers of Europe, first the Iberians, then later the Northwest Europeans, competed with each other to span what, for the first time, was generally agreed to be a "globe".

The voyages of discovery and colonial expansion need not be recounted here, others have done that far more adequately(e.g., Stavrianos, 1975, and McNeil, 1979). It is enough to say that by the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the whole inhabited world had fallen under European influence, domination, or control. Fueled by political and economic competition, assisted by scientific and technological breakthroughs, especially in maritime and military innovations, white, Western civilization had become preeminent everywhere. But in 1904-05 an event occurred which was to be a

turning point in world history. The Japanese, who had resisted being included in the global society longer than any other people, but who, in less than half a century, had learned from the West and adopted its modernized science, technology, and organization of production, handed Western expansion its first defeat in the Russo-Japanese War. Within sixty years, virtually the whole world was to likewise throw off direct Western political control. However, this did not result in a reversion to regional or local isolation, but to a new system of global political linkages.

Whether capitalism fueled and required Western expansion, was simply carried by it, or was interdependent with it, the expansion of these two forces was virtually simultaneous. Immanuel Wallerstein (1979:37ff) points out that "agricultural capitalism" developed in Europe and the Western Hemisphere in the 16th century. For Wallerstein, capitalism is the production of goods for exchange on a market for the sake of realizing a profit, and is characterized by a singular division of labor for a common market(1979:16). Gradually, through the mercantilist expansion with its primary accumulation of capital, and then explosively with the advent of industrial capitalism, this capitalist world-economy came to encompass the whole globe. Despite, or perhaps even due to, the fragmentation of the colonial empires and the emergence of economies organized on the basis of a hostile socialist ideology, this world economic system continues to flourish.

Such new innovations as the stern rudder, lateen sails, redesigned hulls, the compass, and shipboard artillery gave Western

mariners a decisive advantage. The loosening of intellectual constraints, fostered in the Italian Renaissance and supported by the religious and national pluralism of the Reformation, resulted in an outpouring of insights into the ordering of nature. Combined with technological applications of these insights to practical problems, a new spirit emerged which came to characterize modernization: the subjection of nature to the domination of man. Science thrived on this separation of the observer from the observed, and the resulting domination the experimenter was enabled to exercise. The early adaptation of scientific innovation to navigation and military affairs gave the West the power to dominate the rest. It also spurred imitation by those who were subordinated, first in military technology, then in productive capacity. Japan, after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, recognized the supremacy of Western science and technology in international relations and successfully adapted its society to them, resulting in the victory over the Russians, and the capacity to wage a global, industrialized war thirty years later.

The scientific and technological revolution, with its extension of power far beyond the capacity of a man or an animal, was to fundamentally alter the relationships of nation-states and peoples. No longer was sheer massiveness of numbers determinative. The "six-shooter" was not the only "equalizer". Applications of technology made the productive capacity of relatively small, but developed, populations prohibitively advantageous over unmodernized productive techniques, even when employed by masses of people. Adaptations of

of technology to transportation and communications eliminated the isolating and protective barriers of distance, oceans, and political boundaries. The exploitation and employment of modernizing technologies gave the West such obvious wealth and power that it soon became self-evident that survival required adaptation. Japan became the primal symbol of the possibilities of such a policy. Today, the advantages of scientific and technological modernization are virtually universally affirmed. Debate centers upon what appropriate technological adaptation entails, not if adaptation is appropriate.

II. A World of Political Linkages

In the year 1500, the world was governed by a number of regional empires. In China, the Ming dynasty, the latest in a series dating back three millenia, had already ventured by sea to Africa and was at the height of its three century reign. The Shogunate founded by Yorimoto had been in power in Japan for three centuries. The Mohguls were consolidating the largest empire yet seen in South Asia. The Safavid Shahs had just restored a native ruling dynasty to Persia. The Ottoman Empire in the middle-east had conquered Constantinople, was advancing in Eastern Europe, and was consolidating its power in the Arab lands. The Incas and Aztecs were firmly in control of large empires in South and Central America. Europe alone, among the more technologically developed civilizations, was experiencing the collapse of its empire.

During the next century and one half a new political configuration emerged, a society of sovereign nation-states. This configuration was confirmed in the peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years War in 1648. Implicit in the treaties signed in that year were a series of characteristics which have continued to shape thinking about nation-states to the present day, even in drastically changed conditions. Morse(1976:29ff) lists five: the sovereignty of the nation-state, externally independent and internally supreme; the primacy of foreign policy, which involves the state's continued capacity to exist and prosper in the face of external threat, over domestic issues; the heroic framework of great and masterless men in which nations and sovereigns(and later elected leaders) were identical; the necessity of a balance of power which prevented any one state from emerging to form a new European empire; and the assumptions of mercantilism that political and economic reality were inseparable, that national economies should develop autonomously and therefore require a favorable balance of trade, and that men always act out of self-interest.

Several scholars have suggested that it was precisely the emergence of this anarchical society of states, to use Bull's description, which fostered both Western expansion and the rise of capitalism. It was not only that adventurers like Columbus could find a sponsor such as Isabella after being turned down by the Italian nobility(diversity of opportunity), but also that the lack of the unified restraints, imposed by an empire, fostered competitive

specialization, and the absence of capital-draining tributes allowed for primitive accumulation which could fuel further expansion(Cf., Chirot, 1977:20f). In the competiton such a configuration encouraged, small advantages resulted in massive alterations of power and wealth, enhancing the value of innovation and invention. Quite naturally, those who conquered and came to dominate the world also imposed their concept of the nation-state, first as competing extensions of the European states, but in this century, as a world community of so-called nation-states. At first, sovereignty was vested in the heroic monarchs; later it was vested in the shared control of the people.

The order and pattern of European expansion has had a determining effect upon contemporary political configurations. Iberian explorations dominated the 15th and 16th centuries, establishing a trade route to the East with facilitating outposts along the way, and conquering the Amerindian empires and the Philippines. The resulting Spanish and Portugese colonies, dominated by the expropriation of gold and silver bullion and monocultural agriculture featured a governmental and landed elite which administered and controlled the native population. European culture was superimposed on the various indigenous cultures. Export oriented primary resource exploitation, with coerced labor in the mines and on plantations, replaced indigenous self-sufficiency. A rigidly hierarchical society was established, eventually expanding to include a middle group made up of mestizoes, a racially-mixed population. The elites in this system were culturally,

politically, and economically more closely linked to their Iberian counterparts than to the indigenous populace among whom they lived. This social structure is still evident in much of Latin America, whose state boundaries largely reflect colonial administration divisions and major seaport capitals, which are externally oriented.

Early British colonial expansion focused on more sparsely settled lands and entailed wholesale emigration. British culture was transplanted, as a piece, to the new lands; it was not just the importation of a ruling elite. The native populations of North America, Australia, and New Zealand were not dominated and subjugated as laborers; they were simply pushed aside. European culture was wholly transfered to new locations. It is not surprising that, as these colonies grew in size to rival that of the patriland, they were the first to achieve independence. They became nation-states identical in all essential characteristics except location with their European counterparts.

European expansion to the East was primarily economic in its early phases, conducted, after the early Portuguese successes, by Dutch and British trading companies. Political domination came later and was accomplished by a miniscule population reinforced by a superior, though not more numerous, military force. In South Asia, Indonesia, and parts of North Africa, this resulted in direct imperial incorporation. These were inclusions of established political realities into a colonial administration patterned on European precedents. European forms and concepts were imposed upon radically

dissimilar cultures. With imperial disdain, reinforced by convictions of racial superiority, the Europeans, at times, set out to recreate those cultures and transform them into their own mould, at first by forming "....a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect"(Thomas Babington Macaulay's 1834 Minute on Education, quoted in Stavrianos, 1975:269). In other cases, especially in North Africa, political administrative structures were reformulated into European patterns with less attempt to impose other cultural innovations. In still other areas, notably China, Persia, and Turkey, domination was indirect. In all of these colonies and dependencies a native, Western-oriented elite was created which operated these Western-style governmental administrative procedures. The nation-states which eventually emerged continue to be shaped by these patterns and concepts, and often are administered by these same elites.

The late imperial division and acquisition of African territories followed a different pattern. Early European contacts had been limited to a few seaports and trading stations, most of which were abandoned with the end of the slave trade in the early 19th century. But in the last thirty years of the century nearly all of Black Africa was seized by the European powers. This process was highlighted by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 in which the procedures of acquisition were agreed upon by the major European powers. By treaty agglomeration and distant metropolitan negotiations, a whole

continent of tribal peoples and primitive states was arbitrarily partitioned into colonial administrative adjudicatories. National and ethnic boundaries were regularly disregarded--a situation only matched by the equally arbitrary state boundaries created upon the demise of the Austro-Hungarian empire at the end of World War I. The states which thus emerged, while adopting the administrative and political forms of their European metropoles, could hardly be called nation-states. They were more nearly international confederations within modern state frameworks. Their early years of independence were consequently dominated by working out the implications of regional cultural diversity within a political unity.

Across the globe the conditions were set for the emergence of a world-wide system of nation-states in the twentieth century. A commitment to "modern" administrative and social patterns supplanted traditional organization and practices. Localized sovereignties were subordinated to state sovereignties, though at times at fearful and bloody cost. A system of autonomous "nation-states" emerged. But, though the forms seem to indicate a world-wide extension of the classical state system which had appeared after Westphalia, the reality is very different.

In classical state theory, reflecting images drawn from the post-Westphalia period, states are self-contained entities which relate to one another through the direct interchanges of sovereigns or their representatives. International relationships are, and ought to be, exchanges of nation-states. Of course, this was never

strictly the case. In the latter half of the twentieth century, state-state exchanges are only one of a multiplicity of cross-border exchanges, and are not necessarily the most important ones. Alger(1977) suggests a number of other important linkages which are often overlooked or slighted, some of which are governmental in nature, and others which are not. All of these linkages are increasing in frequency of manifestation. States do not simply relate through their foreign secretaries; whole ranges of similar bureaucracies relate with one another across state boundaries, on issues of common concern, without ever consulting their respective foreign ministries. One's counterpart in the Ministry of Energy of another state is just a phone call away. Furthermore, sub-state units also have international concerns and often establish their own direct contacts; thus the State of Illinois maintains offices in a number of different countries who are interested in her corn and manufactures, and individual cities have "sister-city" relationships that extend to trade and cultural contacts. At the other extreme, many international exchanges are multilateral and involve a government in a regional and global interstate organization such as the European Economic Community and the United Nations.

Aside from the formal and institutionalized state relationships, Non-Governmental Organizations and extra-state relations have grown exponentially.* These transnational relations are often more determinative than a state's official actions. They include the actions of

* For an extensive cataloguing of exponential growth in transnational contacts and global commonizing factors, see the series of "J" curves in Anderson, 1979:34ff.

private businesses, such as multinational corporations. Multinationals carry on exchanges among their own constituent elements, with the government of a state, with other private actors, or with particular individuals. There is a wide array of semi-public agencies: charitable organizations, sports federations, religious associations, friendship societies, labor movements, and revolutionary forces. There are also an escalating number of individual contacts and exchanges:from visitation to foreign employment and service to migration. Alger points out that each of these entities, private, semi-public, and individual, has its own foreign policy which it pursues in its own direct contacts and in its contacts with its host government and society. I.T.T.'s participation in the downfall of the Allende government in Chile is only a spectacularly notorious example of a reality which, in more benign form, is commonplace--perhaps often unconscious. The state-centric understanding of international relations oversimplifies the real situation to the point of distortion. Plans and models created from that perspective court self-delusion. The global society which has emerged is marked as a society of transnational linkages.

III. A World of Economic Interdependence

One of the marks of the new transnational nature of international relations is the blurring of the distinctions between high and low policy(foreign affairs priority over domestic issues) and even between what is foreign and what is domestic. Interest rates, business

expansion, human rights, elections, welfare programs, construction projects, investment regulations all were once considered less important matters of strictly domestic concern. They are now the more frequent agenda of meetings of heads of state than are questions of national boundaries or the strengths of military alliances.

Of course, even the liberal laissez-faire separation of economic and political spheres, rejecting the mercantilist position which had held sway in the Peace of Westphalia, had not created an impenetrable barrier between the two. Clearly, free trade policies are themselves political policy, favorable to those with a more developed trade or industrial capacity and disadvantageous to those seeking to catch up. Thus, once Britain had established herself in a position of advantage by military force, she became a consistent advocate and enforcer of free trade.* On the other hand, in times of conflict, the blockade, shutting off all of an enemy's trade, was a regular military tactic.

These same patterns continue today. The Bretton Woods agreements at the end of World War II confirmed a free trade perspective for post-war relationships. The International Monetary Fund was to be a multilateral institution to prevent abuse of currency exchanges through competitive devaluations or currency blockages. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade(GATT) was designed so that "...barriers

* Cf., the destruction of the Indian textile capacity, in Frank, 1978:147-166; and the enforced opening of the Chinese, who were disinterested in inferior Western goods, requiring trade in exchange for opium, in the war by that name in 1839-42, in Stavrianos, 1975:277f.

to trade could be progressively dismantled on an international and universal basis"(Morse, 1976:126). The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development(The World Bank) was to facilitate the marshalling of capital for massive development projects, primarily of infrastructural capacity.

Each of these institutions has fostered global economic interdependence in what Daniel Chirot(1977) calls "The American World System". In a more nationalistic interpretation of his teacher's theory of The Capitalist World-Economy(Wallerstein, 1979; see Chapter 2, The Development Debate), Chirot contends that America decided to assume the costs of maintaining the world-wide capitalist system, to prevent it from falling into the chaos and potential dissolution which was threatened after World War I, to contain the spread of the anti-capitalist communist system, and thereby, to exercise her own domination of the world-economy. He credits America's willingness to adopt the unprecendented policy of aiding her defeated enemies as potential allies for saving "...the shaken capitalist system in Western Europe and Japan"(1977:149). Chirot goes on to demonstrate that American foreign aid was primarily directed, from Truman's first request for $400 million during the Greek civil war, towards containing threats to the capitalist system rather than towards equitable development. He claims that it was the "continuing rise of nationalistic, anti-core revolutions in peripheral areas (which) ultimately produced a large-scale American aid program whose main purpose was to contain the rise of such movements and to make the peripheral world safer for American

investment and security interests"(1977:151f). He points out that aid tends to concentrate on the extraction of materials essential to advanced industrial economies or on industry "based on the exploitation of cheap labor". While such aid did not make these economies poorer, they did lead to unbalanced growth and overspecialization, the disarticulation of sectors of the economy, the strengthening of "enclave elites" who act more to the benefit of external interests than of those of their poorer countrymen, and the requirement of opportunities for American investment, which often recouped its original capital through repatriated profits in less than three years, further increasing the gap between the rich and the poor nations. He points out that U.S. investments in primary and extractive endeavors in underdeveloped nations continue to produce profits which are triple those of other investments. Thus poorer states are kept in the dependency of unbalanced, single-product economies which produce surpluses primarily for the benefit of foreign investors.

Chirot, at first focusing upon the political tensions between the capitalist and communist camps, seems to imply that there are two separate world economies. However, when he examines whether or not there is "A World Communist System", he reverts to a position closer to his mentor's, which contends that the key characteristic of a capitalist world system is that a common world-wide market exists, on which produced goods are exchanged for maximum profit. Wallerstein contends that the form of ownership of the means of production does not significantly affect this market mechanism, so that, to the extent

that socialist states engage in foreign exchange of goods seeking to maximize their balance of trade, they are direct participants in the capitalist world-economy.

Chirot interprets American military interventions and counter-revolutionary support in the Third World as primarily defenses against perceived threats to the control of underdeveloped nations by the developed core.* He suggests that both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. act as if Lenin's Imperialism thesis(1916, quoted in Morse, 1976:65) were true; that is, that the capitalist core nations can only exist by exploiting the peripheral, underdeveloped sources of raw materials and cheap labor. Chirot does remind his readers that U.S. actions do not always fit this pattern, that strong counteraction was not taken over Venezuelan expropriation of oil and steel investments, nor were there strategic investments or resources at stake in the conflicts in Southeast Asia. Chirot characterizes most Third World conflict as anti-core revolutions, in which the U.S. acts to prevent states from withdrawing from the world system, while the Soviets act to support the revolts, believing that the contraction of the exploitable periphery will ensure the collapse of the capitalist world-economy. Chirot, however, suggests that both nations may be deluding themselves, that the imperialism theory may not be true, that its current descriptive success is due to the fact that both of these

* Chirot lists U.S. actions in China 1946-49, Greece 1946-49, The Philippines 1948-52, Iran 1952, Guatemala 1954, Cuba 1959-61, Laos 1959-75, The Congo 1960-65, Vietnam 1945-75(in aid to the French until 1954, then independently), the Dominican Republic 1965, Cambodia 1970-75, Chile 1971-73, and Angola 1974-75.

behave *as if* it were true, and therefore, their actions are predictable. He suggests that though core capitalist endeavors have extracted enormous profits from peripheral areas, it is not demonstrable that the system would collapse without them. He suggests that the interdependent core economy can flourish without exploitative profits from the periphery.

Whatever the likelihood of Chirot's thesis, its articulation is a demonstration of the acknowledged economic interdependence that characterizes the current global society. There exists a common world market in which goods are exchanged. There is a world-wide division of labor in which particular areas of the globe are overspecialized in extractive or monocultural production while the more balanced and diversified economies manifest the higher productivity of advanced technological superiority and higher wages. There is a common world resource pool from which manufactures are assembled from sub-units and raw resources drawn from an incredible diversity of locations. Both the absolute level and the proportion of world trade to domestic trade are increasing exponentially.

IV. A World of Cultural Commonness

As European expansion carried the political forms of the nation-state with it, it also conveyed many other dimensions of Western culture. M.N. Srinivas(1966:46f), the prominent Indian sociologist, speaks of the radical changes the British brought to his land. New technology and revolutionized communications integrated

the country, ended endemic local wars, extended knowledge beyond the privileged few, abolished suttee(the cremation of a man's wife upon his funeral pyre), female infanticide, human sacrifice, and slavery.

Westernization, as I have already indicated, created an elite, trained in Western values and embodying elements of Western culture, in every colony around the globe. Chirot(1977:135f) points out that it was this very elite who provided the leadership for the eventually successful anti-colonial revolutions. After Independence, these same elites carried out reforms that colonial authorities had been hesitant to impose. India's Congress Party, led by the British-trained Gandhi and Nehru, were committed to create a society emphasizing social justice and devoid of "castism"(Orenstein, 1963:83). But it was only with the adoption of the Constitution after Independence and with the passage of the New Hindu Code Acts of 1955 and 1956 that "Untouchability" was outlawed, "equality of status and opportunity" were guarenteed, and a uniform civil code, equally enforceable for all persons, was adopted(Galanter, 1968a:312 and 1968b:81f, also, see on Chapter 5).

Srinivas recognizes that Westernization(a term he prefers to modernization, because he thinks the former is ethically neutral, while the latter is implicitely judgmental about traditional society) involves certain implicit value preferences, which he characterizes broadly as humanitarianism, "...an active concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, age, and sex"(1966:48). He sees the spread of egalitarianism and secularization as outgrowths of this humanitarianism, and as essential

to the development of his nation as the economic and political revolutions it is experiencing.

Whether it be called Westernization or modernization, be praised or damned, there is a clear growth in the commonality of cognitive processes and categories, in the style of living, and in the symbolic forms (language, art, and religion/ideology) by which humanness is expressed. The global society manifests an unprecedented cultural commonness.

I have already mentioned the triumph of scientific thinking. It is truly becoming the common sense of the whole globe. Theodore Roszak suggests:

> ...the two major revolutionary traditions of the modern world: bourgeois liberalism and social democracy....in their impassioned dissent from the culture of the <u>ancien regime</u>, both have ridden the great running tide of scientific skepticism that appears in our history as an integral part of the revolutionary appeal to reason. Science.... provided both with their intellectual style and world view....
> (Roszak, 1978:115f)

Implicit in the adoption of Western science is an altered relationship to nature, the subordination of the object to the subject. This is a radical reconceptualization for those accustomed to thinking of nature and its creatures, seen and unseen, as "subjects" interacting with men, and for those who envision man's role to be fitting in with the demands and constraints of nature, rather than trying to conquer them.

The political consequences of not adopting this common mode of thought have already been examined. These consequences have provided a powerful inducement to all who care about their political freedom. But

some, Roszak among them, are questioning the ecological and human consequences of the unthinking applications of the scientific approach and technological innovation. Harry Clay Blaney III claims we have already reached a point of "...increasing instability and high risk, threatening....the world system (with) a catastrophic collapse (1979:xii f). Whether attacked by the catastrophists, like Blaney and Roszak, or affirmed by the technological optimists, like Srinivas, Kahn(1976) and Stavrianos(1976), the omnipresence of the scientific mindset as part of the emerging global society is unchallanged.

A style of life is becoming increasingly common around the world also. Urbanization is a phenomenon experienced virtually world-wide. In its most obvious form, the increasing agglomeration of masses of people in the world's cities, it is becoming one of the overwhelming problems facing the global society, with its overloaded utility systems, inadequate housing, outstripped social services, and massive unemployment. This is a set of problems common to most of the globe, even in countries such as China, which have followed intentional policies to limit the growth of urban areas(Stavrianos, 1976:129). But beyond the physical characteristics of urban growth is the more pervasive spread of the urban style in urban and rural areas alike: instant and mass communications, clothing patterns, music, health patterns, egalitarianism, etc.

A key element of this emerging common style is the rise of individualism. Kindled in European civilization in the Enlightenment and sanctified in the Reformation, individualism played a crucial role

in the domination of the West and the spread of capitalism (Arendt, 1958:248). The dignity and equality of the individual and his right to unconstrained opportunity are prime tenets of the bourgeois liberalism which undergirds both political democracy and world-wide capitalism. In movements for human rights, for racial, sexual, and caste equality, and for national democratic procedures, this individualism is affirmed. In the spread of industrialization and commercialization of agriculture, with their consequent wage labor in which the individual is singled out and rewarded for his own effort, this trend is fostered. In the increase of the nucleated family pattern, corresponding to increasing employment mobility which accompanies industrialization and urbanization, this individualism represents a radical alteration of life style for many. It is not universal, and it is often resisted and opposed, but it is a persistent element in the growing cultural commonness of our global society.

Increasing cultural commonness is perhaps most obvious in what might be called a developing pan-human symbology. English is rapidly becoming the lingua franca of global society, supported by the other major European languages. In many former colonies, a European tongue is the only language common to all elements of the population, and despite its colonial overtones, is often a crucial symbol of national unity as an alternative to intrastate linguistic domination and regional/ethnic hegemony of one faction. Beyond the use of English as a nearly universal means of communication, there is also the adoption of a number of common international artificial languages, from

traffic signs to computer conventions. Of course, the rapidly increasing literacy rates expands the impact of this linguistic commonness.

The global expansion of art and the technologies for conveying artistic expression around the world(movies, radio, t.v., records and tapes, popular books, international cultural exchanges, sports events, etc.) have greatly expanded the consciousness of living in a common, but pluralistic society. These images of the geography, architecture, history, people, artistry, and happenings of other cultures have greatly expanded our understanding of the multi-cultural world in which we live, and reinforced the sense of belonging to a pan-human society. They reinforce and expand the shared history of the globe.

Yehudi Cohen(1970) has pointed out that, as civilizations expand, a universalization of language(the establishment of a lingua franca) and religion are necessary legitimizing factors. Many of the universal religions have, in fact, been spread by conquest. With European expansion, Christianity was carried across the globe, both in the transplanted European cultures of the North American, Australian, and New Zealand settlements, and in the superimpositional colonies of Latin America and Africa. Christianity was far less accepted in the North African and Asian colonies of administrative dominance in which other universal religions(primarily Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism) were already established. But Cohen goes on to point out that as civilizations get larger, religious legitimation tends to be secularized. It is to the spread of this secularized humanitarianism

that Srinivas was pointing. The images of egalitarianism, rationality, and personal dignity are part of this increasingly common secular-religion, finding expression in both the so-called universal religions and the ideolcgical "isms". They serve as points of common reference and appeal for men of widely differing traditions and backgrounds. It is another sign of the growing cultural commonness of our global society.

V. Living in the Global Society

The trends which have been described in the foregoing pages are realities with which we must contend. There may be differences of opinion as to whether or not they comprise an emerging global society; I obviously think that they do. There may be differences of opinion as to whether these trends should be enhanced or resisted, or whether some should be enhanced and others resisted; on balance, I find the evolution towards a global society a positive occurance, though I shall point towards certain of these trends which should be redirected. There may be considerable difference of opinion as to strategies and tactics for responding to the emerging global society.

But to live as though these trends did not exist is to live in illusion. To pretend that the developments which have been described here, together with the countless counterparts which they represent, are unimportant, is to invite unnecessary complications for one's planning. This is particularly true for those who are concerned with global development. The emergence of a global society

has powerful determining effects on development planning. These effects can be ignored only at one's peril. They may be incorporated as favorable conditions or opposed as harmful constraints, but they can be ignored only with great danger.

As I earlier suggested, it was the absence of effective imperial controls in Europe, with their inhibiting and resource draining institutions, which created the conditions for the expansion of Europe, the rise of capitalism, and the development of science and technology. It was the condition of "uncontrolledness" that gave impetus to the growth of the global society. In some ways, these trends can be described as an unrelenting drive towards bigness: big corporations, huge populations, massive weapons and forces of destruction, potentially catastrophic ecological conditions. There are those who would propose that the next logical development is the creation of a world-wide political order to contend with the problems posed by such magnitude. Some see it as the only solution to man's ecological destructiveness. Others see a system of world order as the only alternative to economic inequality. Still others see it as the only way to preserve peace. Others simply see world government as an inevitability which might be hastened or delayed by intensifying or ameliorating the internal contradictions of the current world system, but which cannot be avoided. Some would welcome such a system as a means to control those who exploit the current situation for their own aggrandizement. Others would welcome it because it would expand their capacity to manipulate the directions of development

to their own advantage.

The strategy described in this dissertation resists the movement towards massiveness. It contends that solutions can be found at the local level to the world's problems, and that such solutions will be more effective because of their capacity to engage massive participation. It is a strategy for restoring balanced self-reliance to every socio-political unit, starting at the local community level. Such an approach would foster genuine interdependence rather than interpenetrating dependencies. Some who advocate such a strategy call themselves decentralists; others call themselves neo-anarchists. I prefer to speak of a strategy of micro-development. It is a strategy which steels itself to refuse to sail with the popular currents, to ignore the siren's songs. It charts a course across trends. It cannot ignore the currents or it will end on the rocks. But it celebrates the promise that if the steersman holds firm, he may reach the calm waters that lead towards the ancestral home, the human community.

Chapter 2

The Development Debate

"Development" has become a major concern only in the last three decades. Before that, though some individuals, particularly anthropologists, churchmen, and enlightened colonial administrators were involved with the lives and cultures of the colonized "savages", their concerns were often couched in terms of the "white man's burden" either to "civilize and Christianize" or to "prevent the contamination" of their cultures. Only with the collapse of the colonial empires following World War II and the emergence of the New Nations, which came to be called "The Third World", did development become a theme in international relations.

I. Classical Development Theory

Development became a concern at the same time as the reconstruction of Europe following World War II. It was highly predictable that the techniques of the Marshall Plan would be extended to the new nations, headed by India and Pakistan, who became independent in 1947. Development became a major concern of academics as well as government functionaries. Gunnar Myrdal made the first major contribution to development theory with a series of lectures early in the decade of the fifties, later published as <u>Rich Lands and Poor</u>(1957).

Myrdal observed that mere technological and capital transfers, while adequate to the reconstruction of the advanced economies of Europe, were not enough in the underdeveloped countries and colonies. He highlighted both economic and cultural incapacities for employing sophisticated technologies: the low level of social overhead capital

investment, inadequate commercial and administrative infrastructures, the virtual absence of an educated workforce, particularly those with technical skills necessary to man technological facilities. Myrdal advocated a comprehensive approach to development with a balanced effort, not just among the economic sectors, but also in education, health, government, and social organization. He used the image of the "vicious cycle" of degeneration, but indicated its opposite was the goal of development: a spiral of cumulative successes, in which advance in one arena would reinforce efforts in other complimentary arenas.

Only a few years later, in 1960, Walt Whitman Rostow published The Stages of Economic Growth(1964), which became the definitive approach to development in the West. The inclusion of Rostow and his Cambridge colleague John Kenneth Galbraith(as Ambassador to India) in the Kennedy Administration guaranteed that this approach would dominate, not only academic thinking, but governmental policy as well. But beyond either of these uses, the theory of stages of development captured the popular imagination and became ingrained in the thinking of voluntary aid organizations as well. It became the paradigm for approaching the Third World at the very time that the majority of new nations were gaining their independence.

Rostow subtitled his work, "A Non-Communist Manifesto" and intended it to be both an agenda for action from the West and a defense of the capitalist approach. His final chapter is a scathing comparison of the Marxist perspective and its historical manifestations

with the advantages of capitalism. We must return to examine his argument later, but will start by noting the similarities he acknowledges between the Marxist and his own position. Rostow suggests both are "views of how whole societies evolve, seen from an economic perspective. Both acknowledge the political and cultural consequences of economic change and the reality of class and group economic interests in both social change and war-making. Both lead to a consideration of true affluence as the goal and problems of development, and "...both are based on sectoral analyses of the growth process...." (1964:148).

Marxian theory, particularly in Stalinist articulation in the 1930's(see e.g., Frank, 1978:254 and Wallerstein, 1979:52) had already put forward a schema of social development that traced a path from primitive communalism through slavery, feudalism, and imperialist capitalism to socialism(and ultimately, though as yet unrealized, pure communism). Rostow(1964:157) points out that Marx made his analysis on the basis of Great Britain, largely doing his work before the Revolutions of 1848, and thus relied on the basis of only one historical case of development. Rostow also used Britain as his basic model, but elaborates his theory with illustrations from the U.S.A., Western Europe, Japan, and even Russia. Obviously Leninist-Stalinist thought uses the U.S.S.R. as its ultimate model. At about the same time that Rostow was publishing, the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party proclaimed that the U.S.S.R. had reached the post-socialist stage of being "...a state of the whole people...." which

would "...survive until the complete victory of communism"(quoted in Wallerstein, 1979:11).

It was against this background, and in opposition to it, that Rostow formulated his five stages of development. Appearing as it did at the moment of the emergence of a multitude of new nations, the political value of a schema which did not ultimately end in communism, but justified a path leading to democratic abundance, cannot be underestimated. Thus Rostow was again laying claim upon the ideology of egalitarianism for liberal capitalism, while emphasizing the superior democratic commitment to liberty. He was creating, for the new nations, an attractive political-economic alternative to the anti-imperialist agenda of the communists.

II. The Stages of Development

Rostow postulated five stages of development: _traditional society_, the emergence of the _pre-conditions_ necessary for a transition, the _take-off_, the _drive to maturity_, and culmination in a society of abundance which he simply labelled _post-maturity_. He suggested that these were the universal stages of development for any society, though none would conform to them exactly. In distinction to the Marxist approach, he maintained that political and social factors, as well as more narrowly construed economic forces, cause economic change(1964:2).

Rostow characterized a Traditional Society as one that operates with a pre-Newtonian science, with non-mechanistic understand-

ings of cause and effect. Its economic production is limited, often at, or near, subsistence levels, and usually heavily focused on agriculture. Typically its social structure is narrowly hierarchical, focusing on family and clan connections. Although there was often some form of central rule, political power usually resided in the regions in the hands of landowners. A long-run fatalism, consonant with a static society, could be expected, in which a man's expectations were restricted so that "...the range of possibilities open to one's grandchildren would be just about what it had been for one's grand-parents"(1964:5). This long-run fatalism did not eliminate the short-run option of personal improvement, though it did mitigate against it. It certainly discounted the notion of general improvement inherent in the conception of growth economics.

The Pre-conditions of Development describe a society that has begun a transition out of the traditional stage, though it is still dominated by the traditional forms. Britain's pre-conditions for take-off involved the application of the new insights of modern science to new production techniques in both agriculture and industry at a time when world markets were being extended geographically. In Rostow's more general case, however, these pre-conditions do not develop endogenously, but as a result of technological intrusions from the more advanced societies, usually under the aegis of colonialism. The shock of this intrusion spreads the idea of the possibility of economic progress and its necessity as a means to other "good" ends, such as "national dignity, private profit, the general welfare, or

a better life for the children"(1964:6). The marks of this transition are seen in improved and extended educational opportunities, the emergence and encouragement of entrepreneurs, the extension of banking and investment, particularly in social overhead capital, the expansion of commerce and trade and the beginnings of a modern manufacturing sector(N.B. the echoes of Myrdal). This transition is characterized by a dual society: the traditional one alongside modern economic activities. At the same time, an effective central state power is being built, often fueled by a growing nationalism at the expense of landed regional interests or colonial control.

Take-off, as the aeronautical image conveys, is an exciting, dynamic stage of development. It is the crucial stage which all developmentalists eagerly anticipate. Progressivism now dominates traditionalism. Technology has won the struggle with traditional forms of production. Social overhead capital(roads, railroads, electricity and other forms of energy, communications, etc.) is rapidly developing. Political power passes to those persons committed to modernization of the economy as a top priority. Investment rises above 10% of the New National Product. There is a rapid expansion of the industrial sector with a leading sector requiring the complementary expansion of support sectors and entailing a high level of plowback investment, rather than the distribution of profits. Often the take-off is fueled by a breakthrough in the primary sector of the economy, usually in agriculture, but in some cases by the extractive exploitation of natural resources. Once take-off has been reached, development is

practically assured.

The Drive to Maturity entails the extension of modern technology to every sector of the economy, and virtually to every aspect of the society. Productive output exceeds population growth. Reinvestment of profits runs between 10% and 20%. The nation begins to manufacture many of its own needs, thereby cutting down its total imports. It begins to define its own characteristic role in the international economy. In this sense, it is choosing interdependence, having arrived at the stage when it <u>could</u> produce everything it needs to be self-reliant. It will experience cycles of expansion with progressively developing leading sectors until a balanced development of all sectors is achieved.

The attainment of productive abundance heralds the stage of Post-maturity. The work force has been dramatically altered from that of the traditional society. It is largely urbanized. It is dominated by skilled and clerical workers and professionals. The end of unlimited technological expansion has been reached and the society is faced with a choice about its future. Since this is the stage Rostow ascribed to the advanced nations in 1960, when his book was published, he did not know what that choice would be. However, he described the alternatives as a new national assertiveness, the development of the welfare state, or an age of mass consumerism. Rostow ends his stages of development with the question, "Where next?" (1964:80).

Thus the theory of the stages of development was spelled out. Implicit in the theory is the assumption that any nation can develop. Galbraith expressed this confidence in his Economic Development in Perspective(1962), a series of speeches he delivered as United States Ambassador to India. He disparaged the division of the world into developed and underdeveloped countries and suggested every nation is already somewhere along the line of development. The relations of nations, then, were among entities further or less advanced along that line. While he acknowledged that there was an advantage to being first in the development process, and that in fact "...the more developed countries are constantly widening their advantage over those that follow behind...."(1962:18), he felt that "...each country has something to gain from those that are in front. And it has something to offer those that follow"(1962:19). The three things that can be borrowed from the "more advanced" countries are capital, technology, and organization(1962:21). Thus the ambassador of the most advanced nation of the world seemingly condones the present economic situation among nations, while seeking to encourage one of the less developed countries(and the self-proclaimed leader of the non-aligned nations) to follow the same path. The political importance of the economic "theory" need hardly be mentioned.

III. The Revolt of Underdevelopment Theory

It was only a few years until Andre Gunder Frank, previously a member in good standing of the conventional school of economic

thinking, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, launched a major attack on developmental theory. He started from the same awareness of a widening gap between the more and less developed nations that Galbraith had acknowledged. Under the motto of "The Development of Underdevelopment"(1966), Frank, picking up themes articulated as early as 1952 by Paul Baran, charged that underdevelopment was the direct result of the development of the more advanced countries. He pointed out that "The now developed countries were never <u>under</u>developed, though they may have been <u>un</u>developed...." and that, contrary to wide belief, underdevelopment is not the product of a nation's own characteristics or structure, but:

> is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the structure and development of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole(1966:95).

Thus, the lines were drawn for a new explanation of development, built upon a world-system conception.

With the advantage of two decades of hindsight, we can only see as naive Rostow's confident assertion that capitalism has surpassed Lenin's criticisms that "...capitalism, having an alledged built-in tendancy for profits to decline, causes monopolies to rise, and crises to become progressively more severe, and leads to a desparate competitive struggle for markets, and to wars"(Rostow, 1964:154). Rostow points to anti-trust legislation to demonstrate the non-concentration of industrial power, but did not anticipate the fantastic expansion and dominance of multi-national corporations. He gloried in the confidence

of Keynesian control of the economy that could avoid crises, but did not foresee the fundamental alterations of the oil shock and the accompanying decade-long global monetary crisis. He trumpeted the doctrine of perpetual growth to offset the theory of diminishing returns, but did not account for the diminishing supply of limited natural resources. He exaulted in capitalism's continued success as political colonialism came to an end, without realizing the incipient formulation of economic imperialism in his own words. Thus, Rostow's confident answers to Lenin's critiques now come back to haunt him.

Aidan Foster-Carter has summarized the common assumptions among developmentalists:

> development was a non-continuous process, not involving irreconcilable conflicts of interest between developed and underdeveloped countries or between different social groups within the latter; that there was no structural connection between underdevelopment and development, that what was 'modern' was good and what was 'traditional' was bad, and that the two were unconnected(dualism); that development meant becoming more like the West(1976:172).

Others have pointed out that developmentalists, whether Marxian or Rostovian, have used the nation as their unit of analysis and theory, and treated it as if it were an isolated reality. Frank (1978:139-144) is particularly scathing in his critique of Marxist analysis of India. He criticizes the stages of development as being inherently ahistorical. They are "...notoriously difficult to apply to particular countries...."(Foster-Carter, 1976:172). Frank details the inadequacies of Marx and Engels' formulation of the "Asiatic mode of production"(adopted in the anti-communist ideology of Karl Wittfogel's <u>Oriental Despotism</u> in 1957) and the kind of contortions

necessary to fit India into the Stalinist historical sequence of primitive-slave-feudal-capitalist development. In addition, the ahistorical approach, searching for universals, misses the unique element that accounts for the dynamic nature of the expansion of capitalism: the original means of accumulating the necessary resources for launching the development of industrial capitalism. Thus, Amin(1974), Wallerstein(1974), and Frank(1978) all produced major historical works, focusing on the accumulation of capital in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Universalist theories, by definition ignore the unique. In doing so, developmental theory loses the dynamism of the historical reality of its model states and thereby omits a crucial element in the development of underdevelopment of the nations to which the model is applied. Further, since the historical models which are used are all Western, the actual histories of the underdeveloped nations are ignored--a necessary condition for the imposition of an evolutionary scheme to account for the differences between the less developed and the more developed economies. As Frank notes, India had a very favorable trade surplus in the late 18th century, until Britain seized colonial control and forcibly reversed the trends of production and trade, most notably in "The Rape of Bengal"(1978:147-159).

A third assumption of conventional developmentalists is methodological: that what must be accounted for is what can be seen and counted--the empirical-positivist approach:

> The empirical-positivist approach that is content to describe the facts and to try to measure the ebb and flow of value is incapable of grasping more than appearances. It cannot reveal the "hidden transfers" and the essence of the laws of accumulation on a world scale....economism does not allow us to go beyond analyzing the apparent mechanisms of the functioning of the capitalist mode of production, and so does not enable us to examine the relations between formations of different kinds which are integrated in the same world system....(Amin, 1974:3).

Thus conventional developmentalists do not account for the hidden contribution to capitalist development that comes from rural support of workers in all but a few years of their productive effort(Cf. Wallerstein, 1979:125-127 and 277f), and other costs which can be passed on to others, directly or indirectly. Amin asserts that the lack of a critical theoretical perspective leads empirical-positivists to focus upon appearances instead of reality.

Amin(1974:6f) further charges that "economic science" puts on the garb of a "theory of general equilibrium" and assumes a "static capitalism". This positivism requires that progress and change must originate from outside the system(so the necessity of Western aid in the form of capital and technology, Cf. Galbraith above, page 66). Accumulation, which is the heart of the internal dynamic that actually fuels the system, is thus ignored. Amin points out that for some conventional economists, e.g., F.H. Knight(1934), even profit is banished as anything more than the difference between the actual and the ideal(equilibrium) state. But capitalism simply isn't static. The dynamic factor is lost in conventional developmental analysis. Amin suggests that what is needed is a theory of value that accounts

for objective surpluses. Only thus will the developmentalist assumtion that there are no surpluses in underdeveloped countries be exposed, and distinctive, wasteful, and exploitive uses of surplus become evident.

Wallerstein(1974:55ff), among the world-systems theorists (as he names them), presents the most cogent critique of developmental theory. He produces "six knotty questions", the developmentalist answers to which have proved inadequate. First he asks both Marxists and capitalists about surprising historical events: why the socialist revolution first occurred in peasant Russia, why the U.S.A. has not progressed to socialism, but could replace Great Britain as the most developed nation, why Britain was the first to develop, and why Canada, clearly below the most developed nations industrially, can have one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. These events all are difficult to explain on the basis of evolutionary developmentalism, as opposed to a systemic approach to development.

"The major anomaly of development theory was the continuing lack of development"(Foster-Carter, 1976:173). As Wallerstein puts it, "...how do we explain the fact that in many areas things seem to have gotten worse, not better? Worse in many ways, ranging from the standard of living, to the physical environment, to the quality of life"(1979:56). He is pointing not only to the "...growing gap between the industrialized countries and the third world...." but also to the "...deindustrialization of many areas of the world...." and specifically refers to the Indian textile case already mentioned by Frank. Waller-

stein carefully notes that this gap does not match the Marxist "polarization", since that was presumably to have occurred within a nation, not between nations. Further, since there are many nations economically in between, the increasing disparity of the richer and poorer nations is hardly a polarization at all.

The third phenomenon evolutionary developmentalism can't explain is the "regressions" that occur in some countries. Why do some countries develop quickly, while others do not? Why do some elites lead their countries into new social configurations, while others do not, even after making significant beginnings? Wallerstein finds the biographical explanations of "false consciousness" or "betrayal" less satisfying than an analysis of the larger social phenomena of which such elites are a part.

The persistence and intensification of nationalism is either deplored or explained away as a "transitional integrating phenomenon" by Western developmentalists. Marxists, proclaiming an international class struggle and international movement, are even more embarrassed. This has led to a conflict between more traditional Marxists such as Bettleheim, who maintain the centrality of the bourgeoisie-prolitarian struggle, and those like Emmanuel who suggest that the global struggle is better seen in terms of the rich nations against the poor nations(Cf. Amin, 1974:22-27 for an account of this controversy).

Wallerstein's fifth anomaly has to do with the reappearance of sub-state nationalisms--not in the administratively created

cross-tribal nations of Africa, but of Quebec in Canada, Occitania in France, among the Scots and Welsh in Great Britain and the various nationalities in the U.S.S.R. Such "ethno-national" movements clearly contradict the developmentalist expectation of increasing national integration.

The sixth critique of development theory has already been mentioned above: the tremendous gap between the "ideal types" and "empirical reality". Frank(1968) goes so far as to say flatly, "It is impossible to find in the world of today any country or society which has the characteristics of Rostow's first, the traditional stage." He goes on to explain this in terms of the limited historical scholarship employed by the conventional developmentalists, "This is not surprising, since the construction of Rostow's stages takes account neither of the history of the new underdeveloped countries nor of their crucial relations with the new developed ones over several centuries past...." The examination of the relationships between the underdeveloped and the developed nations has dominated the world-system approach.

IV. World System Theory

Each of these six problems for developmental theory are easily explained in a world-system perspective. If one starts from the conviction that there is a world-wide capitalist system that dominates the whole globe, each of these realities follows logically. In a system with a singular division of labor(Wallerstein's defining

characteristic of a social system", 1979:5) and, thereby, a common history, each of the "surprising" events are explainable, if not predictable. They are problematic only if forced into a universal schema. Similarly, within a common division of labor, different functions are assigned to different areas and divergence is to be expected. It will, unless regulated in some way, tend to increase in magnitude. Since national boundaries are smaller than the total extension of the market-place, nationalistic self-interest is also to be expected. Political power(taxes, tariffs, trade barriers, foreign aid with preferential or necessitated purchases, etc.) can distort the world market, and is more easily exercised by the stronger states than the weaker ones--which explains the unequal exchange and the widening gap between them. Over time, ecological exhaustion, new technology, socio-economic consequences of natural or historical(e.g., war, depressions) phenomena all affect the "progress" or "regress" of national sub-systems without significantly altering the total system. Ethno-nationalism, among other explanations, can be seen as a consolidation of class and cultural solidarity of one segment in national sub-systems; the sub-system reflects the larger class dynamics of the whole system. Such a world system perspective does not have to try to explain empirical divergences from ideals since it seeks only to account for what actually exists and to point to ways in which the present historical reality might be changed.

Three contentions are at the heart of the world system perspective: there is one capitalist, world-wide, common market; there -

is a common division of labor across the whole globe; the relationship between the various dimensions of this common market and common division of labor are best described as relations between a core of highly developed, rich, and interdependent national economies and a periphery of underdeveloped, poor, and dependent ones.

Wallerstein sets the beginning of the capitalist world system earlier than either Amin or Frank. He also seeks to clarify the distinction between industrialism and capitalism, which he defines essentially as "...production for sale in a market in which the object is to realize the maximum profit"(1979:15). With this definition of capitalism, broader than that of traditional Marxism, Wallerstein traces its growth from the "agricultural capitalism" of the 16th century, through mercantilism, into "industrial capitalism". Similarly, he traces the emergence of a European world economy from feudalism, through the failure of attempts such as that of the Hapsburgs to create a world-empire(in which political power and economic boundaries are co-terminous and interdependent) and the establishment of the modern world system. Thus, Wallerstein rejects wage labor as the defining characteristic of capitalism. He asserts that slavery, the "second serfdom" of Eastern Europe(or coerced cash crop production), _encomienda_ tenancy, and sharecropping are not anomalies, but simply different means of treating labor as a commodity to be exploited for the sake of profit(1979:17).

Further, the form of ownership is not a determinative characteristic for participation in the capitalist world-system.

Wallerstein argues that there is only one world market today, and that all nations participate in it. Who owns the means of production and how the surpluses, captured in that market, are distributed is unimportant to the world market's functioning. Thus it matters not if production is owned by a single individual, by a worker's cooperative, by a stock company, or by a socialist state; their relations are defined in the capitalist world market and are thereby focused on the maximization of profits. To do this, increased efficiency of production is required to realize a maximum price for sales and a greater surplus on the market. Herein is one of the contradictions inherent in the present system: maximizing profits on the world market means withdrawing the maximum surplus from the majority, but continued growth depends upon mass demand. Demand, in turn, requires a redistribution of withdrawn surpluses to the majority so they can make purchases. Complete maximization of profits and continued growth are mutually contradictory forces.

Frank also points to the incorporation of the socialist countries into the world capitalist system. He further states that social units are "...substantially shaped by their participation in the world-wide process of capital accumulation and in the world capitalist system." Thus, he contends, "...capital has not so much transgressed state boundaries to become international in recent times, as that the nation-state itself was formed long ago as a by-product and servant of capital, whose existence and accumulation had already been international from its inception, before the nation-

state was born"(1978:251, Cf. Wallerstein on nation-state distortion of the "free" market economy, 1979:121f). Thus Frank also emphasizes the importance of the exchange relations of the market in the capitalist world system, and points out that socialist countries, by participating in it, assist the West in the accumulation of capital.

But beyond the question of the inclusion or exclusion of the socialist world is the inclusion within the world capitalist system of the whole globe. In its extensive dimension, the capitalist world economy has already reached its limit. There are no large areas unincorporated in the world system; its reach is global. The expansion of the world system now involves an intensive push, to incorporate the pockets skipped over in the global extension, and the resulting progressive prolitarianization of non-industrialized areas(Wallerstein, 1979:278). But a central assertion of the world system is that varying modes of production exist side by side within it. Contrary to the concept of "dualism" expressed in developmentalism, these various modes are not just survivals, but are intentionally maintained within the capitalist world system. We must return to explain why this is so.

The second signal factor in the world system perspective is the singular division of labor which exists within it. As has already been said, this is the defining characteristic of the extent of a social system. The global division of labor began to emerge in the 16th century mercantilist and extractive enterprises and took on distinctive form with the various plantation patterns, and the

superimposition of colonial economies, as Geertz called it(1963:47). Frank details the effects of the colonial imposition first by the indirect controls used by the Dutch in Indonesia(more fully recounted, though from a different perspective, by Geertz) and by direct control in India, where the British East India Company both ruled and controlled the land.

The key to this global division of labor is in the reservation to the more developed nations of the higher paid and technologically higher skilled jobs and banishment to the less developed countries of the lower paying, less skilled forms of labor(Cf., Marx's "relative surplus value" of saved labor costs through higher productivity vs. "absolute surplus value" of labor which is extracted by requiring longer hours from the laborer). Thus the developed core maintains the more technologically sophisticated means of production and relies on heightened productivity to realize surplus value. When technological equivalence is reached in the production of an item, further profit can be realized by using cheaper labor for the same skilled tasks; this labor is found in the underdeveloped countries--hence the transference of stagnating businesses to these nations(Cf. the movement of the production of textiles from New England to the South to Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea). But notice that this division of labor is imposed. As Frank demonstrates, textile production in India in the late 18th century was systematically destroyed by the colonial powers, at the very time Britain was reserving this function for the firms involved in the incipient industrial revolution within her

borders. Thus there developed a broad division of labor that, after the 1790's became characterized as the industrially developed and the agriculturally bound. However, as Wallerstein points out(1979:71) the crucial aspect is not in the particular <u>products</u> involved(the U.S.A. has now become a major exporter of raw agricultural produce), but in the differential in wages, which accounts for the phenomenon of unequal exchange.

This discussion has now led to the relations between the various dimensions of the world system. Galbraith characterized these relationships as those of largely independent entities located at various points along a scale of development. It was as though he were describing men climbing a mountain and suggested that each was responsible to help each other up to the top, with those in the lead helping those further down, who in turn would help those below them. The world systems theorists attack this account as simply being untrue to the actual histories of underdeveloped countries. It is significant that Frank, Amin, and Wallerstein all were intimately involved in the struggles of the underdeveloped countries in the early 1960's. It is from their perspective, not that of Western "model" countries that they write. From this different perspective, a very different set of relations emerges.

Frank's analysis of the "Development of Underdevelopment" dramatically, if crudely, broke from the developmentalist perspective and began to describe these relations as oppositional, interdependent, and causal. "...contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the

historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and now developed metropolitan countries"(1966:95). Frank's contention is that even the "development" of industry in the satellite countries is development of those functions which are neither self-generating nor self-perpetuating. What is developed is increased dependence upon the markets of the metropole--and thus each step of development only increases the dependence. This condition is seen most dramatically when the market contracts or dies in the metropole and the satellite is left bereft, as happened in Brazil(Frank, 1966:97). It is this increasing dependence that Frank refers to as the "Development of Underdevelopment".

Amin(1974:17) has pointed out that 80% of the trade of developed countries is among themselves, and only 20% is with the underdeveloped countries. But this latter trade represents 80% of the trade of the underdeveloped countries, with only a small portion involved in trade among themselves. Thus, while trade with the underdeveloped nations is relatively unimportant to the developed ones, that same trade dominates the economies of the underdeveloped nations. Small changes in that trade have huge effects on the underdeveloped lands, while hardly being noticed in the developed ones. This is the meaning of dependence.

Frank's colonial language of satellite and metropole gave way to the categories "core" and "periphery". Wallerstein expands this model to include a third reality which he calls the "semi-periphery". He traces the development of the core area of the new world economy in

the 16th and 17th centuries as focusing on higher skilled agricultural production and thus tenancy and wage labor were favored. The peripheral areas, Eastern Europe and the Western Hemisphere, specialized in the "export of grain, bullion, wood, cotton, and sugar--all of which favored the use of slavery and coerced cash-crop labor"(1979:18). Mediteranean Europe, the semi-periphery then, specialized in higher skilled industry(e.g., silk), in commerce, and agriculturally, focused on share-cropping. Though the specific functions have changed over the centuries, especially since the industrial revolution, and though the particular national alignments have changed, Wallerstein maintains the relational dynamics have remained the same. In this, Frank now concurs(1978:256).

Wallerstein claims it is the presence of the semi-periphery, mediating the relations of the core and the periphery, which allows the system to avoid the polarization predicted by the Marxists, and allows it to have maintained itself for so long. The markedly unequal distribution of rewards in the capitalist world market would otherwise lead to its own violent overthrow. Though military power and "ideological legitimation" of the system are significant factors in its maintenance, the major stabilizing factor is "the division of the majority into a larger lower stratum and a smaller middle stratum" (1979:22). This mediating role is both economic and political in function, but the latter is more important. The semi-periphery is a buffer between the core and the periphery. It is both exploiter and exploited.

A key aspect of the analysis of the modern world system is the original accumulation of capital, for it is that which provided the dynamic for the whole system, and still shapes the relations between core, semi-periphery, and periphery. It is to this end that these three theorists have focused on the economic history of the 16th - 18th centuries. Marx accounted for the accumulation of capital only as the surplus value of labor extracted from those who have been disconnected from the land and from ownership of the means of production and have been reduced to selling their lavor, as a commodity, for wages. The thrust of the pre-industrial revolution histories, produced by world systems theorists, is that it was the expropriation of primitive accumulation which fueled the original expansion of the world capitalist system(Amin, 1974:22, Frank, 1978:239-248). Primitive accumulation involves the surpluses derived by exploitation of "pre-capitalist" modes of production: bullion extracted from Latin America by corvee, plantation produce grown and harvested by slave or coerced labor, etc. When accumulation is achieved from non-capitalist production which is contemporary with the capitalist mode of production, Frank calls it Primary Accumulation(1978:241).

A second source of capital accumulation was from the super-exploitation of labor that unequal military strength fostered. Labor was secured, both wage and coerced, which was rewarded at levels which were not only below the value of the labor, but were even below subsistence levels! Marx called this the transformation of "...the labourer's necessary consumption-fund into a fund for the accumulation

of capital"(1954, I:599). This is one of a very few such references in Marx's works, but as Frank indicates, the reality was a major factor in the accumulation of capital before the Industrial Revolution. The decimation of the Amerindian populations in Spanish America, the expropriation, at fantastic cost of life, of slaves from Africa(then outside the European world-system--when Africa was incorporated into the periphery in the 19th century, it was no longer advantageous to transfer its labor across the ocean), the famines in India which wiped out a third of the population in the late 18th century and which were a result of the tax and plunder policies of the East India Company, all are examples of accumulation by the super-exploitation of labor, remuneration below subsistence or reproductive levels.

Crucial for our consideration is the fact that these methods of accumulation continue today, and thus provide the dynamic for the present relationships between the core and the periphery, a fact overlooked by traditional developmentalists. Primary accumulation is still wrought from the so-called "traditional" society which exists dually with the modern sector in so many underdeveloped countries. Often it relies on the super-exploitation of labor, if not directly in sub-subsistence remuneration, certainly in that it requires supplementation of that remuneration for the reproduction of the work force--that is, the family of workers often must be supported by extra agricultural efforts, and thus the work force is not reproducing itself(i.e., adequate support for a worker to raise his own children until they are ready to take his place in the work force). The work

force is recruited constantly from non-capitalist production. This is the surplus which can be accumulated by shifting production facilities from the high-wage(and benefits) core to the low-wage periphery. The labor value of the product is virtually the same, but the labor cost is drastically reduced to the producer. The difference is what fuels the capitalist world system.

V. Strategies of Change

What is the effect of the development debate on strategies of development? For Rostow and Galbraith, the strategies were quite clear. It was the responsibility of the more developed nations to assist the less developed ones by providing capital, technology, and organization. The assumption, reaffirmed in documents such as the 1969 Pearson Report: Partners in Development, thus focuses on the amount of aid offered by the developed nations to the rest of the world. However, the dramatic lack of results, and the actual widening of the gap between the richer and poorer nations has discredited this approach. The poorer nations have turned to more radical strategies of political and economic action. The richer countries have simply reduced the amount of aid offered.

Wallerstein's basic conviction is that there are no significant strategies for development until the world capitalist system collapses from its own internal contradictions. "The pundits note that 'the gap is getting wider', but thus far no one has succeeded in doing much about it, and it is not clear that there are very many in whose

interests it would be to do so"(1979:34). His vision is the creation of a new kind of socialist world-system which would be "...neither a redistributive world-empire nor a capitalist world-economy but a socialist world-government"(1979:35). Wallerstein does not see this as an imminent development, but does believe we are living in a kairotic moment of transition towards such a socialist world-government. This kairotic moment may be participated in by heightening the internal contradictions of the present system. We have already noted the contradiction between maximizing profits and surplus redistribution to maintain demand(page 76 above). Another contradiction is the growing number of socialist nations where industrialization has occurred, undermining the ideological legitimation of the entire system: that only private ownership of capital will lead to economic progress. The further growth of the number of socialist states, most likely in the semi-periphery, will heighten the awareness of this contradiction. Wallerstein(1979:278f) notes four secular trends which are bringing the system towards a crisis: the _expansion_ of the world-economy(each wave of which has revitalized demand and maintained growth) has now reached its geographical limits; the increasing _proletarianization_ of the quasi-feudal semi-proletarians heralds the arrival at a point where primary accumulation through super-exploitation of labor from the non-capitalist production sector will no longer be greater than the necessity of surplus redistribution to maintain demand, thus cutting into the surplus reserved for the owners of capital; the _politicization_ of the workers into parties, worker's movements, and

liberation movements "...creates a vast current of anti-systemic groups....which are becoming too numerous simply to repress or co-opt. There is a threshold of collective size that is being approached"(1979: 279); and janissarization, the forced redistribution of the surpluses of the owners to their cadres of professional, managerial, and technical personnel, resulting in the growth of welfare-state propensities in the core nations, and the burgeoning of the tertiary, or service(non-productive), sector of these economies.

In the midst of these trends, another emergent contradiction which can be fostered is in the movements of sentiment, nationalism, and liberation, which are directly anti-systemic and opposed to the continuance of the status quo. The playing off of national cadres against the interests of the multinationals provides a second opportunity for systemic change, and is highly evident in the core countries currently, in the conflicts around the oil industry. By encouraging these contradictions, the replacement of the modern world-system might be accomplished.

"The only alternative world-system that could maintain a high level of productivity and change the system of distribution would involve the reintegration of the levels of political and economic decision-making"(1974:348). Though Wallerstein calls this a third form of world-system, and not a world-empire, it is hard to discern how a socialist world-government would differ from a redistributive world-empire, either from Wallerstein's writings or on the basis of existing national socialist regimes.

Until the world-system itself changes, perhaps in the 21st or 22nd century(1979:67), all that can be accomplished is the replacement of existing core countries by others from the semi-periphery, or of semi-periphery nations by periphery lands, since it is not possible for all states to develop simultaneously: the disparity of reward is the basis of the capitalist world-system. Though Wallerstein is dismayed at the ethical choice thus presented(helping one country will be at the expense of others--1979:76), he does spell out the types of movement that may occur.

The first is the movement from the periphery to the semi-periphery--the achievement of a high-wage sector that produces part of the needs of the nation, while leaving it dependent on imports in other areas. This step seems to be similar to the kind of development Rostow was indicating by achieving "take-off", though it is circumscribed differently in this theory. The differences between semi-peripheral countries seem to be defined most by political relations with core nations in conflict with each other. Wallerstein presents three strategies for accomplishing this change of status: 1) seizing the chance, 2) invitation, 3) self-reliance. Seizing the chance has to do with propitious action when circumstances present opportunities, such as rapid import substitution in moments of world economic contraction or war. This requires agressive political action at a time when leadership in the core is weakened or distracted. It has the built-in problem of substituting one form of dependence for another, and tends towards the creation of national monopolies of these

new internal markets. The danger is the later replacement of this new internal production with an assumed external market now abandoned as no longer worthwhile for the core countries, for the sake of creating a favorable trade balance. It must be noted that such a problem is a clear indication that the country is now a part of the semi-periphery.

Some nations move into the semi-periphery under the sponsorship of core countries which protect its infant industries, or they make the move by winning a significant investment from international capitalism looking for surpluses by reducing labor costs. Such promotion by invitation is largely a phenomenon when the world-system is expanding, and runs the danger of being abandoned during a contraction. It may occur in nations less ready for industrialization than those who seize the chance, but it is likely to not go as far in total effect. Such uneven development may increase dependence.

The third option for advancement is self-reliance. Wallerstein is very dubious about the capacity of a peripheral country to move to the semi-periphery by this means. He acknowledges that Tanzania has made strides towards doing this, but notes it is largely because core nations don't really care about maintaining Tanzania in the periphery. Thus he seems to be characterizing this means as "self-reliance in the face of neglect". Frank(1966:99) also notes that, contrary to developmentalist thought, satellites develop most when isolated from their metropoles, through such things as war or depression in the metropole. These are times when the satellite is left to itself,

rather than when they are tightly bound and being assisted by the metropole.

Self-reliance is a much more important strategy for moving from the semi-periphery to the core. This requires a large enough market to justify the installation of advanced technology to produce more cheaply than existing producers. Political power becomes important here, to be able to control the access of other, non-national, producers for this market. This may require the extension of the political boundaries, either by unification, conquest, or regionalization. Subsidies, the reallocation of costs to other sectors of the economy, may be used to make a new product more competitive(a tactic used by Japan very successfully in the last thirty years), or wages may be reduced--but that will also dampen internal demand. On the other hand, increased wages, together with cost advantages from lack of transportation costs may result in increased internal sales. This process may be assisted by propaganda to affect the "tastes" of national consumers. Thus, Wallerstein presents some strategies for movement within the system, recognizing that every advance is at the expense of some other country, while awaiting the collapse of the whole modern world-system and the emergence of a world socialist government.

Samir Amin seems to be more hopeful for the development of presently dependent nations. His analysis of dependence focuses on three significant features: the economy is <u>unevenly</u> developed in dependent nations with much higher productivity in some sectors than

in others. There is a _disarticulation_ of the various sectors with each other. Integration is usually higher between a sector and its complementing function in the outside world, while exchange between sectors within the nation is only marginal. Thirdly, the _dominance_ through external trade of outside forces, and the dependence such trade entails(as already articulated above, page 80). Echoing Frank, Amin asserts that under these conditions, "...in the periphery, growth is _not_ development, for its effect is to disarticulate. Strictly speaking, growth in the periphery, based on integration into the world market, is _development of underdevelopment_"(1974:18f).

Amin proposes a strategy of withdrawl, either nationally, or by regional alliance if nations are too small to act alone. His three strategies are 1) the creation of an homogenous economy, working to overcome unevenness in productivity among the various sectors; 2) development of the integration of the various sectors of the economy; and 3) alterations in the patterns of foreign trade and capital accumulation, breaking with the world market. An homogenous national economy will challenge "...the foundations of the international specialization on which the unequal economic relations of the world of today are based...."(1974:28). The development of deliberately created integrated industrial groups, with complementary operations, will engender the mutually supporting common development that Myrdal foresaw and labelled "cumulative causation". The break with the current patterns of trade will end the siphoning off of surpluses that now predominates and allow the accumulation of national capital

so that the economy may be self-financing and self-generating. This will obviously require firm governmental action and support.

Amin goes on to advocate detailed central planning to accomplish these strategies. While disparaging non-centrally planned economies for either stopping at too high a level with general policies, or a focus on a few strategic projects, and leaving free enterprise to work out the details, Amin proposes a tripartite planning process which is very similar to that proposed by Galbraith. In 1962 the U.S. Ambassador had acknowledged that the market alone would not accomplish rapid development and called for a planning process that included a strategy for economic advance, a prioritization of the most crucial projects and programs, and the choice of strategic steps to be taken(1962:39f). Amin's trilogy is similar: a strategic model for the country, coherent and effective sectoral objectives, and specific projects and policies as far down as micro-enterprises. Thus Amin embodies his own evaluation that when developmentalists start to plan concretely, because they forget their theory and deal with reality, "...they do enable development of an art of economic management...."(1974:10).

World-systems theory seems clearly to be a better vehicle for the analysis and understanding of the relations of the developed and underdeveloped worlds. Its choice of the globe as a unit of analysis is far preferable to seeing only isolated national economies. But the choice of a unit of analysis does not necessarily dictate the appropriate

choice of a unit of strategy. Wallerstein seems to forfeit the strategic option by over-attachment to the globe as the unit of all his thinking. Amin seems to have broader choices by selecting the nation/region as the strategic unit. He also seems to avoid getting trapped in a closed equilibrium system, which he criticizes developmentalists for, but which criticism might also be applied to Wallerstein, especially when he likens the world-system to an "organism" (1974:347).

But within nations, the urban-rural relations often take on the nature of core-periphery(or metropole-satellite, as Frank describes it, 1966:95). Thus, one wonders if the same model is not applicable within the national/regional context: the development of self-reliant micro-level economies. This cannot be an exclusive strategy, ignoring the national/regional one, for it requires political protection from the power of the world capitalist forces. But given the decision to exercise the national strategic option, a development plan that focuses on self-reliant, balanced micro-level economics may present the best possibility for rapid development. This option must be explored further at another point.

Chapter 3

The Third Way of Development

I. The Emergence of the Third World

Following World War II, the nation-states of the globe were divided into two major camps, the Western and Communist blocs. The Communist bloc was composed of those nations which had been liberated by the U.S.S.R. during the war, or were immediately continguous to her and fell under her influence. Their economies and governments were reorganized on socialist models. The Western bloc was composed of the allied capitalist states, their colonies and the nations they liberated during the war, including the axis "enemies", Japan, Italy, and the three sectors of Germany administered by Britain, France, and the U.S.A. The years immediately following the war were spent in defining where the boundary between the two camps was to be located, and establishing within them the appropriate governmental regimes. Civil wars in Greece and China ended by adding one state to each camp. The invasion and subsequent counter-invasion on the Korean peninsula ended in a truce near the original line of partition. Political machinations and "suicides" established "socialist democracies" in Eastern Europe and "free democracies" in Western Europe and Japan. Germany's lines of partition, with the anomaly of the detached West Berlin, were tempered into the extension of the Churchillian "Iron Curtain". The major world powers had divided the world between them. "Containment" and "World Liberation" became their competing policies.

But there were some who resisted being trapped into the bipolar struggle. In newly independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru proclaimed a policy of "Nonalignment" as a "...diplomatic philosophy that would

enable the newly independent countries to keep out of the apparent confrontation between the Western and the Communist blocs of nations" (Mazrui, 1977:197). Nonalignment was aimed at helping the newly independent states to resist the pressures and entanglements of the superpowers. It was also postulated as a moral alternative to competitive self-righteousness. It articulated a third perspective on the world scene. As other new nations became independent of their colonial masters, the East-West, Communist-Capitalist competition moved beyond boundary setting disputes on the Eurasian landmass. Other voices were added to Nehru's: Nassar of Egypt, Nkrumah of Ghana, and the Communist, but independent, Tito of Yugoslavia.

In 1961 the first formal meeting of the nonaligned nations was hosted by Tito in Belgrade. These nations began to exercise real force in the global political confrontation: encouraging smaller nations to stay out of the entangling alliances of the Warsaw Pact or NATO and its other regional subsidiaries, to refrain from providing sites for superpower military bases, and to oppose the testing and proliferation of nuclear arms. Mazrui(1977:198) suggests that "...the acceptance and popularity of the term 'Third World' was partly due to the presupposition of nonalignment....as a third force in what would otherwise be a bipolar world."

But the Third World also came to be seen as the technologically underdeveloped, less privileged, and exploited segment of the global society. If communism and capitalism divided the First and Second Worlds, they were united in being the technologically advanced worlds.

The new arena of international competition became the choice of the means of accomplishing development in Third World countries. Each newly independent nation had to decide whether to follow a capitalistic, free enterprise, or a socialistic, centrally planned, road to development. Political incorporation and allegiance was modified into aid dependency and model imitation. Johan Galtung(1976:154) suggests that for what the Chinese label "social imperialism", the "...confirmation of the validity of the Center model....", demonstrated by imitation in a peripheral state, is more important than economic exploitation through the exchange of commodities.

But political nonalignment also led to the refusal of a choice between economic and social bipolarities. Third World states accepted assistance from both blocs, copied models from both sides, felt free to reject advice from both sides, and combined central planning and capitalistic growth. As more and more new nations were emerging, the bipolar understanding began to crumble. China rejected Soviet leadership; France broke away from NATO. Colonial exploitation became a theme of political leaders and economic theorists. Mao and Nyerere began to articulate a different development strategy, rejecting the urbanized heavy industrialization orientation which was common to both socialistic and capitalistic developmentalists. Since Marxist developmentalism sees socialism as a stage beyond capitalism, the differences between the two approaches had more to do with state vs. private control of investment-consumption decision-making than with

what steps should be taken.* With the effective oil boycott instituted during the 1973 Arab-Israeli conflict, Third World relationships with the developed nations took a radical turn.

In 1964, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva gave birth to a coalition of nations seeking a more equitable set of relationships with the developed states. It has come to be known as the Group of 77, though it now includes more than 100 states. Gradually the focus of these two movements, the nonaligned states and the Group of 77--with many states holding membership in both--has converged upon the fundamental economic disparity which characterizes the global society. At the special session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1974, this concern came to be embodied in a call for a New International Economic Order.

II. Another Development

The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation produced a "Report on Development and International Cooperation" which combined the various themes outlined thus far: the exploitative nature of the world economic system as described by Wallerstein and the dependency theorists, the resource depletion catastrophists and critiques of overdevelopment

* Marx(1969) applauded the imposition of British colonialism as a necessary step in bringing about a social revolution in India:

> "England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England, she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about the revolution."

(such as the more recently published, The Overdeveloped Nations by Leopold Kohr, 1977), the rural development strategies of nations like Tanzania, the various conferences on ecological and developmental crises through which the concerns of the Group of 77 had been expressed, and the formation of an effective oil cartel. This report was entitled "Another Development"(1975).

Another Development was conceived as resting upon four fundamental principles: 1) that development should be oriented to meeting the basic needs of the world's poor rather than upon achieving particular statistical goals of growth or "catching up" with the more industrialized societies;* 2) that development requires guarenteeing the conditions of self-reliance for each society "...to ensure the humanization of man by the satisfaction of his needs for expression, creativity, conviviality, and for deciding his own destiny"(1975:7); 3) that development must be in harmony with the environment; and 4) that development requires structural transformations. Upon these four principles, three broad arenas of action emerged: the enhancement of Third World self-reliance; an agenda for negotiation between the Third World and the industrialized countries; and the reformation of the United Nations system.

While the schema of Another Development avoids specific suggestions of policies, under the aegis of the diversity of conditions

* Basic needs are defined as adequate food, a satisfactory habitat (housing, water, sanitation, transportation, and town planning "...designed to achieve the harmonious development of all the regions of a country and to ensure a decentralized urbanization" (1975:32), vital health (through both preventive and therapeutic services) and a relevant education.

existing across the Third World, it does point to broad strategic directions. The two primary and parallel strategies proposed are the reallocation of resources towards the meeting of basic needs and the elevation of the level of productive capacity. The report reiterates the four fallacious assumptions of conventional developmental thought:

> 1) that all interests of all countries can be pursued simultaneously....
> 2) that all countries because they are sovereign nations have equal effective rights....
> 3) that the existing international economic order reflects "natural" economic laws and principles which cannot be drastically changed....
> 4) that....allocating and distributing resources and economic activities among different countries is best performed by market mechanisms.(1975:65f).

These assumptions "...have pushed Third World countries into increasingly greater and unselective integration into the international economic system"(1975:67). Rejecting the "trickle down theory", Another Development advocates selective participation in the world economic system to minimize dependence and advance nationally determined development. We must return to examine how this selectivity might occur later in this chapter.

Self-reliance for Third World nations requires a new level of cooperation among themselves. There must be cooperation of industrial and agricultural development including the stimulation of import substitution production on a regional level, increased integration of the economies of Third World nations, and a broadening of goods and services available for intra-Third World trade. Autonomous financial institutions, uncontrolled by interests of the industrialized societies, must be established and reinforced in the Third World, with financial

backing from the OPEC nations. A Third World money system must be initiated with exclusive drawing rights and coordinated management of national reserves. An integrated system of Third World communications, freed of the oligopoly of UPI, AP, TASS, Agence France-Presse, and Reuters, is necessary to avoid the distortion and selectivity that these channels now impose. Cartels, import cooperatives and joint guidelines for hosting transnational corporations will enhance the bargaining capacity of the Third World. Another Development suggests that these elements of self-reliance are initiable by the Third World itself.

Another Development recognizes that a New International Economic Order will not appear without dialogue and bargaining that leads to a restructuring of the relationships between Third World nations and the industrialized countries. It highlights six arenas for negotiation: the transfer of basic foreign-owned assets, including both natural resources and the whole productive sector, to national control; the development of new patterns of production and trade including, for example, agreements on indexing fifteen or twenty key commodities; the social control of technology including support for the promotion of appropriate technologies for labor intensive development; the transition towards a new industrial geography of the world not controlled by transnational corporations; financial transfer measures that would end the present draining of resources to the industrialized world; and ensuring an adequate access to food so that it is removed from being a "weapon" of negotiation, as U.S. Agriculture

Secretary Butz defined it in 1974(quoted, 1975:32).

A drastic reformation of the U.N. system is advocated to foster the "positive world political and economic environment" necessary for "need oriented, self-reliant, endogenous and innovative" development to take place. A series of specific technical reforms are proposed to enhance the four principal development functions of the U.N.: 1) fact-finding, data collection, and monitoring; 2) conceptualization and planning; 3) a forum for negotiation and its adequate preparation; and 4) the transfer of resources and technical assistance. Another Development recognizes that both organizational reform and renegotiated global economic relationships will take a prolonged effort, but call for the requisite resolve and adequate leadership to enact these proposals, particularly on the part of Third World states.

III. The Tanzanian Model

Another Development acknowledges that one of the earliest advocates of the third way towards development was Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania. In 1962 he articulated his notion of "Ujamaa", familihood, as the basis in African tradition for a communitarian socialism. Rejecting both "...capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man, and.... doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man"(1962:293), Nyerere claims an African, family-style socialism must now be extended to the community, nation, and even the continent.

This philosophy was embodied in the 1967 Arusha Declaration which asserted that development was accomplished by people, not money. Nyerere called for a program of rural development which congregated the largely rural and scattered population of 14 million Tanzanians into *ujamaa* villages averaging between 500 and 4,000 residents. Each village was to organize itself and set up its own communal farms, shops, mills, schools, dispensaries, and cultural activities, as appropriate. The objectives of these villages were to heighten ideological awareness, to create employment opportunities, to expand socialist economic activities, to cooperatively market village produce, to buy or construct common facilities and to provide essential services such as medicine, water, and education.

The intention of the *ujamaa* village program is to create self-reliance at the village level as the basis of national self-reliance. In this, Nyerere's vision is similar to Gandhi's. Communitarian socialism would allow development without exploitation, and the better utilization of rural labor through specialization and a division of labor not viable with a scattered citizenry. Economies of scale and technological innovations would result in rising socio-economic standards for the rural population and overcome the gap between their standards and those of urban people. Establishing these new "familihood" village patterns of human settlement would facilitate national planning and the mobilization of the masses, both for development and defense. Village establishment allowed government officials direct and easy access to the people to exercise governmental

functions which were decentralized in 1972. Education and various other support services were much more easily expanded where the people lived in villages. After 1973, it became compulsory for the populace to be settled in villages, whether organized under the principles of ujamaa or some other developmental pattern. Thus the village has become the economic base for rural development. Its projects are usually small in scale and directly responsive to local initiative. Although the villages require initial technical and material assistance, they are designed to be both materially self-reliant and ideologically self-liberatory.

An interim assessment by the authors of Another Development calls Tanzania's ujamaa experiment of village development a mixed success(1975:57-59). Compact communities have been created in which access of the populace to basic health, education, and communication facilities has obviously improved. Skills and productive knowledge have become more available among village residents. Food access has improved, for areas of need are more easily identified in the village settlement pattern, but food production is up only marginally. New communally established infrastructures, economic activities(stores, dairy herds and workshops) and crop patterns have emerged, though little change in traditional food and cash crop patterns was discerned. The ujamaa villages are more egalitarian in organization, with broader participation of residents and less rule by elites than in non-ujamaa villages. Peasant education and ideological awareness has increased. But village self-reliance has been unevenly developed, and technical planning and support functions have often been poor.

In 1979, Nyerere reaffirmed his commitment to Rural Development in a speech in Rome at an FAO sponsored conference. He emphasized that the attack upon poverty was a highly political issue, dealing with the distribution of wealth and the location of power within and between nations. He declared that urban slums and degradation were the result of masses being "...pushed out of the rural areas by landlessness, joblessness, and hopelessness. It is therefore in the rural areas that we can most effectively tackle the long term problems of urban poverty...."(1979:4).

Nyerere then set forth his agenda for rural development. First, land must be transfered to the peasants, for they will use it to meet their own needs rather than allowing an elite to use it to maximize profits. With ownership, whether individual or collective, must come access to credit, agricultural inputs, and technology. Second is a program of rural diversification. Agricultural productivity must be efficient enough to produce a surplus so that rural industries can be established and forestry and animal husbandry encouraged on marginal land. Water control, conservation, schools, dispensaries, etc., must be established in the rural areas, all using technology which is labor intensive and suited to the needs of the people.

Regressive taxation and comparative pricing policies which have traditionally drained off rural surpluses for urban consumption must be reversed so that rural surpluses are retained in rural areas. Import restrictions must be imposed to reduce luxury consumption. Services and utilities must be oriented to the rural areas rather than

focused on urban entities. Universal primary and technical education must be given preference over advanced studies. Similarly, a network of rural health dispensaries must have higher priority than sophisticated hospital services for the few. These are obviously very political policy reversals.

Nations which receive wealth from extractive enterprises and mass-produced manufactures, especially those intended for export, must funnel that wealth into the rural areas. Though wealth redistribution internationally is a matter of voluntary decision, it is politically possible to redirect it nationally. Finally, governments cannot do development, they can only facilitate it. Nyerere reaffirms his conviction that it is the people who must set the priorities, do the planning, and do the work, for it is they who know what their needs are. "And just as they will produce their own food if they have land, so if they have sufficient freedom they can be relied upon to determine their own priorities of development and then to work for them" (Nyerere, 1979:9).

Nyerere recognizes that industrial developments which are national in scope will be required: fertilizer plants, possibly a phosphate mine, agricultural implements factories, electrical power, roads, railways, ports. Export industries, either agricultural or industrial will also be needed to pay for essential imports. Not all of these activities can be labor intensive. But they all can be planned and oriented to be of service to the rural areas rather than subsisting on rural surpluses.

For Nyerere, rural development is national development. He recognizes the debilitating effects of the pricing mechanisms, transportation monopolies, currency and credit controls of the current world economic order, and the effect of the profit-seeking transnational corporations upon it, but pleads for a world-wide adoption of the strategy of rural development. "The fundamental imbalance between the world's rural and urban nations--between the industrial and the primary producer areas--is not yet universally recognized as the root cause of world economic problems and world poverty"(1979:13). Thus invoking echoes of the Marxian "inherent contradiction" of capitalism, Nyerere acknowledges the two aspects of the strategy of rural development: the reorganization of internal national policies and the realignment of external relations between the rich and poor nations, a New International Economic Order.

IV. Other Agendas for Development

The joint focus on internal policies of rural development and international reorientation has been articulated by a number of other Third World thinkers. Rajni Kothari, an Indian political scientist and futurologist, has presented one such agenda in Footsteps into the Future, published just prior to the U.N. General Assembly's 1974 special session which proclaimed the need for a New International Economic Order. Kothari's book is dedicated to Nehru and his idological heir, Nyerere.

Kothari's vision of Third World autonomy is perhaps more utopian than any examined thus far. It envisions the creation of 20-25 relatively equivalent regional states in which political domination of the large over the small would be mitigated and the destabilizing effects of dependency would be offset. He says that sutonomy is the basis of promoting "...a sense of collective self-regard among (the nations of the Third World) so that we can realize the values of individual freedom and dignity, justice in the distribution of worldly goods, and opportunity for participation in decision-making structures at various levels"(Kothari, 1974:6).

Kothari's agenda for rural development, admittedly admiring Tanzania and China as the two states which had rejected the "techno-economic assumptions" of conventional development thought, is very similar to that articulated by Nyerere five years later. It requires a rethinking of basic assumptions:

> Thus it is necessary to self-consciously admit the value of diversity in human aspirations and technological choices instead of suppressing it at the altar of universalism, to arrest the centralizing trends in modern technology that create growing disparities and cultural barriers within single societies, to shed the idea that cities are coterminous with civilization or large size with progress, or think of economic welfare in terms of achieving minimum conditions for all and not just in terms of aggregate growth targets, and finally, to appreciate that the issues of social and economic justice that now face the world cannot be handled by experts alone and call for an involvement of the people in shaping their own lives(1974:58).

Kothari proposes an agenda for the next twenty-five years, allowing that new problems then, and accomplishments on the basis of such an agenda, would likely require fresh thinking.

The first point of his agenda is that economic and social development must focus on man and his needs. Primarily that means focusing on providing employment for all. Agricultural transformation will be the major impetus for providing such employment. This transformation will come by introducing the new technologies associated with the Green Revolution, but adapted so as to be labor intensive, to discourage mechanization, and to be available to small farmers with the requisite land reform so as to not be "pre-empted by the well-to-do". In order to restrain large-scale migration to the cities, which employ machines more than they do men, non-farm employment in rural areas must be increased through massive public works programs and rural industrialization on a medium or small scale. This would require "a conscious policy of decentralized industrial development and location". While Kothari is advocating agricultural and rural development as the core of public policy, he believes a social continuum should be created which involves an employment-oriented industrial development in the cities and in intermediate sized towns. He sees a fusion of industry and agriculture in which rural social structures are encouraged in towns and urban amenities are made available to every village to produce a "composite and integrated culture". "Our preferred world is not one made of millions of self-contained villages (as was Gandhi's dream) but, rather, is one of thousands of small nucleating towns towards which the rural landscape gravitates, thus doing away with....the present duality of metropolitan and rural cultures...."(1974:61).

In order to alter the cultural underpinnings of the present urban-rural disparity, an educational policy is required that will be focused away from producing gentlemanly elites or overeducated unemployed while the masses remain illiterate. Kothari advocates universal basic education with technological training in programs of short duration located in institutions near the places where those skills are needed. Education for women must be universalized to overcome the cultural classism of educated, consumer-oriented elite females. This elitism leads naturally to the proposal of a countervailling ethic of consumption based on Gandhi's "limitation of wants". Kothari advocates high levels of savings among both the high-status groups and the peasantry to generate productivity to meet the minimal needs of all the populace. But his agenda is without implementing specifics such as import restrictions; it remains only a moral injunction. The nature of production must shift so that the economic system both produces for the masses and involves them as the producers, again following an admonition of Gandhi. This means replacing "effective demand" as the basis of production decisions by "need effectiveness". Though Kothari does not say how this might work, he is obviously suggesting a non-market determination of production decisions. The final element of his agenda is the achievement of a social minima in which every individual, especially among the young, is assured of basic health care and an adequate supply of protein and other nutrients. Kothari also rejects the aspiration to "catch up" with the levels of the advanced industrialized nations as both unrealizable and undesirable,

especially if it would be at the cost of social justice and equity among the people of the developing world.

Another agenda for "Development: The Third Way" is presented by Jimoh Omo-Fadaka(1975). He also advocates the detachment of non-industrialized nations from the network of international trading patterns in order to pursue an independent path to development. He suggests that because national self-interest is the rule in international relations, such nations will remain dependent and poor until they act, themselves. They must recognize that in most cases industrialization *per se* will only lead to deeper poverty. The condition of most Less Developed Countries is a severe limitation of capital, but an unlimited resource of manpower. Therefore development emphasis must be placed on *me* , not *money*.

Like Kothari, Omo-Fadaka proposes the development of *rural industry* which is agriculture oriented, small-scale, labor intensive, decentralized, and under local control. Agriculture is again seen as the key to development, requiring *land reforms* to give each family a piece of land, mobilizing its efforts as an economic as well as a social unit. Omo-Fadaka is more critical of the Green Revolution, especially of chemical inputs, and advocates intensified farming techniques using natural inputs and techniques as far as possible. Cash crops should be replaced by subsistence farming. Once again, resistence to mechanization is advocated in an attempt to heighten employment and reduce urban migration. Without explaining how it might be accomplished, he advocates cooperative farming. His vision

is of a national agriculture which is both small-scale and technically efficient, using locally invented appropriate technology, and avoiding the necessity of Western imports.

Omo-Fadaka envisions the establishment of self-help villages after the Tanzanian model which would be ethnically homogeneous, "...self-reliant, self-sufficient, self-regulating, and self-financing human communities"(1975:40). They would be communally run, would reinvest their agricultural surpluses in development projects which in part would be constructed by donated effort, "turning labor into capital". Bookish education must give way to technical education for self-help and self-reliance, with an agricultural or mechanical bias. Again, this policy is aimed at "limiting the exodus to cities" by village young people, and might follow the Cuban model of "part-work-part-study". Massive adult literacy programs must be emphasized, for education is to provide people with perspective and motivation for developing their communities; this is education with a social orientation. The villages should build their own health facilities, nursery schools, welfare relief units, and militia for self-defense.

Omo-Fadaka equates colonial impoverishment with current foreign investment and therefore advocates nationalization of foreign banks, insurance, import-export trade, and wholesale businesses. He foresees that national, rather than provincial or local, agencies will have to provide many services. He advocates the development of decentralized, labor intensive, communally controlled industries. Like the others cited above, and like Amin, as noted in the previous chapter,

his aim "...is to build a diversified and balanced economy, an integration of industry and agriculture, of light and heavy industries" (1975:49).

Omo-Fadaka specifically rejects both the Western pattern of free enterprise and the Soviet pattern of development with its highly authoritarian style, enforced austerity, stagnant agriculture, and materialistic orientation which has resulted in the emergence of new privileged classes. Instead, refering to Nyerere, he proposes a "communitarian ethos of democratic socialism" which is more endemic to African tradition. It is this African perspective which explains several unique emphases of Omo-Fadaka's approach(e.g., the emphasis on ethnic homogeneity in a village and its organization of a militia for self-defense). To achieve this third way to development, he suggests "a process of mental decolonization" will be needed for villagers. "Political change in the non-industrialized countries will prove of little long-term value unless it also includes cultural change. But cultural change becomes possible only when men and women fight out their mental battles themselves. Others cannot do it for them"(1975:52).

V. A Strategy of Selective Delinking

Each of these approaches to another development has advocated some form of national or regional autonomy, a detachment from international trading patterns, or, at least, a selectivity of linkages. We must now examine this issue more closely. Perhaps the most carefully

thought out perspective is that of Carlos Diáz-Alejandro(1978). He dismisses the debate between pure laissez-faire economics and pure delinking as a battle of straw men, since neither position has been significantly embodied in actual economic policy or relationships. In this he is echoing Another Development's advocacy of selective participation in the world economic order:

> There is a minimum degree of links required to sustain the development process.
> There is a maximum degree of links beyond which no effective sovereignty can be maintained.
> There are affirmative links which reinforce self-reliance.
> There are regressive links which weaken self-reliance.
> (Another Development, 1975:69)

Diáz-Alejandro claims the delinking argument is primarily a political argument which is only later bolstered by economic arguments, that unregulated trade and finance links reduce the national autonomy of Southern nations(N.B., the First and Second Worlds are now coalesced into "The North" which is opposed to "The South"). This loss of autonomy is both relative to international actions and internal control. Economic linkage has often led to the development of a compradore and/or landed elite, now joined by a technocratic-bureaucratic, transnational corporation elite, who are more closely allied to the economy and elites of the core nations than to their own peoples, and who ape the North in conspicuous consumption. Thus, international economic links not only drain surpluses from dependent countries, they also deform the internal socio-political structures. It is not surprising that delinking strategies are often accompanied by calls for socialist revolutions. But Diáz-Alejandro maintains

that selective delinking is a promising strategy for both radical and conservative states.

Diáz-Alejandro reminds us that the so-called exemplary cases of delinking were more often cases of imposed blockades: especially with post-revolutionary U.S.S.R., China, and Cuba. He points out that Russia was large and in possession of an ancient, autonomous culture which gave her advantages of self-relaince that are not applicable to most developing nations. Further, China never did actually delink from international trade, despite U.S. embargoes. Diáz-Alejandro cites evidence that the absolute level of China's foreign trade did not decline, that foreign trade actually grew faster than the G.N.P. during the 1950's, and that she received extensive foreign aid from the U.S.S.R. What the author considers crucial is that trade was no longer on a laissez-faire basis, but was rigidly controlled on a "pay-as-you-go" basis which has resulted in a negligible foreign debt. Thus self-reliance does not require a closed-door policy and "...is much more rigorous regarding finance than regarding trade"(1978:107).

Selectivity is the key to a delinking strategy. Diáz-Alejandro outlined a nine-point program for effective delinking:

1. The nation must have the power and perspective to be selective; a colony or puppet government cannot be selective about its international links.

2. It must have an internal engine to generate development.

3. International links must often be cut entirely (as during a revolution) in order to establish internal political control, followed by a selective relinking, often by means of state trading monopolies.

4. Strict exchange controls are necessary; "concessional finance....is incompatible with self-reliance" (1978:111).

5. The key issue in delinking is who has political control of the use of gains secured from international trade; expertise in the use of markets, both selling and judicious buying, is necessary to maximize such gains.

6. The basic needs of the populace must be internally assured; they cannot be vulnerable to external markets or blockades; luxury consumables(e.g., Pepsi Cola and Alfa-Romeos) will be matters of unconcern.

7. Standardized stapels sold on competitive markets are preferable to specialized commodities sold on limited markets(e.g., Cuban cigars) which are difficult to maintain as monopolies.

8. A diversification of sources of finance, technology, management, and market access is preferable to break the stranglehold of transnational corporations.

9. A preference should be given to other Less Developed Countries as trading partners to enhance collective self-reliance; a diversity of partners is preferable to reliance upon a single powerful society; trade locations should be limited to enclaves in remote areas, if possible, to diminish the consumption demonstration effect.

Diáz-Alejandro acknowledges that adopting such a strategy requires revolutionary change and a centralization of power; in this he is reaffirming the political nature of this strategy, for the primary question is who decides which links to retain and which to sever, if such decisions are not determined by market forces. The key decision is an alteration of imports in order to reorient a country's growth towards equitable and balanced development. Of course, export diversification is desireable over the long run, but it is secondary to import reallocation. The development of Third World transnational corporations would be a valuable contribution, along with L.D.C. customs

unions, towards collective self-reliance in the Third World. Because "...concessional aid and direct foreign investment have weakened local initiative, discouraged tax reform, and reduced savings coefficients...." foreign aid should be avoided; autarchy in finance is more important than in trade!(1978:121).

Diáz-Alejandro sees an erosion of the economic rules of the post-war Pax Americana set up in the Bretton Woods System. He suggests that the strengthening of market forces over political controls, the rise of commodity cartels, and the substitution of currency markets for political negotiation on exchange par values has created a fragility in the world economy that is crying out for a new set of rules. Thus it is an appropriate time to set out an agenda of negotiation toward a New International Economic Order. Diáz-Alejandro's agenda differs somewhat from the negotiations proposed by Another Development; it is considerably simpler to conceive: outlaw commercial blockades and embargoes; limit Northern protectionism and internal subsidies; encourage new rules for state-enterprise trading on world markets; collect and redistribute rents for the use of the world's commons(oceans, atmosphere, etc.); restructure international organizations to emphasize their service, rather than profit-securing, functions. Diáz-Alejandro does not indicate how this agenda might be accomplished, but suggests, like Chirot(1977:251), that the North would not be as greatly affected by delinking as would the South. He does acknowledge that it would be the transnational corporations who would oppose such a shifting of the rules, since they are the ones who

benefit from the current situation. The new rules should not be aimed to _assure_ progressive change, but to _accomodate_ it, to provide the option of selective delinking to nations which choose to do so. Realistically, he reminds us that Northern nations are not likely to base their policies on beneficence, even if individuals from these nations might advocate such a stance. Thus, once again, the action the Less Developed Countries can take on their own are clearer than those which are necessary to reorganize international relations.

VI. Advances on Dependency Theory

Andre Gunder Frank's articulation of "The Development of Underdevelopment"(1966) radically upset the development paradigm and spawned a great deal of rethinking, from a global perspective, about the sources and causes of underdevelopment. Frank's gross argument so obviously explained the current world situation, and was so amenable to revolutionary rhetoric, that it received wide support in the Third World. As with any such new thought, its oversimplifications have become more evident as it has been more extensively employed.

James Peoples criticizes earlier dependency theory formulations as not being discriminating enough, because they posit "...only a single relation between the developed and the poor countries"(1978:536). Peoples complains that dependency theorists tend to ignore cases in which economic exploitation is secondary. He details the welfare/ employment dependency fostered in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands where American employment and welfare programs provide the bulk

of the territory's income and have resulted in an economy of declining production and import-oriented commercialization. The result is an unbalanced, dependent economy, supported by the U.S. government, with only miniscule returns to American export businesses, all for the sake of securing strategic defensive locations. While Peoples' case is exceptional in nature, and deals with a small population(about 100,000 people across three million square miles of ocean), it is similar to the dependency described by Galtung(1976, and above, page 96) which is the result of Russian social imperialism.

Peoples further complains that "...dependency theorists have confined their analyses to those areas....with a centuries-long history of colonial domination and exploitation, and with a present characterized by production for export and high levels of foreign investment"(1978:536). In a similar vein is Diáz-Alejandro's advocacy of the higher significance of import controls over export diversification, noting that the differences between Cuban development and that of the Dominican Republic are in differences in their imports, not in their common reliance upon sugar exports(1978:119). Peoples suggests this narrow analysis also misses the differing impacts of penetration by multinationals in search of cheap labor, as opposed to those seeking enlarged markets, or those exploiting natural resources.

Kothari, concerned to articulate alternatives to the present realities, rather than to ascribe responsibility(though he does not hesitate to do that), points out that in much of the Third World today, the problem is not "...the exploitation of labor by overexerting it

but, rather is one of simple non-participation in the productive process by millions of human beings who have no useful role to play in society"(1974:57f). It was out of this perspective, and rejecting the Soviet approach to the collectivization of agriculture, that the Chinese maintained that their "...revolution could not be based mainly on primary accumulation by exploiting the peasant and putting the surplus into heavy industry; some other form had to be found"(Galtung, 1976:159). The form turned out to be the kind of third way to development described above.

Carol Smith picks up another theme of Peoples, that dependency theorists tend to treat villages and villagers as passive, and therefore miss the internal dynamics of dependency. She accuses these theorists of not shifting their perspective far enough, that they should describe the condition not just from the core of the periphery, but from the periphery of the periphery. She notes the newer version of the theory advanced by Sunkel and Paz(1970), Roberts(1976), and Portes and Walton(1976) that goes beyond Frank's extension of the metropole-satellite relationship from international contacts to the internal structure of a nation and/or province. This newer version accounts for the shift from primary production to light manufacturing in many places, making provincial cities the ancillaries of urban centers. The shift away from labor intensive primary production has resulted in massive urban migration as rural economies are undermined. Thus economic growth takes place in urban centers, funded by foreign investors who also claim most of the profits. This results in an urban, consumption-

oriented development which leaves most of the populace at sub-peasant standards of living. Smith calls it, "The periphery-marginalization school of dependency theory" (1978:576). This marginalization theory seems to be similar to the conditions described by Kothari.

Smith prefers Wallerstein's conceptions of core and periphery, even though he never applied his analysis to the problems of dependency in peripheral areas. She acknowledges that where colonial administrative control of commerce existed, the metropole-satellite model is appropriate, and usually was maintained after independence. It can be identified by the spatial organization of commerce: the absence of intervening commercial centers located between administrative centers. However, she contends that there also exist external areas which were not directly related to core areas, which were outside the imposed division of labor, and which were economically independent of the core. She calls these "marginal areas". Peripheral areas are parts of a region which have a poorly developed economic infrastructure but high commercial exchange with the core. Marginal areas have both a poorly developed economic infrastructure and weak commercial exchange with the core; this results in a "more or less self-sufficient economy--poor as it may be. Thus," she says, "I will consider only a periphery 'underdeveloped' and a marginal area simply 'undeveloped'" (1978:581). Smith then uses this "amendment" of dependency theory to analyze the Western region of Guatemala, showing that it was basically a marginal area, undeveloped--even developing--until the imposition of the capitalistic mode of production on coffee plantations in

the last one hundred years.

Dependency theory has been advanced to account for a diversity of conditions, originally swept together in describing the gross relationship of the developed world and the underdeveloped world. Its political orientation has been noted by Díaz-Alejandro. Its exceptions have been noted by Peoples and Galtung. Increased urbanization and rural marginalization have been noted by the "peripheral marginalization school". The distinction between over-exertion exploitation of labor and under utilization of labor has also been commented upon by Kothari and others. The distinction between underdeveloped and undeveloped areas has been recovered from the ashheap of earlier polemics by Smith. However, none of these critiques fatally flaws the basic theory. Each of the refinements facilitates planning for a third way of development.

VII. Summary

Development in the third way embraces two primary approaches: a national agenda for rural development and an agenda for restructuring international relations. The creation of a New International Economic Order involves three different emphases. Third World collective self-reliance can be fostered by new patterns of cooperation and interdependence in trade, finance, technological development and dispersion, and political action. The relationships of the developed and industrialized nations with the Less Developed Countries, currently shaped by agreements among, and imposed by, the core nations of the

North, must be renegotiated by the nations of the South. The United Nations and other major international organizations must be restructured to support the renegotiated relationships and to reflect the needs and preponderant populations of the Less Developed Countries.

The national agenda includes both the adoption of policies that encourage rural development at the village level and the radical reorientation of national practices which foster unbalanced and disarticulated national development. The central elements of a rural development agenda include the radical upgrading of agricultural productivity, the establishment and extension of a diversified and small-scale rural industrialization, and an emphasis upon universal availability of primary health and educational programs and facilities. The emphasis of Rural Development is upon meeting basic needs rather than upon aggregating growth statistics and therefore it focuses upon labor intensive approaches, the development and use of appropriate (intermediate) technologies, and participatory planning and control at the village level. A radical reorientation of national policies which tend to favor urban development at the expense of rural areas would include a reversal of traditional taxing and pricing policies, the redirection of infrastructure provision towards the rural areas, the regulation of international imports, exports, and financing so as to control consumption and direct surpluses towards further development, and the development of national basic industries oriented to supply the needs of rural development. These are the common themes of Development in the Third Way.

While advocates of this third way of development recognize that some policies must be enacted in their own countries and others must involve reordering relationships with other nations, not all of whom are receptive to this reordering, they realistically emphasize that the initiative for change must come from the Third World nations. The rich lands will not give away their advantages, even if they are led by beneficent leaders. Therefore, without denying the powerful external constraints, they emphasize the changes Third World leaders can accomplish, both in radically reorienting their internal policies and in altering their international relationships among themselves. These things can be done now. There is an optimism that, with the changing world economic conditions, the developed nations will find it in their own interests to be more amenable to the agenda for negotiations between the North and the South.

Chapter 4

The Liberational Role of Education

I. The Value of Education

Plato, in The Laws(1970:73), has his protagonist say:

> ...men with a correct education become good, and nowhere in the world should education be despised, for when combined with great virtue, it is an asset of incalculable value. If it ever becomes corrupt, but can be put right again, this is a life long task which everyone should undertake to the limit of his strength.

This assumption about the value of education and the glorification of the role of the educator underlies much Western, and particularly American, thinking about education and development. Americans have a general confidence that education can solve all problems. Dean Rusk, as Secretary of State under President Kennedy, suggested that Americans have "...what some people have called an inordinate national interest in education"(1962:29). This national interest has also manifested itself in concern for education in the underdeveloped nations, both in governmental planning and in personal voluntary service in teaching positions through Peace Corps, church, and other non-governmental organizations.

Pre-independence educational systems in most colonies and in many peripheral nations were very limited in scope. A very small percentage of the populace received schooling. Often, the focus of the schooling offered prepared persons only for clerical and low level administrative and supervisory roles. University education was virtually unavailable. Most "native" professionals received their advanced training in the metropoles where they were also incorporated into the cultural values and mores of Western Civilization. When universities were established in the colonies, they frequently were

> exotic hothouse plants, modeled after the Universities of Paris or Cambridge or Oxford, with all the real and fancied privileges and protocol awarded to the student in Europe and England. They (were) outposts of Western traditionalism, designed to carry on the culture of literary intellectuals first, and only then the more pragmatic sciences, pure or applied(Apter, 1961:219).

The first post-World War II efforts for development, adapting the approach of the Marshall Plan of massive capital and direct technological transfers, virtually ignored education. Gunnar Myrdal (1957) articulated the necessity for a comprehensive approach to development. He particularly pointed out the necessity of technical training for those who were to operate the newly installed modern technological facilities. This position was quickly and generally accepted. Secretary Rusk articulated the official American position that "...education is not something which is a luxury which can be afforded after development has occurred; it is an integral part, an inescapable and essential part of the developmental process itself" (1962:29f). Rusk went on to express confidence that totalitarian systems were not the only means to rapid development, since the U.S.A. had experienced dramatic social transformation in the scope of one generation and that "...in that process education has played a most vital role"(1962:30). Rusk indicated that the surge in morale as the children of workers and peasants have the chance to become doctors, lawyers, scientists, professors and engineers is an important contribution to development.

Rusk listed five primary functions of education in the democratic perspective:

1. education is essential to democracy which requires an informed citizenry "thirsting for knowledge, and.... exchanging ideas."

2. education makes possible economic democracy which prevents self-perpetuating elites and frozen class lines by raising social mobility.

3. education creates a hopeful outlook by "...demonstrating that tomorrow need not be the same as yesterday."

4. education is a key to rapid economic growth by providing the base for research and the development of technological progress.

5. mass education is the vehicle for a general application of laboratory discoveries to the production processes.

He concludes with an affirmation to which we must shortly return, that "...education is an investment, and a good one. It yields a high rate of return"(1962:31).

Rusk was building on themes articulated a few years previously by his colleague in the Kennedy administration, W.W. Rostow. In _The Stages of Economic Growth_(1964:4f), Rostow had characterized traditional society, from which nations were assumed to be developing, as having a pre-Newtonian science and a long-run fatalism. Education was seen as the means of bringing those nations into the modern world and breaking the grip of fatalism. This belief in education was not the sole province of Western governments, it was also the faith of villagers, part of the "revolution of rising expectations." When John Hanson asked villagers why education was so important to them, when they lacked water distribution and electricity systems, the response came, "Sir, without an education, how can our children escape our fate?"(1966:2). Thus, both in national policy and in popular expectation, development

was directly linked to education.

Using education as a means to development and modernization is a value-laden strategy. It implies a conception of a better life for the people of a society. Hanson points to three values which are implicit in educational reconstruction efforts: that societies be modern, that they be free, that they encourage the human dignity and self-development of their citizens. Hanson argues that these values are not impositions upon these societies, but are the values regularly affirmed by the newly independent nations in their own pronouncements. Such are the affirmations of education and its role in development. We must shortly investigate the specific applications, programs, and arguments that gave form to educational strategies in development.

II. The Historic Function of Education

Don and Janet Adams wrote that evaluations of the role of education in Social Development were still very crude, in that distinctions were "...rarely made among education, socialization, enculturation, and communication"(1968:259). Every society creates roles for and trains its young in how to participate within it. It transmits its culture, its values, meanings and significances from generation to generation. It has an elaborate symbolic system of communication, not the least of which is its language, which all children must learn. It must train its young in skills necessary for survival, for reflection and problem-solving, and for proper relationships among the members of the society.

Yehudi Cohen(1970) suggests that formal educational systems emerged as civilizations did. They were originally focused towards training the elite to be boundary guardians, relating across the civilization's borders with those who were culturally different. Meanwhile, broad forces, in more recent times including mass education, acted to break down the interior boundaries within civilizations, to homogenize the culture from border to border. A _lingua franca_ is required to facilitate communication across the civilization. These values have frequently been incorporated in the process of nation-building by new nations. In addition, the schools have been a vehicle for creating and intensifying national pride and patriotism as the history of the new nation is recounted and celebrated.

But new nations, in the midst of development, experience a more complex problem. They must not only socialize and enculturate the young into the patterns of the older generations, they must assist adults and youth alike to transist into a new society which they are in the process of creating. As Theodore Brameld wrote of education in Puerto Rico, "...education is not the mere transmitter of the cultural heritage, however important this obligation may be. It is also and even more crucially remaker of the heritage"(1959:110).

In this context, it is not surprising that many of the conceptions of education in the development literature echo John Dewey's progressivism:

> In static societies....the education of the immature....fills them with the spirit of the social group to which they belong (and is) a sort of catching up of the child with the aptitudes

> and resources of the adult group....But not in progressive communities. They endeavor to shape the experience of the young so that instead of reproducing current habits, better habits shall be formed, and thus the future adult society be an improvement on their own(1916:78f).

Dewey rejects "...the idea that the schools can be completely neutral" (1937:238). He declares that schools participate in the changing of society and should do so intentionally. He believed they should

> ...select the newer scientific, technological, and cultural forces that are producing change in the old order;....estimate the direction in which they are moving and their outcome.... and see what can be done to make the schools their ally.... to develop the insight and understanding that will enable the youth who go forth from the schools to take part in the great work of construction and organization....and to equip them with the attitudes and habits of action that will make their understanding and insight practically effective (1937:236f).

Thus, while Dewey did not address himself directly to the question of the developing nations, he laid the foundations for the conviction that education can be a means of social reconstruction. The next generation of educators would build great hopes upon these foundations.

Echoing both Dewey and Brameld, Cole Brembeck spoke of the difficult role modern education, as an agent of social change, faces. It must preserve the "good roots" of the cultural heritage, while planting the seeds of a rapidly changing society. It runs the risk of making its students bicultured, strangers among their own people. He suggests "...the teacher must be closely identified with his culture, know its content well, and then be prepared to give both shape and direction to its future"(1962:230). Its methods must teach students how to solve problems. Echoing Myrdal's call for comprehensive development planning that would result in "cumulative causation",

Brembeck calls for educational approaches that involve the whole community, adults as well as the young; "...real change can take place only when all of the human components of education--children, parents, and community--can be brought into an intelocking, circular, cummulative reinforcement of positive educational values....Education for change must be at all levels of society and especially among adults" (1962:232f). Brembeck points to the multiplicity of educational dynamics to be used in development, from pre-school through primary and secondary schools to university, but inclusive also of adult educational efforts, particularly in the world-wide drive for literacy, which he sees to be crucial for its cummulative value in other dimensions of development.

Plato disparaged training for petty trade and the productive skills as less than education, and postulated instead, "...what we have in mind is education from childhood in virtue, a training which produces a keen desire to become a perfect citizen who knows how to rule and be ruled as justice demands"(1970:73). This affirmation of the function of education in shaping a nation's citizens is a necessary perspective for development. But it would seem that only an aristocrat, supported by a whole class of people unworthy of being educated, could so restrict the field to moral education. In the contemporary world, citizenship entails the capacity to participate in the society's economic development, release one's fellow citizens to full human dignity, and to solve the difficult practical and moral problems confronting the society. Developing societies cannot afford to

propound the alienation of "labor" from "work" and "action", but must combine them. It requires a comprehensive educational approach which trains persons in skills, teaches them the reflective capacity, and enjoins a minimal moral standard.

III. The Uses of Education in Development

It is evident from the apologetics found in the development literature of the early 1960's that not all were convinced education was worth focusing on in the developing nations. These apologies were most evident in the writing of economists. Theodore Schultz, current Nobel prize winner in economics, wrote in 1963 on The Economic Value of Education under "...the proposition that people enhance their capabilities as producers and as consumers by investing in themselves and that schooling is the largest investment in human capital"(1963:ix). Schultz goes on to indicate that the economic capabilities of people are not given at birth, but are acquired and radically affect the wage structures, the amount of savings and capital formation, and the amount of consumption these persons are involved in. He claims that education, if it increases future productivity and earnings, is a contribution to measured growth, and thus an investment in the future.

Schultz lists five specific ways education is a good investment for a society: 1) Research--half of all the basic research in the U.S.A. in 1961 was being done at universities and colleges, much of which directly resulted in economic growth, such as the development of hybrid corn which was returning about 700% in earnings on the original research

investment; 2) the discovery and cultivation of potential human talent--the sifting, searching for, and selecting of students who will fill skilled roles in society; 3) work force flexibility--more schooling makes occupational shifts, occasioned by sectoral trans-formations within the economy, easier to accomplish; 4) teacher preparation--the internal function of reproducing and adding to the supply of teachers until every child can be educated; 5) the creation of a highly skilled work force (1963:38ff). It was the absence of a highly skilled work force capable of operating facilities employing sophisticated technology which led Myrdal to his critique of the technological transfer image of development.

John Kenneth Galbraith, as U.S. Ambassador to India, also championed the investment value of education. He acknowledged that education is both a form of consumption and an investment of present resources for increased future growth. He suggested that developing nations should cut back on consumption items. But then he referred to studies by Schultz and declared "...a dollar or a rupee invested in the intellectual improvement of human beings will often bring a greater increase in national income than a dollar or a rupee devoted to railways, dams, machine tools, or other tangible goods." Thus Galbraith counts education among the social overhead capital invest-ments critical for a developing nation to expand. He continues that literacy for farmers is "...a first indispensible step to any form of agricultural progress. Nowhere in the world is there an illiterate peasantry that is progressive. Nowhere is there a literate peasantry

that is not. Education so viewed, becomes a highly productive form of investment"(1962:49). He then extends his example to include scientists, engineers, machinists, doctors and health specialists, and even the humanists: linguists, writers, and artists.

But Galbraith suggests that, if education is an investment, then in contrast to the consumer's right to pursue whatever curriculum he chooses, planning must focus the distribution of talent into the fields that need it. "The university must be responsive to development requirements and it must be so organized as to make this possible. This means strong and responsible leadership by the faculty...." He derides democratic experiments at universities in Latin America as "...a formula for deterioration, incoherence, and chaos. I believe the university is by nature an oligarchy of its faculty. This is especially so if education is regarded purposefully as an investment from which the most of what is needed must be obtained....Then the task of the teacher must be to mold and shape and guide and inspire his students to ensure that they are indeed a more productive property. If he fails to do so, he is squandering scarce public resources"(1962:54ff). Galbraith ends his essay by warning developing nations about being permissive with the students in whom it invests. He calls them a "...privileged group who must work to deserve their privileges"(1962:58), and reminds teachers that they are "custodians of scarce national resources"(1962:52). One would hope Galbraith was refering to the students, for the investment of human resources is one of the themes in this literature, but the context seems to indicate he

is referring to the rupees in the education budget.

A decade later, in much the same mode, Elliott Richardson, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, said of Americans, "...no society has ever put more faith in education as the means (of) creating a people....but also as a means for upward mobility....the acquisition of the insights, the skills, the capacities for enjoyment which could bring about self sulfillment." But in a reversal of Plato, he says that while education can provide knowledge and skills, the things which enhance worker productivity, "...it cannot supply values.... a sense of purpose and meaning"(1975:105). Philleo Nash, in response, reminded Mr. Richardson that the war on poverty thought to break the cycle of poverty by education--as though individuals were addicted to poverty, but if reached early enough in childhood, they could be "saved". But, he summarized, this was a premise that did not hold up very well in practice(1975:108).

IV. The Critiques of Conventional Educational Approaches

The problems of education in the underdeveloped nations have been fierce. Hard decisions have had to be made between lifting the general level of education and fostering an elite who could both expand the system and take over functions from post-colonial foreign functionaries. So Apter(1961:222) suggested the necessity of a "scientific by-pass" to train an elite who can compete on an equal basis with the scientific elite of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., so as to not be left behind by them(Cf., J.J. Servan-Schreiber who later

called upon France to respond to The American Challenge(1967) in a similar way). Typically, nations overdeveloped some dimensions of their systems. India is well-known to have produced an excess of engineers, many of whom remain unemployed. W.A. Lewis, co-winner of the 1979 Nobel prize with Schultz, noted in 1965 that Nigeria was producing more graduates, at only 3% of the student force, than could be fully employed. The expectation of receiving the "inflated colonial wage scales" meant graduates were unwilling to accept less, but Lewis' prescription was to simply allow the excess supply to continue until it lowered the wage scales and pushed graduates into lower-status jobs, thereby raising the general skill-level and, hence, the productivity of the whole society.

As Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin, and Immanuel Wallerstein attacked conventional development theory, so Paulo Friere and Ivan Illich attacked the assumptions of traditional progressive(and sometimes not-so-progressive) education in development. The world-system theorists argued that underdevelopment was caused by the development of the core nations of the capitalist world-system. International specialization imposes uneven productivity and sectoral disarticulation which results in trade dependency. Similarly, Illich and Friere charge traditional educational approaches create dependence in students. It is significant that both Friere and Illich write out of the Latin American context, in which Frank developed his thesis. It is also to be remembered that these were not new nations, in the post-colonial Asian and African sense. These were old, settled societies,

with established educational hierarchies, experiencing a new drive for development.

Friere argues that the poor of these underdeveloped countries are not just entangled in the traditional culture and in poverty. Rather, they are oppressed, and kept oppressed by the dominant class. The educational structures are one of the ways that they are taught to be passive and dependent. Illich(1970:47) argues that people are taught the need to be taught, and thereby are robbed of their independent creativity. Friere accuses the schools of using a "banking concept" of education in which students are seen as receptacles to be filled with deposits. This system works to "...minimize or annul the students' creative power and to stimulate their credulity...." (Friere, 1970:60) which keeps the world from being revealed to them and thus from being transformed by them. Instead, they are led to "adapt" to their situation, and are thus more easily led and dominated.

Illich, analyzing the Latin American system, notes the effects of compulsory education when inadequately supported. He points out that one third of all poor children in Mexico never even get into first grade. Those who make it only have four chances in one hundred of finishing obligatory schooling at sixth grade. Thus, 96% of the poorest children are branded "criminals", "law-breakers". They have not fulfilled their legal obligations. Furthermore, Illich points out, by doubling the years of free, compulsory education, without providing a system capable of handling all the children covered by the legislation,

another country, Bfazil, simply doubled the reproach for those who did not take advantage of these obligatory privileges(1971:60). They "...learn to feel guilty because of their underconsumption of schooling....all children know that they were given a chance, albeit an unequal one....and the presumed equality of the international standard now compounds their original poverty with the self-inflicted discrimination accepted by the drop out"(1970:44). Thus compulsory education brings a new justification of social stratification. The elite "deserve" their place because they have the schooling; the poor deserve their place for dropping out! Friere echoes the same sentiment, "Education as the exercise of domination stimulates the credulity of the students, with the ideological intent....of indoctrinating them to adapt to the world of oppression"(1970:65).

Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them"(Friere, 1970:49). Closely allied to it is the sense of fatalism which Friere maintains is not an essential characteristic of peoples in "traditional" societies, as Rostow suggested, but is the imposed fruit of an historical and sociological situation. Submerged in conditions which offer no hope, the oppressed do not see that the present order "...serves the interests of the oppressors whose image they have internalized...."(1970:48) but instead blame God for their fate. Illich charges that schools, by increasing reliance on institutional care, thereby turning students into clients, add, to the social powerlessness of the poor, a psychological impotence.

Those without schooling discover that "Modernized poverty combines the lack of power over circumstances with a loss of personal potency. The modernization of poverty is a world-wide phenomenon, and lies at the root of contemporary underdevelopment"(1970:3). He points out that even in the U.S.A., attempts to change this in the schools have not succeeded. When three billion dollars were spent under Title I(1965-68) for compensatory education, the only changes recorded were that the number of children classified as disadvantaged rose from 6 million to 16 million! As Bernard O. Brown(1978) has shown, the very act of labelling persons as "disadvantaged" and thereby "deviant" reinforces their victimage. Friere, in an individualized restatement of Frank's dependency theory, responds to those who create such labels, "The truth is, however, that the oppressed are not 'marginals', are not men living 'outside' society. They have always been 'inside'--'inside' the structures which made them 'beings for others'"(1970:61).

Friere, whose middle-class Brazilian family experienced the economic dependence, in response to the 1929 depression in the U.S.A., which Frank was later to highlight, grew up in poverty. He charged that the lethargy and ignorance of the poor are the result of their oppression and the paternalism of which they were victims. These created what Richard Shaull, in the Introduction to Friere's work, calls a "culture of silence" which was maintained by the school system. Friere uses the image of anesthetization. Denied the means of critical analysis, the poor are subjected to a <u>narrative</u> methodology in which content becomes lifeless and petrified. Separating men from the world,

disjoining the cognitive from the narrative in the typical positivist-empiricist scientific approach, schools induce a passivity in their students. Mocking the pedagogy that focuses on such "vital questions" as whether "Roger gave green grass to his goat" of his "rabbit", Friere concludes, "The 'humanism' of the banking approach masks the effort to turn men into automatons...."(1970:61). Man becomes a spectator, not a re-creator. "Functionally, oppression is domesticating"(1970:36).

Schools are primary instruments in another aspect of domination: Cultural Invasion. Friere points out that this can be true even of those professionals who come to the oppressed with the best of intentions. Cultural invasion involves the penetration of the cultural context of one group by another, in disrespect of its world view and values. He calls it an act of violence which inhibits "...the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression"(1970:150). It forces a cultural inauthenticity in which the invaded are forced to respond to "...the values, the standards, and the goals of the invaders....they must....recognize the superiority of the invaders.... Alienated from the spirit of their own culture (they) want to be like the invaders: to walk like them, dress like them, talk like them" (1970:150f). In this issue, Friere is grappling with the problem of enculturation in a changing society as well as with the cultural imposition of the Castillian elite upon a mestizo, indian, and black oppressed class. His own program involves the awakenment of the oppressed class and an alteration of their world view and values, but

one that comes out of dialogue, by the decision of the people themselves, rather than being imposed by authoritarian structuring of society, including the class room. Friere is directly challenging the oligarchic, elitist, position expressed by Galbraith. But more importantly, he is raising the issue of the relativity of cultural contexts. Far from idealizing the culture of the oppressed, in an anthropological romanticism, he is suggesting that it is not the survival of traditional society at all, but the imposed product of the dependency created by the conquistadors and maintained by the capitalist world-system. This perspective creates a quite different problem for those concerned with culture transmission and the cross-cultural exchange involved in development, or as Friere would prefer, revolutionary liberation.

The last critique to be considered concerns "thingness". Friere and Illich, the one with his eyes primarily on Latin America, the other looking from that vantage point at the developed world, approach the subject slightly differently, but consonantly. Friere states the case most baldly, "The oppressors....cannot see that, in the egoistic pursuit of having as a possessing class, they suffocate in their own possessions and no longer are; they merely have....to be is to have, almost always at the expense of those who have nothing"(1970:45 & 51).

Illich focuses on the productivity images of education, such as those Galbraith and Schultz manifested. He suggests that schools have become the new neutral world religion, the repository of society's myths and the maintainer of the rituals that veil the disparity between

myth and reality(1970:37). Key among these is the Myth of Unending Consumption; that having things is what participating in the modern world is all about. Thus the revolution of rising expectations is converted into the revolution of rising wants. Schools train students to be good consumers, and are evaluated on the basis of their own productivity. The Myth of Measurement reinforces this process, and on the basis of success in the system or of arbitrary test measurements (e.g., I.Q.) assigns people to social slots. Students themselves come to look at schooling as an investment/return proposition: a business degree means $5,000 more per year than a humanities degree!

Friere suggests that this focus upon "having" results in the attribution of "thingness" to others. "...the more the oppressors control the oppressed, the more they change them into apparently inanimate 'things'. This tendancy of the oppressor consciousness (is) to 'in-animate' everything and everyone it encounters, in its eagerness to possess...."(1970:45). In a framework adopted from Martin Buber's _I and Thou_(1958), Friere says this attribution of thingness is the heart of oppression, and an attack upon it forms a central theme of his educational program. The tragedy Friere points to is the oppressed's acceptance of this understanding of themselves. Describing a peasant group he was working with, Friere reports, "They often insist that there is no difference between them and the animals; when they do admit a difference, it favors the animals. 'They are freer than we are.'....The oppressed feel like 'things' owned by the oppressor.... For the oppressed....*to be* is not to resemble the oppressor, but

to be under him, to depend on him"(1970:50f). If for the oppressor, "to be is to have", Friere might have said of the oppressed, "to be is to be had!"

V. Liberational Education

Richard Shaull introduces The Pedagogy of the Oppressed as a sign that, "Education is once again a subversive force." He says that Friere has developed a method to teach illiterates to read which allows them also to "...come to a new awareness of selfhood" just at the time when Latin America's disinherited masses are claiming the right "...to participate, as Subjects, in the development of their countries"(Shaull, 1970:9). Almost quoting Dewey, he concludes that "There is no such thing as a neutral educational process"(1970:15).

But Friere, and Illich, are far less optimistic about the systems of education than Dewey was. They reject what Paul Goodman (1962:23) called Dewey's naive hope, "...that the schools could be a community somewhat better than society and serve as a lever for social change." They agree with Goodman when he continues, "In fact, our schools reflect our society closely, except that they emphasize many of its worst features...."

Friere and Illich agree that education is a means to social transformation, but they distinguish "educational projects" from "...systematic education, which can only be changed by political power...."(Friere, 1970:40). Illich is particularly critical of school systems. They not only are not instruments for social change,

they do not even change as society does. Just the opposite of being subversive, they sift out all those seeking fundamental change and only promote to the universities the already safe dissenters who are already co-opted. Schools are "...the advertising agency which makes you believe that you need the society as it is"(Illich, 1970:113).

In a situation in which control of the educational system is firmly in the hands of those who wish to maintain the status quo, other approaches are necessary for social transformation. Schools are part of the modern technology transfered from the rich nations to the poor, which includes goods, the factories that make them, and the service institutions which train people to consume them. Illich's solution is a total attack on the educational institution. He charges that anyone who is not working for the total deschooling of society is not participating in revolutionary action. Schools should be replaced by less formal learning webs in which everyone is both educated and educator. This "...mobilization of the whole population can lead to a popular culture...." in which the alienation of work and leisure can be overcome. Illich is attacking both the dichotomizing of life into the academic and non-academic worlds, and the conception of man as _homo faber_, that humanity is realized in the making and consumption of things(1970:22 & 114).

Friere's approach is more focused. Less a prescription for social reconstruction, it is a strategy for creating a revolutionary movement. Once the oppressed have thrown off the yoke of the oppressors, and taken political control, then the reconstruction of the educational

system can be undertaken. But the first step is the formation and equipping of a revolutionary movement. To that end, educational projects are required. This is a strategy, set firmly in an historical context, aimed at creating a new social order. It requires the unity of theory and praxis and is based on "the power of thought to negate the accepted limits and open the way to a new future"(Shaull, 1970:12). It is a strategy that focuses upon the liberation of the oppressed, their awakenment to selfhood, to a sense of themselves as Subjects rather than objects. It involves a dialogic method designed to enhance the critical perception of the oppressed which will lead directly to corporate action to transform the world.

Illich praises Friere's work in teaching illiterates to read in as little as 40 hours. The key to the process, he says, is in having the first words deciphered charged with crucial political meaning:

> The letters continue to unlock reality and to make it manageable as a problem. I have frequently witnessed how discussants grow in social awareness and how they are impelled to take political action as fast as they learn to read. They seem to take reality into their hands as they write it down(Illich, 1970:18).

As has already been indicated, the theme of domination is the fundamental one for our epoch according to Friere(1970:93). Its manifestation in Latin America is in terms of underdevelopment. It is this fact that makes liberation the primary educational objective for our time. The opposition to dehumanizing oppression gives a distinctly anthropological character to our age. The constraining limits which

have previously defined "being human" must be surmounted. It is critical analysis of these themes which allows students to move beyond merely the epiphenomena into the underlying causes and limit-situations.

The awareness of being oppressed is the first condition of liberation. Until persons recognize that what they are experiencing is not merely their fate, but is something intentionally designed to benefit others, there can be no liberation. Once they recognize the causes of their oppression, then they will work to surmount them. Only thus can liberation be achieved, not just for themselves, but also for the oppressors, Friere(1970:28ff) maintains, in a passage drawn almost intact from Sartre(1970:251ff). And liberation must be achieved. Freedom can never be received as a gift. Friere quotes Hegel, "It is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained"(1970:20). Thus liberational education can never be done by the oppressors! Learning about the fact of oppression, its causes, and its overcoming in liberation is fulfilled in the praxis of direct action.

When the oppressed begin to grasp after their own liberation, their interior experience is like a great awakening. Richard Shaull records some of the reactions of peasants after only a few sessions: "We were blind, now our eyes have been opened." "I now realize I am a man, an educated man." "Before this, words meant nothing to me; now they speak to me and I can make them speak." Shaull summarizes, "When this happens in the process of learning to read, men discover that they are creators of culture, and that their work can be creative.... and as those who have been completely marginalized are so radically

transformed, they are no longer willing to be mere objects...."(Shaull, 1970:14). This sense of awakenment is, in many ways, a fulfillment of the kind of program the Critical Theorists of Frankfort proposed (Horkheimer, 1972 and Habermas, 1973).

Fundamental to this awakenment is the grasp of oneself as a Subject, an actor. The oppressed must reject the image of "thing-hood" which is projected upon them by the oppressors. They must cease being the objects of action, whether blatantly oppressive or idealistically paternalistic. They must rid themselves of the self-depreciatory images which reduce them to the state of animals. They must grasp after a whole new conception of themselves as men with "...the ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human" (Friere, 1970:52). At the heart of acquiring this new vocation is the assumption of the Subject role. It is to claim the "I" role, rather than the "It" role. Thus, liberational education is never content to simply engender reflection on one's situation, it also must require action, self-initiated efforts at transforming the social reality. The world is not just out there as the context for observation and analysis. It is there to be changed. The student gives up the role of spectator, and becomes the recreator of history. To be fully human is to be Subjects who "...intervene critically in the situation which surrounds them and whose mark they bear...." (1970:54).

This requires an educational methodology which differs diametrically from that of oppressor education. Friere criticizes

the revolutionary leader who thinks he can create a revolution by using the same educational methods employed by the oppressors. These methods treat students as Objects. They rely upon propaganda to convince. They create followers rather than fellow revolutionaries.

> It is essential for the oppressed to realize that when they accept the struggle for humanization they also accept, from that moment, their total responsibility for the struggle....The oppressed, who have been shaped by the death-affirming climate of oppression, must find through their struggle the way to life-affirming humanization, which does not lie simply in having more to eat.... The oppressed have been destroyed precisely because their situation has reduced them to things. In order to regain their humanity they must cease to be things and fight as men.
>
> In a humanizing pedagogy the method ceases to be an instrument by which the teachers....can manipulate the students. ...because it expresses the consciousness of the students themselves(1970:55f).

Friere is calling for a co-intentional education in which both students and teachers are co-intent on reality. In such an education, both are Subjects, commonly unveiling the way the world is, coming to a critical knowledge of reality, and commonly engaged in recreating it. It is an education that manifests Sartre's contention that, "It is in changing the world that we can come to know it"(1970:252).

At the heart of co-intentional education is the Dialogic Method. If liberation is more than an idea which can be deposited into students(as the "banking conception" of education would try to do) but "...is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it"(1970:66), a different kind of education is required. The necessary approach is one that focuses upon the consciousness of men, as Subjects. It must enhance their consciousness -

of the world. It must respond to the essential element of the consciousness of a Subject, his intentionality. Thus it focuses upon man's consciousness of both his world and himself, which entails his "consciousness of consciousness". The educational method required is one which will allow a person to reflect upon his own reflection, to know what he knows, and thus to act upon it.

The method Friere proposed, and incorporated in his approach, is a problem-posing method, a method of dialogue between Subjects. "Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information"(1970:67). In problem-posing education, which is focused upon the world, rather than making the students the objects of education, men teach each other. "Dialogical relations--indispensible to the capacity of cognitive actors to cooperate in perceiving the same cognizable subject...." overcomes the teacher-student contradiction, the subject-object mode of education. The teachers-of-students and the students-of-teachers roles are transformed into teacher-student and student-teacher. "They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow"(1970:67).

Problem-posing takes every common situation in which men and women find themselves and makes it the focus of reflection. The situation of oppression becomes the focus of reflection; it is objectified and examined critically until its causes become apparent. Then action can be initiated to transform the reality as it currently exists. Dialogic education develops critical perception. Without a critical understanding of the world, men perceive only fragments of it,

the epiphenomena. They do not see how these fragments interact, and therefore they do not know the reality that actually exists. They are submerged in a world that is dense, impenetrable, and enveloping. As they begin to act upon that world, even without clearly understanding it, they are forced to rethink their assumptions. "Men _emerge_ from their _submersion_ and acquire the ability to _intervene_ in reality as it is unveiled. _Intervention_ in reality--historical awareness itself--thus represents a step forward from _emergence_, and results from the _conscientização_ of the situation"(1970:100f). The curriculum for such a problem-posing approach is derived from the world view of the students themselves. It is as they emerge from the world and objectify their own critical pereeption of it that they come to understand the world that exists and can transform it with their labor. This cannot be taught to people. It can only be shared with them.

Friere was focusing upon teaching illiterates to read and thereby to create a revolutionary awareness in the oppressed. His method involved a careful study of, and with, the potential students of the educational project, to discover the elements of their world view. This perception was then codified into pictures of scenes from the students' life-situation. The educational method then involved a dialogue about those situations, restating the situations, as described by the students, into problems and associating them with written words that remained on the blackboard "after their sounds had died". The codifications are drawn from thematic investigations which discern the dominant themes in the students' world view. As has

already been mentioned, this is within the awareness that "domination" is the primary theme of this epoch, and its continental manifestation is in the dependency of underdevelopment. Within this conception, the investigators and students together search for the primary contradiction and its secondary aspects within their own limit-situation. When that becomes apparent, the themes which are related to it and the tasks necessary for its transformation can be identified. This is a process in which the empirical awareness of the students and the critical understanding of the teachers work together in dialogue to result in an appropriate praxis--significant action undergirded by foundational theory.

But adequate praxis depends upon the solidarity of those who act. It depends upon the bridging of the teacher-student contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students. It is in dialogue that revolutionary leaders and followers are unified in action. It is this which distinguishes a revolution from a military _coup_, which finally is done _for_ the people, not _by_ them, and ultimately ends only in replacing one form of domination with another. Revolutionary action requires constant accountability. "Its very ligitimacy lies in that dialogue"(1970:122). It rests upon communication, not communiques. "The oppressed and the leaders are equally the Subjects of revolutionary action, and reality serves as the medium for the transforming action of both groups"(1970:123). Denial of this communication, of this dialogue, shows a lack of faith in the people, a treatment of the people as objects, and thus a return to oppressor

tactics. If the revolutionary leaders do not think with the people, they will become devitalized. If they are not identified with the oppressed state of the people, if they simply think about the people, they have ceased being revolutionary. Revolutionary leaders, to achieve authenticity, "...must 'die', in order to be reborn through and with the oppressed"(1970:127). Praxis requires solidarity. When that solidarity is broken, praxis deteriorates into meaningless activism.

Liberational education is a strategy for attacking what Friere has identified as the primary contradiction in Latin America: the dependency which results from underdevelopment. One of the primary aspects of that contradiction is the institutionalism and bureaucratism of mega-structures which remove from individuals the decisions by which they can shape their own destiny. "It is when the majorities are denied their right to participate in history as Subjects that they become dominated and alienated"(Friere, 1970:125). The interiorization of that domination is victimization, the conviction that one's life is controlled by other forces and persons. It often appears as passivity and self-depreciation. Liberational education attacks both the objective and subjective dimensions of this contradiction. It liberates men and restores their sense of being Subjects who engage in praxis aimed at transforming the social context so that local people participate in social decision-making.

Such a contradictional attack hinges upon the ability of a revolutionary force to keep decision-making in the hands of the

local people who are affected by its consequences. Friere maintains that this Jeffersonian ideal(Cf., his letter to Dupont de Nemours in 1816, quoted in Simpson, 1979:8) is necessary to development. Unless decisions are in the hands of the people, the transformation will be superficial. If the revolutionary leadership should become separated from the people, but using non-dialogic methods, the revolution will falter. "To alienate men from their own decision-making is to change them into objects." It is to dehumanize the people and deny them their historical vocation. "The pursuit of full humanity, however, cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity...."(1970:73).

Friere, echoing Sartre, points out that revolutionary leadership usually is drawn from the oppressor social strata; they renounce their own class and join with the oppressed in an act of commitment and love. The down-trodden and hopeless condition of the oppressed means there is little chance they will seek their own liberation alone. They need the assistance of those not trapped in the victimage of the oppressed. But the leaders need the oppressed just as much. What distinguishes the leaders of the revolution from the dominant class is not just their objectives, but also their procedures. Leaders and people must be cooperating and inter-communicating Subjects in order to transform the world. "The leaders.... do not own the people and have no right to steer the people blindly towards their salvation"(1970:167). The adherence of the people to their leaders happens in dialogue. "Authentic adherence is the free

coincidence of choices; it cannot occur apart from communication among men, mediated by reality"(1970:168). It is the trust of the people for their leaders and the trust and faith of the leaders in the people. It is this trust, this confidence in the people's ability to think, to want, to know, which is so difficult for the formerly dominant leaders to maintain. They are ever tempted to be the executors of transformation themselves. But revolutionary change happens only when the people are radically trusted. This does not mean merely acceding to their current vision or victimization. It does mean trusting the decisions which result from the dialogue of leaders and people together.

Friere's contention is that the revolution which results from liberational education is a cultural revolution. Necessarily, it is at first a revolution for, by, and among the oppressed. It requires a rejection of the culture imposed by the dominant class and a rejection of its sustaining myths. But then it must reach beyond the oppressed class. It reaches out to include the professionals who can come to recognize the dehumanizing structures of society. The professionals are necessary for the reorganization of the new society, but they must first die to their learned "understanding" of how society operates, the myths that have maintained those understandings, and their inbred cultural values. But then, the revolution must invite all to participate, for it is rooted in the conviction that <u>every</u> man's ontological vocation is to create his own full humanness. Thus, it is ultimately a revolution of universal scope. And it is a

perpetual revolution. "I interpret the revolutionary process as dialogical cultural action which is prolonged in 'cultural revolution' once power is taken"(1970:158).

Chapter 5

Development Policy in India

I. Context of Development at Independence

The gap between those who are abysmally caught in poverty and those who live in comfort and relative leisure has captured the imagination of the whole world. It can be generally postulated as the moral issue of the latter half of the twentieth century. It has dominated the concerns of politicians, academicians, the religious, humanists, businessmen, the youth, the minorities, and the disadvantaged. At one dimension, this issue has consumed men throughout the ages. However, at the level of the global economy, this issue is barely a generation old, in the consciousness of men. Only with the collapse of the colonial empires, starting with the independence of India just 30 years ago(1947), did the development of what is now known as the Third World begin to occupy the minds of men.

India has been in the forefront of concern for development since World War II. Her "starving masses" have characterized Third World poverty for two generations. Charitable organizations have focused programs to ameliorate their suffering, and exploited their pain to raise funds and secure volunteers in the developed lands. India's leaders have captured the imagination of common citizens and Nobel Prize committees by the nobility of their efforts in the face of such massive need. India's size and strength and leadership among the non-aligned nations have forced the political leaders of the developed nations to give her special attention. But, too often, the social sciences, and especially anthropology, have slighted this area of the world, or concentrated solely on the extreme case of its unique caste

stratification.

"It is a regrettable but undeniable fact that the social anthropology of South Asia, and of Southeast Asia as well, is thought of by many social anthropologists as peripheral to the mainstream of social anthropology"(Singer, 1968:vii). Singer goes on to remind the reader that India provided some of the earliest sources of the stream of social anthropology, from W.H.R. Rivers' The Toda and Radcliffe-Brown's The Andaman Islanders onwards. With India's early emergence as an independent nation and leader of what came to be known as the Third World, a new burst of anthropological study swelled and enriched the mainstream. Much of that work dealt with what has become the most significant question of the latter part of the twentieth century, "What is the effect on a culture of development and social change?"

The civilizational antiquity and cultural diversity that is India is extremely difficult to encompass. Perhaps that is part of the reason for earlier anthropological neglect; it was easier to study circumscribed, culturally unitary, simple, stateless societies. India, for as long as Western observers have had contact with her, did not fit this pattern(though some such social isolates could be found on the sub-continent). Since before Alexander's invasion(ca. 323 B.C.), India has fit Yehudi Cohen's(1970) definition of a civilization: the interdependence in social and economic institutions of autonomous states which, in comparison with other states beyond its borders, are interiorly homogenous. Cohen goes on to theorize that civilizations develop by diminishing the importance of interior boundaries and

emphasizing commonality across such divisions in both politico-military and social structures. By the latter, he specifically means a system of stratification, a _lingua franca_, and the legitimating ideology of a religion. These elements have been present in India since at least the Aryan invasion, more than seven hundred years before Alexander.

The largest consolidation of the Indian civilization, ironically, was accomplished by the British, who supplanted and far exceeded the earlier Moghul imperialists. The British inherited a dual system of law, installed by the Moghuls, with separate legal codes for Hindus and Muslims. The British attempted to "administer" India, first through the control of a private company(the British East India Company) and then by colonial government--after the mutiny of 1857. The British intended to simply maintain order and secure revenue to offset their expenses through vehicles such as the Oudh Code(Retzlaff, 1962:27). They intended to allow local customs and codes to persist, intervening only to maintain order. Quickly, they found themselves forced to settle disputes among those they sought to "administer". This led to the early establishment of British courts. But, as Stanley Diamond(1973:329ff) has pointed out, courts do not function, essentially, to establish order, for traditional methods of resolving conflicts already existed before the imposition of courts. The primary purpose of courts is to govern, and they are able to do this even in the absence of law. As Derrett(1963) describes at some length, decisions could be based on "Justice, Equity, and Good Conscience". Diamond goes on to indicate the distinctiveness of courts and law from tradi-

tional dispute settlement is that a breach of law is defined as a "crime" while traditional patterns deal with acts which require restitution. Thus, the British, by imposing courts, established themselves as the governors of India.

British courts attempted to administer, as appropriate, the Hindu and Muslim codes. At first they did this by using expert advisors on local Hindu and Muslim customs. These men would interpret the relevant traditions of a case for the judges(see Derrett, 1961, for a summary of British administration of the Hindu Code). Later, a written code was prepared to standardize judicial proceedings and judgments. This code was drawn from holy Hindu writings, and often differed from local traditional patterns. Galanter(1968b:76) calls this a "Displacement of Traditional Law" in which a "...sense of individual right independent of local usage or opinion and enforceable by reference to standards and agencies beyond the locality of the group...." created a new awareness of mobility and possible advancement. As a new manifestation of Cohen's civilizational dynamics, the emergence of an All-India legal system was a unifying element cutting across local boundaries. This trend was to culminate in Independence(though for a reduced geographical reality, and for only part of the population commonly administered by the British) with the constitutional creation of a strong central government committed to radical transformation of the society. "Since independence and even before that, the Indian government and Congress Party planners have been working towards a technologically modern democratic society which emphasizes 'social

justice' and cooperation, which is devoid of 'castism', a society grounded in the corporate village community but unified by loyalty to a single national entity"(Orenstein, 1963:83). As M.N. Srinivas summarized, "...when....Mahatma Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Indian National Congress, programs of social reform were woven into the freedom struggle. Gandhi stressed the need for the eradication of Untouchability, the uplift of women, communal harmony, revival of village industries, and in particular, Khadi, 'basic' and adult education, propagation of Hindi, and prohibition"(Srinivas, 1966:86f). Thus, in a second notable irony, the independence movement was committed to a far more radical social transformation than were the British colonialists. But it was a transformation which they were incapable of bringing about by the power of moral suasion. Moral force was capable of gaining India her independence. The force of law was required for social transformation.

I propose to look at development in India under three functional categories: 1) the reformation of social structures; 2) policy priorities; and 3) the use of Five Year Plans. The first category has to do with alterations of the institutional arrangements of a society. It affects the basic organization of the society. It was accomplished in India by the framers of the Constitution and later by the legislators who promulgated major code reforms such as the Panchayat Raj Act(U.P.--1947), the Zamindari Abolition Act(U.P.--1950), and the Hindu Code Acts(1955 & 1956). Policy priorities are more transitory strategies for development enacted into law to encourage

desired changes. Their origin is with the nations's planners and its bureaucrats. Their effect is usually more limited and focused towards certain targetted segments of the population, rather than upon altering the structural relationships that exist among the whole populace. Community Development plans, industrialization schemes, and agricultural extension are prime examples of these priorities in India. The planning of policy priorities took on special intensity in the establishment of a Planning Commission after independence. This commission followed the Soviet example of centralized development by Five Year Plans. The First Five Year Plan was conducted from 1951 to 1956 and was followed by five other plans. Due to drastic drought conditions at the end of the Third Plan, the Fourth Plan was delayed two years in implementation, spanning 1968-1973. The Sixth Plan extends from 1978 until 1983.

II. The Reformation of Social Structures

As has already been suggested, the Indian Congress focused strongly upon the creation of a free, independent, egalitarian, social welfare state. It is in this light that Marc Galanter could begin an article on the "Changing Legal Conceptions of Caste"(1968a:299) with:

> It is a commonplace that the Constitution of India envisages a new order as to both the place of caste in Indian life and the role of law in regulating it. There is a clear commitment to eliminate inequality of status and invidious treatment, and to have a society in which government takes minimal account of ascriptive ties.

The Preamble to the Constitution aims to "...secure to all of its citizens....Equality of status and opportunity...."(quoted in Galanter, 1968a:312). Thus, Galanter asserts that the Constitution presents a

general program for the reconstruction of Indian Society to secure this "equality of status and opportunity." It replaced ascribed status by official indifference to particularistic or ascriptive characteristics(caste, race, religion, place of birth, sex). It emphasized the integrity and autonomy of voluntary groups in society (thus indicating the direction of evolution of caste groups). It withdrew government recognition of any rank ordering of groups in society, especially castes. It specifically outlawed Untouchability: "'Untounchability' is abolished and its practice in any form forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'Untouchability' shall be an offense punishable in accordance with law"(Article 17, quoted in Galanter, 1968a:312). The constitutional pronouncements for a casteless society and the abolition of 'Untouchability' had been prepared for in a continent-wide drive as a part of the "Quit India" movement in 1942(Cf. Retzlaff, 1962:45, for an account of the ceremony in one village in North India). Congress leaders had organized ceremonial occasions in most of the villages of the nation, in which leaders of the various castes and untouchables ate together from a common plate, thereby repudiating ritual caste pollution. While this movement did not gain unanimous approval, it paved the way for an egalitarian Constitution.

The Constitution further established a strong central government and a national judiciary. Its promotion of the restructuring of society released a flood of legislation aimed at economic development and social reform(Galanter, 1968b:78). Three key arenas of reform

were Personal Law, Panchayat Raj, and Land Reform.

1. The Reform of Personal Law

Article 44 of the Constitution of India called for the replacement of the separate Muslim and Hindu codes with a "uniform civil code." This was necessary because, "Muslim law never went deep enough; it was never applied to disputes among Hindus....Hindu law solved these problems by willingly accomodating almost unlimited localism...." (Galanter, 1968b:81f). The Hindu Code Acts of 1955 and 1956 created the machinery and ideology for legislation which was enforceable across the whole society.

The British, in relying upon Hindu scriptures to formulate a uniform code, had solidified caste hierarchies, which until that time had manifested great local diversity and some variability over time. Further, it institutionalized the scriptural distinctions of "varna" (the four major groupings of the many individual caste groupings, or jatis), even though these were irrelevant abstractions for many parts of India at the time. Srinivas(1966) explains in detail the process of caste mobility under the image of Sanskritization(lower castes imitating the ways and customs of Brahmanic, or other higher castes, in order to move up in the caste heirarchy). The new Hindu Code abandoned varna distinctions completely, and with them, any rank-ordering of castes.

The new Hindu Code also made considerable alterations in family patterns--an arena which under the British had been determined by what were considered to be caste juridical entities. It gave

parliament legislative power over family and social life for the first time. The new code abandoned the notion of the indisoluable marriage; it ended the preferences given to the extended joint family. Further, it extended rights of inheritance beyond male offspring to widows, daughters, and the mother of the deceased.

The Constitution goes beyond indifference to ascribed status. While eliminating the ranking of castes by ritual or social status, it presribes a corrective stance towards untouchables, tribals and the "backward classes" in an effort towards enhancing equality for all. It mandated reserved posts in government, seats in the legislatures, places in schools, and a number of other preferences, all aimed at creating equality for all in a "casteless society." However, the basis for determining who should benefit from such preferential treatment was now on comparative economic, social, and educational levels--what Galanter calls an "organic" rather than a "sacral" view of caste(1968b).

What has been the effect of Constitutional proscription and the reform of the Hindu Code? Has India become casteless? Obviously not, but neither has the traditional caste hierarchy of control and status remained intact. Something different has emerged. On the one hand, an open model of occupation is perhaps beginning to evolve, largely as a result of economic development, but partly attributable to the loosening of caste-occupational restrictions and the prohibition of sanctions against those who violate those traditional restrictions (see Kassebaum & Sagar, 1974, for a study of occupational spread across

jati lines in a small city). In another study, Karve(1965) found that occupation spread was also happening at the village level as the jajmani system broke down and the "retainer castes"(as Retzlaff, 1962:15, calls them) moved into the towns and cities.

On the other hand, as a result of constitutional guarantees as to the integrity of religious and linguistic groups and other voluntary associations, caste solidarity and inter-regional relatedness has been enhanced. A focus upon economic, occupational, and educational opportunities has replaced the conflicts over establishing higher ritual status which predominated under the British. Competition among the castes is now over economic and political perogatives. With the preferential discrimination mandated by the Constitution, many disputes were brought to the courts to determine whether particular castes fit the criteria for preference; other cases dealt with determining whether particular individuals could be considered members of a Scheduled Caste, Tribe, or Backward Class. Such litigation gave new form to caste associations by delineating the limits of membership of castes--an arena previously left entirely to caste adjudication or negotiation. Thus, Galanter summarizes the situation, "We can visualize the judiciary as mediating between the Constitution's commitment to a great social transformation and the actualities of Indian society." In so doing "...the judiciary have produced a picture of caste which no one proposed and no one anticipated"(1968a:332).

2. Panchayat Raj

At the same time that the Indian Congress was agitating for social transformation and a strong central government to accomplish it, a Gandhian concern for village level improvement led to an emphasis on democratic village self-government. While this emphasis was not structurally embodied in the Constitution, by 1953(six years after independence) every state was "covered by panchayat legislation" (Retzlaff, 1962:2). The Panchayat Raj Act(Uttar Pradesh--1947) was a model of this legislation.

Before Independence, villages were organized in a hierarchy of castes with traditional service("retainer") relationships in a feudalistic "jajmani" system. Headmen ordered the village's relationships beyond its borders. Within the village, affairs were more often regulated by four types of rather informal panchayats. These panchayats were gatherings of the relevant elders in order to settle disputes in the village. Their composition varied according to the issue to be resolved and the current ascendancy or regression of families and lineages. _Caste panchayats_ settled disputes within a particular caste, or reprimanded members for ritual offenses. On some issues which affected large segments of the village and several castes, a _general meeting_ of the elders of several castes might be held. A _jajmani panchayat_, consisting of land-holders, would be held to settle disputes between landholders, between a retainer and his farmer-landholder, or between retainers of several different landholders. For special situations, a _single purpose panchayat_ might be convened.

The key commonality of these traditional panchayats, besides their flexibility of composition, was that "...all four were adjudicatory in nature"(Retzlaff, 1962:18). They were all oligarchic bodies, geared to maintain the good order of the village(the status quo).

The Panchayat Raj Act established a tripartite village government. The Gram Panchayat(Village Panchayat) was established for administrative purposes and was charged with responsibility for promoting the economic and social development of the village--a new function at the village level(see Luschinsky, 1963:72 for the size criteria for the Gram Panchayat which varies in size from 30 to 51 relative to the size of the village). The Gram Sabha is a village assembly of all men over 21. By a hand vote, it elects both the Gram Panchayat and the Adalat Panchayat. This latter group, the panchayat court, settles small disputes and can levy fines up to Rs 100. It usually covers three to five villages and consists of five members. It represents a formal attempt to restore to local control the settlement of small disputes which had been preempted by the British-run courts.

The Panchayat Raj was severely criticized in its early years by Jayaprakesh Narayan, a leader in the recent coalition which, in 1977, ousted Indira Gandhi's Congress Party government(the first time it had been out of power since Independence). At the time, the Panchayat Raj Act was passed, Narayan claimed that democratic processes at the village level fostered divisiveness and factionalism at the expense of the village unity produced by traditional reliance upon

consensus procedures aimed at finding resolutions satisfactory to all. Retzlaff points out, on the basis of his study of one village, that such divisiveness was already present in the village, and was only reflected by, not created by, the democratic procedures. He further suggests that for the first time, the majority had a way to make decisions contrary to the wishes of the powerful village elites. Thus, while he sums up his account of the first two panchayat elections in the village he was observing by saying, "...village elections create more problems than they solve...." he recognizes that "The importance of the village panchayat for village economic and social development is fundamental"(1962:114 & 121). While praising the development of self-reliance, he concluded that "What is required is a fundamental change in social orientation away from a satisfaction with the status quo to one in which change is not only accepted but desired"(1962:123).

T.S. Epstein, in her later study of two South Indian villages (1962 & 1973) found that divergent economic development can account for major differences in the development of village panchayats. In the one village which benefitted from government instituted irrigation, the jajmani system remained largely intact and the elected panchayat was simply a legal fiction. Meanwhile, in the "dry" village, which was thereby "forced" to economic diversification(especially in small scale industrialization and commercialization), the jajmani system broke down. There the elected panchayat became a significant factor in village development and experienced real representation for the various castes and factions of the village. Thus the establishment of

Panchayat Raj is another factor in shaking loose traditional restraints to change, and became an important part of the process of social transformation and economic development.

3. Land Reform

Land reform was a central concern of the independence movement. The British had institutionalized a feudal class of revenue collectors into absolute landlords, called Zamindars. With the fragmentation of tenancy holdings as the population increased, many levels of sub-letting of land intervened between the actual cultivator and the ultimate zamindar. The Zamindar Abolition Act(U.P.--1950) removed all the intermediaries between the cultivator and the state. Four classes of landholding were established: bhumidhars, who had absolute tenure and resale rights to their land; sivdars, who could not sell, mortgage, or bequeath their land, but had occupancy and hereditary rights to it; asamis, who held short-lived tenancy on land; and adhivasis, who were tenants-at-will(by an amendment to the act in 1954, advivasis were reclassified as sivdars).

Former zamindars lost all land which they did not directly cultivate. They became bhumidhars on the unlet land they did cultivate (see Luschinsky, 1963, for an account of the political machinations which these zamindars manifested in one U.P. village prior to the effective date of the legislation). Sivdars could become bhumidhars by deposit of 10 times the annual rent with the state; when they thus assumed ownership, their taxes were reduced to 50% of the former rent. If they continued to rent the land, the rate remained at the full

rental formerly paid. Asamis could do the same by paying 15 times the rent. The former zamindars were compensated for the loss of their land by payments from the rent on their former lands. Thus the poorest families paid for the land reform from which they supposedly were to benefit. However, since many were too poor to purchase their land, they continued as tenants at the higher rates, but without the credit provided by and the flexibility of rent collection tolerated in their relations with the zamindars. While land reform did alter the land-holder-retainer pattern, as a redistributive scheme, it seems to have been less than successful.

Land reform did disrupt the traditional, rigid jajmani system of "feudal" social relations. It also had effect on the timing of nuclear family split-offs from joint family enterprises, in order to hold land in excess of single family acreage restrictions. However, Karve's study indicated that no significant alteration in the joint family living pattern had resulted; she did note the breaking down of the jajmani system, as did Epstein's study of the unirrigated village in South India.

Thus, in these three major arenas, Personal Law, Panchayat Raj, and Land Reform, the leaders of India used Constitutional and Code enactments to mandate reform of the structures of society. These were major alterations of the relations between segments of the nation's populace in their traditional institutional arrangements. However, these structural alterations alone would not have produced economic development. They did loosen the traditional restraints enough that

development policies could be effective. Further, they would have been meaningless if not enforced in the actual settlement of disputes which arose as a result of their enactment.

III. Policy Priorities

Maxwell Owusu(1975) suggests there are four kinds of policy decisions: crisis policy(re: coup d'etat), budgeting policy, development planning on the large scale(which he points out is often dependent on external technological and economic assistance), and local development projects policy. It is the last three of these areaas that concerns us here.

India created a Planning Commission shortly after Independence. Six Five Year Plans have been created, the fourth delayed in implementation due to agricultural/weather reverses. The Planning Commission continues to function, giving form and direction to the developmental thrusts of the government. The policies which eminate from the Commission and the various bureaucratic departments of the government, and which are translated into legally constituted programs and budget items are a second, and more direct, legal instrument for effecting social transformation and economic development.

In the next section, the specific five year plans of the nation will be more comprehensively evaluated. Three major developmental thrusts have been consistently present in all of the plans: Community Development, Industrialization, and Agricultural Extension.

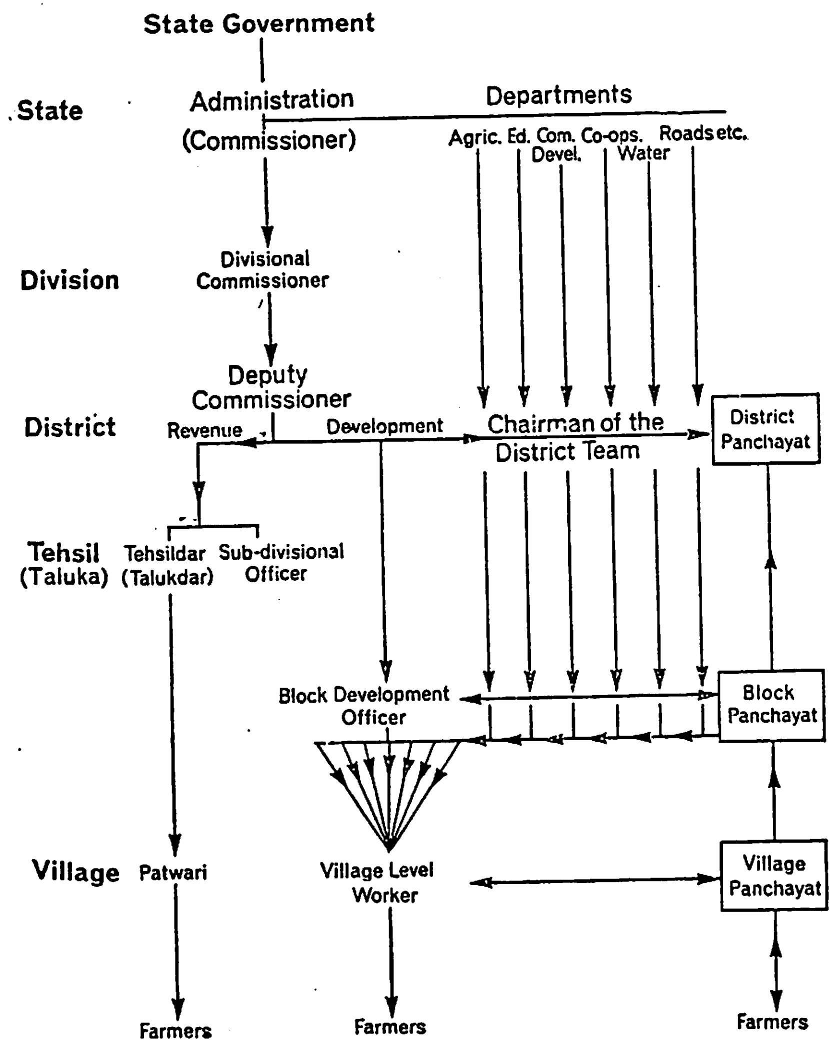
1. Community Development

Community Development has been a parallel thrust to the establishment of Panchayat Raj. Due to early ineffectiveness in the program, a three-tier arrangement of local self-governing bodies was proposed by the Mehta Committee in 1958, consisting of the village panchayat, the Community Development Block, and the District. Each had an elected, representational panchayat with oversight and control responsibilities. In the opposite direction was a corresponding administrative bureaucracy that extended downwards from the state government(see Table 1 on the next page for a diagrammatic representation of the intersection of these two systems). The key figure for Community Development was the Village Level Worker(VLW). Unfortunately, these were usually young, relatively untrained and inexperienced men who were largely ineffective under the first several plans(for a more extensive critique, Cf., Hunter, 1969; Mellor, 1968, Retzlaff, 1962; and Berreman, 1963). Berreman concludes that, "undoubtedly if democratic community development, as conceived in the Community Development Program of India, is to succeed in the long run, social justice must be achieved. For this, effective agrarian reform is critical. Also crucial is serious attention to means to benefit non-agriculturalists both in their village economic functions and in centralized and dispersed industry"(1963:94). Some fifteen years later, a project of state-wide village development across Maharashtra is now fulfilling these requirements(see Chapter 10).

STATUS, POWER, POLITICS AT VILLAGE LEVEL

Table I

Agricultural Administration in Indian States



Taken from Hunter, 1969:57.

2. Industrialization

The two greatest leaders of the Independence movement in India, Gandhi and Nehru, though generally of one mind, differed at several important points. Nehru was a secularist, Gandhi a devout religious, committed to the revitalization of Hinduism with tolerance and respect for other faiths. Nehru was committed to mandated social change at the national level, while Gandhi was convinced of the need for self-government at the village level. Nehru envisioned rapid industrialization, making India a world power, while Gandhi was concerned for the development of self-reliant and self-sufficient villages. As a result of Gandhi's assassination only months after Independence, Nehru was left as the guiding figure for the nation, and directed its development through its first 15 years. High on his list of priorities was heavy industrialization.

With assistance from a large number of developed nations, primarily Canada, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., major industrialization was accomplished with an accompanying significant development of the infrastructures to sustain it. Steel, oil, automobiles, trucks, heavy machinery, electricity, roads, etc., were all extensively developed. However, the focus on industrialization has been widely criticized, in that government mandated policy directed the expansion of the economy in one sphere, with no percentage increase in employment and no general increases in the standards of living, while restricting potential investment in the sphere in which 80% of the population lives. In addition, exports declined, due to the capital goods orientation of

the industrialization policy, creating a major foreign aid dependency.

3. Agricultural Expansion

More extensively felt has been the agricultural expansion policy. While secondary in importance in the first two Five Year Plans, bad crops forced this arena to the fore in the Third and Fourth Plans. Retzlaff, writing a decade after Independence, said there were two significant structural changes to be considered in India: the establishment of Panchayat Raj, and the cooperative movement, which was central to agricultural development. Indeed, by 1957, some 200,000 agricultural co-ops were in existence in India, with an average membership of 75(Mellor, 1968). Retzlaff points to the importance of the establishment of the cooperative in Khalapur, the village he studied, but admitted that the first cooperative there had failed, due to the refusal of the wealthy to repay loans. Owens(1972), with the advantage of a longer period of evaluation, points out that this record of failure is pervasive amidst Indian cooperatives, and attributes it to favoritism in securing loans and the inability to collect outstanding loans.

Governmental emphasis upon the formation of cooperatives, instrumental in shaping the daily lives of large numbers of India's citizens, finally proved ineffective. The emphasis on other aspects of agricultural expansion has begun to have a favorable effect. India is once again self-sufficient in food. Local farmers are benefitting from increased agricultural inputs, improved techniques, and better land-use rationales--all effects of a more sophisticated policy

of agricultural expansion begun in the Third Plan. Again, space does not permit the evaluation of the social transformations which have accompanied agricultural success, but one might be mentioned: it appears there is the beginning of a reversal of the rural-to-urban migration pattern, which would be a relief for India's over-burdened cities.

IV. The Five Year Plans

India's early development emphasis was upon industrialization. Rejecting Gandhi's emphasis upon cottage industry, Nehru, as quickly as he dared turn his attention from nation-building(the focus of the First Five Year Plan) poured large resources into the development of extensive heavy industry and the necessary social overhead capital investments in infrastructure to sustain it. What was envisioned was the emergence of a mixed economy of public and private effort. It would involve capitalism and central planning--concepts which until the Great Depression were tought to be antithetical. (The genuine marriage of the two is still suspect to many, for example, A.R. Desai, 1960, argues that India's approach is wholly capitalistic, only disguised as socialist.) Agriculture, except for initial steps towards land reform, the expansion of cultivated land, and a few eye-catching irrigation projects, was relegated to a subordinate role.

The neglect of agriculture was not total, but reflects relative emphasis, and followed the developmentalist thinking of the 1950's. It was thought that the developing nations could leapfrog over many of the intervening stages of development that countries in

the West had experienced. Thus the focus was upon shifting the industrial-agricultural employment profile. The First Five Year Plan necessarily focused upon nation-building, which required major efforts in the rural areas where 80% of the population lived. The major feature of this plan was the Community Development Program which organized the nation into Community Development Blocks of 100 villages, brought together the various Center functions for coordinated service to the villages, and made them available through Village Level Workers (VLW), one for every 10 villages. In addition, land and Zamindari reform turned much land over to those who cultivated it, increasing the owner-cultivated farms from 40% to 75%. Three large irrigation projects were under construction. However, only the already available resources would be directed to agricultural development during this plan. Building the nation would take precedence. The Community Development personnel, and especially the VLWs, proved to be inexperienced and untrained for agricultural innovation(only one of their many responsibilities), but proved exceedingly valuable in communicating the concern of the Union government for the rural people. Mellor(1968) lists six major accomplishments of nation-building which were accomplished by the end of the First Five Year Plan, accomplishments which confounded the British who were convinced that India was not, and could never be, a nation:

1. General election held with 160,000,000 voters, 80% of whom were illiterate
2. Overcame revolt at the establishment of the Indian Union (Cf. the Nizam of Hyderabad)
3. Voted to remain a part of the British Commonwealth

4. Wrote and adopted a constitution
5. Integrated the princely states into the Indian Union
6. Absorbed eight million refugees as a result of partition

Good weather during the First Five Year Plan(1951-56), combined with expanded irrigation and land reform, resulted in major increases in agricultural production, although no significant attempt to develop agriculture had been made. This success lulled planners into continued neglect of agricultural development in the Second Plan. In fact, the proportion of funds designated for agriculture declined, though because the resources committed to the plan were larger, the actual rupees committed represented a 50% increase, almost all of the increase focused in expanding the Community Development Program from its initial phase to cover every village in the nation. In an effort to overcome exploitation of local farmers by traders and moneylenders, the massive cooperative movement was launched, but these cooperatives proved to be too inflexible to meet the local adaptability and the low margins of the traders and moneylenders. In a farm structure of family cultivation in which total labor, equipment, and stock were in close balance with plot size and fully utilized, cooperative farming did not prove economical.

A major extension of local government at the village level was accomplished with a pattern of elected panchayats. Three values developed from this extension of local government: an improvement in the quality of local leadership as elected officials gradually replaced traditional leaders; the raising of local taxes for local improvements; and the direction of local development by local authorities meant more

appropriate efforts emerged. However, two major oversights continued throughout this plan. The Community Development Program was a Center effort, while agricultural extension services were delegated to the states. These two efforts operated largely without coordination. Secondly, there was little fundamental agricultural research being done, and virtually none on the necessary local adaptation to the particular conditions under which the farmers labored.

As agricultural short-falls began to develop during the Second Plan(which had projected a further 38% increase in output), a Ford Foundation Commission study and recommendation resulted in the adoption of an agriculturally oriented Package Program in the Third Plan(1961-66). Four innovations were incorporated in the plan:

1. Focus on immediate agricultural production increases instead of on changing farmer attitudes toward modernization (the aim of the Community Development Program)
2. Set up trial districts, one in each of 7 states(later expanded to 17 districts in 8 states) on the basis of easily demonstrable success(thus choosing those already most developed)
3. Focus on profitability at the farm level, demonstrating economic incentives for altering traditional patterns
4. Focus on inputs, especially inorganic fertilizers to multiply the effectiveness of under-utilized irrigation facilities already provided in many places

This package plan represents a major shift in emphasis in agricultural development. The focus of the VLWs was shifted away from diversity of concern to solely agricultural innovation for local profitability. The incompetence of many VLWs for this task was a continuing problem, but where effective personnel were in use, change began to accelerate. The shift in perception of what peasant farmers would respond to was a major breakthrough. It was now perceived that

where technical availability opened new opportunities, villagers would respond. This alteration of perceptions is now widely proclaimed as an essential factor in launching agricultural development anywhere in the world(Hunter 1969, Mellor 1968, Weitz 1971). However, once again, research on the adaptation of technology and water management(both proper use of irrigation and drainage in flood areas) was neglected.

The Fourth Plan, initiated in the wake of the worst drought in a century, the 1965-66 and 1966-67 crop years, was actually delayed in implementation to respond to the apparent failure of agriculture during the Third Plan. It placed a greater emphasis on rural development. Inorganic fertilizer use expansion was the key element in the plan. Fertilizer use had been expanding at a rate of 20% per year through the three preceding plans, so that nitrogen use had expanded from 58,000 metric tons in 1951 to 492,000 tons in 1965, with corresponding increases in phosphoric acid and potash(Mellor, 1968). Supply and distribution problems had largely been solved by 1965, but the interconnection of the use of inorganic fertilizers and water management had not been solved.

The organization of research was a second aspect of the Fourth Plan. In the first fifty years of its existence, the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in Bihar had produced only one significant improvement, a disease resistant strain of wheat which was widely adopted across India during the 1930's. The I.A.R.I. had unsuccessfully focused its research upon discovering high yield crops which could be raised in low fertility conditions. In 1956, the

Rockefeller Foundation was invited to establish an Indian Agricultural Program which focused first upon adapting new strains of corn which it had developed in its program in Mexico, and later also had successful breakthroughs in wheat and significantly in a strain of sorghum(jowar) which required little irrigation(only 3% of India's sorghum acreage is irrigated). Water management and more effective farmer education were also aspects of the Fourth Plan.

Investigation into government intervention into market pricing indicated that, except for drought years, market forces kept prices lower than intervention. During a drought, effective action was taken by restricting the movement of grains across state lines, Union purchases of surpluses where these then occurred at normal prices, and resale through rationing in food-short areas. Assuring low food prices while maintaining high enough agricultural profits to encourage farmers to shift from subsistence to cash farming is a key issue, especially since nearly 70% of the urban worker's wages are spent on food purchases.

The Fifth and Sixth Plans returned the development emphasis to industrialization. The results of capital-intensive industrialization as the key to development have been widely criticized(Lewis 1953, Desai 1960 & 1976, Mellor 1968 & 1976, Hunter 1969, Weitz 1971, Owens 1972, Sovani 1976, Mukherjee 1977). In India, heavy industry development strained the capital resources and foreign exchange of the nation without significantly altering the occupational profile of the populace. While 1,800,000 workers were added to the industrila work force from

1951 to 1961, the total of non-household industrial workers represented only 4.2% of the work force at the end of that decade(Bose, 1973). What did result was concentration in the nation's 142 largest cities of the services and infrastructures which would nurture such industrialization and minimally provide for the rapidly expanding population of these large cities.

Urbanization in India, in terms of the shifting proportion of the population living in urban areas(since 1961, basically towns or cities with population of more than 5,000) has not been as rapid as in other parts of the Third World. In the first seventy years of this century, it only increased from 11% to 20%(Bose, 1973). However, the sheer scale involved is of crucial significance, for it means that 108 million people live in India's towns and cities. Further, the growth in urbanization has centered on the 142 largest cities(the Class I cities of 100,000 plus population) while the smaller cities and towns have remained stagnant. This issue of population scale makes India, and other similar Asian nations, distinct from the issues faced by the nations of Africa or Latin America(whose combined population is less than that of this single nation). Further, this population scale has itself been a significant development as the population of India began to increase dramatically shortly after Independence(the decennial growth rates nearly doubled in the first decades after Independence: 1941-51: 13.3%, 1951-61: 21.5% and 1961-71: 24.7%;Bose, 1973).

The growth of the largest cities was far more from natural growth than from rural-urban migration. Yet there was significant urban migration. This migration has been identified as primarily the result of the squeeze on the rural economy of a fixed land base (though significant acreages were added to cultivation during the first three plans), a rapid increase in population (in excess of 200 million people nationally since Independence--an <u>increase</u> nearly equivalent to the <u>current</u> populations of either the United States or Russia), and the neglect of rural development. The 1971 census indicates that 2½ times as many migrants came to the cities searching for <u>any</u> job as did those seeking <u>better</u> jobs(Bose, 1973). Similarly, surveys among the pavement dwellers in Calcutta discovered that these were persons who had come to the city as the result of the agrarian crisis or natural/social disasters which uprooted them from the land(Mukherjee, 1977).

The explosive growth of the nation's largest cities has resulted in an urban crisis which includes overpopulation, inadequate housing, and unemployment in a classic example of an urban-rural dual economy. The dramatic increases in urban population have severely strained the system of urban services. Bustees and hutments have sprung up in every available space in every major city. Calcutta, alone, includes a refugee population of 2.4 million in what one U.N. official, Robert J. Crooks, Director of the U.N.'s Center for Housing, Building, and Planning, calls "Transitional Urban Settlements"(Sovani, 1976), and S. Mukherjee(1977), the Deputy Director of Planning for the Calcutta

Metropolitan Development Authority estimates there are 50,000 "houseless people" living on the streets, under viaducts, and in the railroad stations of that city.

This overcrowding means that the services of urban life cannot possibly keep pace with the population increases. Water, sewerage, and electricity simply do not extend to such "transitional settlements". When such services are available, they are widely spaced, often servicing 100 or more families out of a single spigot of clean water. Rural areas, surrounded by urban growth, often are left without new services, turning public parks into communal outdoor toilets, as Bose(1973) reported in the Kotla-Mubarakput area of Delhi. When the services are available, they often function only part of the day. Vast areas of Bombay receive water only once a day, for an hour or two. Electrical "brown-outs" are a daily occurence in many urban areas where demand is larger than available supplies, so that selected sectors of the city are rotationally turned off to reduce demand to supply capacity levels. Urban transportation, while extensive and relatively cheap, is overcrowded at any time and impossible at peak commuter hours; its efficiency hampered by competition for the streets with rickshas, pedicarts, hand-pushed freight trolleys, and animals. Still, it is often easier to go across the city to see another businessman than it is to make a phone connection with him.

Unemployment in the urban areas is massive although undeterminable quantitatively. Bose(1973) records the rate as higher among urban born residents(8.17% for males only) than among migrants(6.43%),

but goes on to indicate that another 10% are underemployed. Still one wonders how inclusive the statistical gathering was in light of the extensive transitional settlements of the cities. The temporary migrant population, what Eames and Goode(1973:139) call "circular migration", is predominantly composed of single males(urban male-female ratios stand near 118:100, Bose 1973). The distribution of income is seriously polarized. Dandakar and Rath(quoted in Desai, 1976) have found that 40% of urban residents live in destitution, below the poverty line which they set at Rs 20 per capita per month(about $2.50). Desai asserts that another 45% live just at the line or slightly above it. This is in contrast to the small percent who live comfortably, in Western style, in isolated sections of the cities, on housing estates, or in cantonments. Thus every major city of India experiences the dualism of a modern, Westernized cash sector and a (usually larger) vending, hawking, informal "bazaar" sector, often characterized by extensive unauthorized earnings in the form of illicit distilling, begging, prostitution, etc.(Desai, 1976).

While it must be said that India has grown extensively in the thirty years since Independence, when considered from the perspective of per capita increases, she has developed only minimally. Samir Amin (1973) asserts that such "Growth is not Development". Still, one must stand in awe of what has been accomplished. In the years between 1950 and 1965, food grain production was increased by 70%(Mellor, 1968). The foundations of extensive industrialization were created by the establishment of heavy industry in such developments as that located

in the Ranchi-Rourkela-Jamshedpur area. Over the same 15 year period, steel tonnage produced quadrupled to 6,000,000 tons per year. Oil has been explored, discovered, and exploited. Nuclear technology, in addition to the high visibility of an atomic explosion, has been employed in electricity production and many other arenas. An extensive infrastructure of utilities, communications, roads, railroads, commerce, and credit has been spread across the whole country. In 15 years, kilowatt hours of electricity produced quintupled to 36,000,000 hours per year(Mellor, 1968). In addition, an extensive network of health, education, and welfare services has permeated to the most remote areas.

Still it is now widely acknowledged that reliance upon the traditional route of industrial development will not be successful. As Ashish Bose(1973:105) has put it, "...industrialization cannot be the solution of the problem of surplus labor in India." It is to deal with the problems outlined above, largely the result of policy priorities towards industrialization in the face of a massive population growth that an expanding circle of development analysts are suggesting that priorities must be oriented towards rural development(Mellor 1968 and 1976, Hunter 1969, Owens 1972, Weitz 1973, Sovani 1976, and Mukherjee 1977).

V. Village Level Development

The attempt to shortcut the development process through instant industrialization proved inadequate. The expectation that the Third World must develop in exactly the same pattern that the West followed

has also proven inadequate, for Third World nations are not in the midst of a non-technological world, even if their technology is minimal; their excess population cannot emigrate to (relatively) virgin areas of the world; and their external trade does not dominate the world system(all options exercised by the West during its development). It must compete with that of the highly developed systems of the West Kuznets, 1954). A third way of development is necessary for India, as for the rest of the Third World. It is a path towards development which will require a restructuring of international relationships, as she has already been engaged in doing. Like China, India is large enough to follow a primary strategy of internal self-reliance, but not while focusing upon capital-intensive industrialization which requires heavy machinery imports. Rural development is the crucial element in a design of self-reliant development. What are the benefits of putting a priority on rural development?

The first, and most obvious expectation, is an expansion of the available food supply. Much of the technology of expanded production is now available to Indian agriculture, and with the proper research for local adaptation and the proper managerial training in making the best uses of this technology, food outputs can not only meet the demands of an expanding population, but exceed them(Mellor, 1968).

Further, the intensification of farming thus envisioned would increase the number of persons employed in agriculture. Even without intensification, agriculture in India absorbed 3/4ths of the population growth during the time of the first three plans--half on existing

acreage and half on newly cultivated land(Mellor, 1968). One in-depth study of intensified agriculture in South India discovered an eightfold increase in agricultural labor following conversion to irrigated cash crops(Epstein, 1962). Perhaps in this fashion, the rural-urban migration can be diminished.

Third, an expansion of agricultural productivity will increase the commercialization of the Indian economy and increase the capital available for investment. It will be as a result of human expenditure, the most plentiful resource available in India, and other such Asian nations, that cash earnings are realized. The increased earnings and expenditures in the rural sector will increase the demand for industrial products, both by allowing the formerly subsistence farmer to enter into the cash economy, and by increasing the demand for industrial products which are the inputs of agricultural development. Further, excess agricultural production can help to ease the foreign exchange constraints through exports(Lewis, 1953 and Mellor, 1976). The issues here have to do with the fact that with increasing total agricultural income, higher taxation is possible(rural taxes in 1961 were only about half the rate per capita of those of urban people, and less than a quarter of realized rupees per capita--Mellor, 1968), out of which to finance the social overhead capital investments in roads, electrification, irrigation, agricultural research which are necessary to sustain continuing development.

The fourth benefit of an agricultural development emphasis is to diminish the disparity between rural peasants and urban elites as

modernization is brought to the whole population. It has been noted that when agricultural development has occurred at the village level, it has been consistently accompanied by a high degree of modernization in the political and cultural arenas. In fact, development is a complicated and integral happening in the whole life of a village.*

But development at the village level is a difficult task. It requires a social and economic transformation at the local level as well as a restructuring of international relationships and national priorities. Simon Kuznets(1954) and the prominent Indian sociologist-anthropologist M.N. Srinivas(1966) have indicated the scope of the problem when they pointed out that the Western nations had already experienced Intellectual, Religious, Geographic, and Political Revolutions before the advent of the Industrial Revolution. In villages which have been isolated, marginalized, de-industrialized, or otherwise suffered the effects of underdevelopment, often all of these revolutions must happen at once. In Hunter's terms(1969), modernization entails a shift from a society in which reliance upon "traditional" ways and social patterns guaranteed subsistance in all but the most horrendous of circumstances, to a society geared to growth, to meet more adequately basic needs, but also subject to the risks of unsuccessful innovations.

While Hunter's staged developmental model for villages(Traditional, Transitional, and Modern Commercial) seems naively dependent

* See the interesting study of Adelman and Dalton, 1971, of 108 Indian villages, using factor analysis of data taken from the 1961 census.

upon Rostovian thinking, he accurately asserts that village development involves sets of sequences of change which include structural changes in the patterns of occupations and in the social relations, both those within the village and those with other villages and the larger society. The sequences are unique to each locale, but involve all sectors of the village life and are cumulative, building upon one another(see also Myrdal, 1957; Owens, 1972; and Weitz, 1973). Thus, development is a process of change that must be initiated and encouraged. It is not a miraculous, all at once accomplishment. It is an expansion, in many places, of the economic and social fabric of the whole society, not the isolated development of a specialized sector which results in sudden leaps in national statistics. A strategy of rural development is not focused on the manipulation of such statistics(such as increasing the rate of urbanization or industrialization) as much as it is focused on occasioning a broad base of real change for the 80% of India's population that live in rural places.

The process of village development is the process of comprehensive cumulative change, as already spelled out by Myrdal and now applied to the village. Similarly, it is the process of differentiation of activity and effort, of increasing division of labor, as articulated by Smelser(1963), but a differentiation within each village, rather than between rural and urban sectors. This requires increased functions of integration to replace with social mechanisms the tight-knit bonds of traditional family and caste support. Such development will bring the benefits of modernization to the villages of India. It is the

urbanizing of rural villages which will take the migratory pressure off the overburdened urban places. To demonstrate how this can be done is the purpose of this dissertation.

Part II

A STRATEGY FOR MICRO-DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 6

The Social Philosophy of the Institute of Cultural Affairs

The systematic establishment of a band of 24 local community development projects in 20 countries by the Institute of Cultural Affairs represents a commitment to a particular conception of global development, which is commensurate with the developmental theory outlined thus far. The I.C.A. calls this effort the Global Social Demonstration Campaign, which indicates that a key component in the development strategy is demonstration leading to replication. The I.C.A. believes development must occur at the local community level. When many such communities across an area are commonly engaged in economic and social development, then that area can be said to be in the process of development. The band of Human Development Projects, as each is individually designated, was established to spark such a wave of local community development across the globe. The campaign was launched in response to four major contemporary trends which the I.C.A. claims are calling for human development in every local community around the world.

I. The Trends of the Times

The Institute staff describes the present age as a time of profound transition in which every social form is collapsing from within. Economic disparity between the "Haves" and the "Have-nots" increases daily. The 15% of the world's population who control 85% of the goods and services live in one universe, while the great majority of the globe's people live in another, which is totally

different. The Institute characterizes the gap between the lives of the world's affluent and poor as the gap between the 15% and the 85%, and calls it the moral problem of our day. It represents the great contradiction before which the political structures, local, national, and international, seem paralyzed and unable to respond with creative solutions. At the same time, the social, religious, and cultural forms that have bound life together are in the process of losing their power. For the Institute, these conditions indicate a clear need for massive social and economic development.

The second trend is the growing awareness by the inhabitants of planet earth that their existence is based on global relationships. The Institute affirms Marshall McLuhan's image of the "global village" and the picture of the "earthrise", taken from the far side of the moon, as representations of the way people sense that the destiny of any part of the world is bound up in the destiny of the whole. Staff members propose that this common destiny is characteristically experienced interiorly as a double demand--that mankind be one around the globe in the practical terms of a new social and economic order, and that every unique local situation be enabled to participate uniquely in actuating this vision.

The Institute perceives the "resurgence of local man" around the globe. It is not just revolutionary elites who envision a new world. There is a mass participation of local men and women who are reshaping the societal forms which nurture life. The I.C.A. staff claims that the masses, disillusioned with political programs of

welfare, urban renewal and rural development, and conscious of the exploitation embodied in many imposed economic development schemes, are increasingly assuming responsibility themselves for the realization of their deep longings for a better life for their families and communities.

The I.C.A. sees the Harambee movement in Kenya, the Saemauel movement in South Korea, and the New Society campaign in the Philippines as signs of the recognition by governments that local village folk must be involved in the process of nation-building, and that the task of building the structures of a more human society has become the articulated priority of many nations. The Institute staff claims that these governmental programs are designed in the awareness of the people's desire to build up forms of human care within the existing established society.

The Global Social Demonstration Campaign was designed as a response to these four trends: the transition from one form of civilization to another, as yet undisclosed; the emergence of the global village; the resurgence of local man; and the priority of building the new structures of a human society. The campaign is envisaged as a means of assisting local men and women to participate in creating the shape of the new form of civilization which is coming to be.

Preeminent among the trends, in the analysis of the Institute of Cultural Affairs, is the rise of local man. Birthed in the midst of the existentialist fervor that followed World War II, the Institute

has seen itself as part of an intellectual and social ferment which is world-wide. Members of the staff were actively engaged in the very earliest phases of the Civil Rights struggles in the U.S.A. In 1963 the staff moved from the university context into the city to participate in the effor t towards urban reconstruction. Civil Rights and community reformulation coalesced in the Fifth City Project, initiated in the black ghetto of Chicago's westside. A parallel thrust, with many overlapping concerns, was towards the renewal of the religious institutions of our society. The staff conducted numerous courses and programs for several hundred thousand participants from many religious traditions under the aegis of the Ecumenical Institute. It was obvious to all that a movement of social reconstruction was growing, and the Institute staff saw themselves as catalyzers within that movement of local men and women, giving form to their concerns, discovering methods of effective action, and providing a locus for undergirding support.

The Institute embodies three interrelated strategies as its means of catalyzing and enabling the movement of local men. The first involves continual efforts towards the awakenment of individuals and communities to the need for social reconstruction. In a metaphor attributed to the theologian, Paul Tillich, the staff speaks of the 5% of any social body who are critically aware of the inequities and transitory nature of current social reality, of the 5% who are vehemently committed to maintaining the status quo(the awake and the resistent, in Tillich's metaphor) and the great 90% who are naively

unaware, who are asleep, but awakenable. The first strategy is that of awakening those who are asleep to particiapte self-consciously in the great civilizing adventure of mankind.

The second strategy is the demonstration of what can be done to participate in the process of reconstructing society. The Institute is not primarily interested in merely ameliorating the ills of society, "applying band aids" as staff members express it. This strategy entails efforts at structural revolution in concrete situations under trying conditions. Thus the staff moved into a ghetto neighborhood to experiment with a particular community, to create a pilot project for community reformulation. The programs which have given form to the demonstration strategy have been built upon the learnings from that pilot experiment. The assumption in back of this strategy is that a demonstration of effective development at the local level will be catalytic of efforts in other communities which can emulate the approach and methods of the pilot, though the unique conditions of each community will dictate differences in content. Thus, the strategy is development through demonstration and replication.

The third strategy emerged from the Institute's keen observation and analysis of the Civil Rights manifestation of the movement of local man's resurgence. It was seen that to undergird the motivity of individuals engaged in the struggle, a continual renewing of the spirit was necessary. The strategy of spirit remotivation entails both the ever deepening struggle with the meaning of being human and the symbolic activities which stimulate human

volition. The Institute places great importance on secular articulations of profound human living and on the creation of those symbols, myths, rites, and songs which have the capacity to move the human spirit.

Thus the Institute staff envision themselves as participating in a great movement which is sweeping spontaneously across the globe in the latter part of the Twentieth Century. It often speaks of this movement as the collective representation of Those Who Care, and asserts that such persons are to be found in every community around the world. Though in more paranoid moments, individual staff members may speak as though only persons who are involved in the Institute's programs are part of this movement, historically, the Institute's articulations have always pointed towards a social reality which was far broader than its own efforts. It is a participant in and catalyzer of a broad civilizational phenomenon. Its strategies of awakenment, demonstration, and spirit motivity are its means of participating in this reality.

II. Pilot Demonstrations in Local Development

Fifth City, the Institute of Cultural Affairs' demonstration project in the westside ghetto of Chicago, was formally begun in 1966. The staff had moved into the community several years earlier, using the facilities of an abandoned seminary as a training institute for its awakenment courses and programs with churchmen. After becoming familiar with their neighbors, Institute staff members hosted informal discussions to discover the hopes and dreams residents had for their

community. More formal investigations catalogued the numerous problems residents were facing. A pre-school was begun, both as an experiment in radical early education and to free working mothers from child care responsibilities. All this was in preparation for the experimental demonstration project.

In the fall of 1966, out of extensive meetings of staff and residents, a Social Model for the reformulation of the Fifth City community was created. It categorized 625 major problems into Economic, Educational, Symbolic, Stylistic, and Political arenas; called for the creation of 20 social structures to deal with these problems; and organized the forces (including community residents, those who worked in the community but did not live there, and outside volunteers) who would bring life to the model. Very quickly, programs were developed which included education for all ages, preschool through elders; community celebrations and festivals of theater, dance, and the arts; youth activities which involved gang members in community-building projects like the creation of playlots; family support services; urban care programs which cooperated with public agencies for the clean-up, maintenance, and safety of the community; and the initial efforts towards housing rehabilitation, which was to become the community's outstanding success. The strategy was to attack all the problems at once, involving all of the community in a common plan.

As Fifth City developed, many persons came to see this demonstration project in community reformulation. Thousands of others heard about it through courses and seminars led by Institute staff in

all parts of North America. In 1967, the Dean of the Institute, Joseph Mathews, was invited to go to Australia to conduct a series of courses across that whole country. Shortly thereafter, courses were being taught in India, South East Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In all of these visits and courses, others were encouraged to begin their own community renewal projects. Many partial projects were begun, imitating parts of the Fifth City Model, but only a few places attempted the reformulation of community structures through the kind of comprehensive project that Fifth City was.

In order to extend the effort of community reformulation, the Institute sponsored an annual series of month-long Research Assemblies, starting in July, 1971. Over a thousand grassroots persons, from all walks of life, participated in the first of these events. They built an elaborate, dynamic model of the interconnections of the social processes. They analyzed the contradictions in the way those processes were embodied in their own local communities and began to create proposals for change. After several years, the distillation of these participatory research assemblies was produced in a booklet entitled Toward a New Social Vehicle(n.d.). Among other proposals, this research pointed to the need for a band of demonstration projects in other parts of the world. Already Institute staff, now international in composition and location, had been invited to assist with projects among the aboriginals in Australia and on the island of Majuro in the Marshalls. A systematic plan to establish 24 demonstrations, one for each time-zone of the earth, was proposed.

From 1975 to 1977, 21 additional projects were launched. Called the Global Band of Social Demonstration, these projects were located in local communities in the Marshall Islands, Japan, Australia, South Korea, The Philippines, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Kenya, Egypt, Zambia, Italy, West Germany, Nigeria, England, Venezuela, Canada, and the United States. By accomplishing rapid social and economic development in a series of strategically located communities, the Institute intended to shock the nations of the world into a new commitment to local reformulation. Since 1977 some 30 other projects have been started, some in new countries such as Western Samoa, Jamaica, Peru, Chile, and Guatemala, while others are extension projects "spun-off" from the initial band of demonstration, particularly in Kenya, Indonesia, The Philippines, and South Korea.

The most significant feature of the Global Social Demonstration campaign is the Maharashtra Project of rapid replication. A year after the initiation of the community development project in the village of Maliwada, 250 miles east of Bombay, a plan was initiated to extend the demonstration effect to every village in the state. The first phase involved starting three new projects, one in each of the other divisions of Maharashtra. The second phase involved establishing a project in each of the state's 24 districts. The third phase, which has now been completed, saw the initiation of village projects in each of the 232 talukas(Cf., U.S.: "county"). Each of these 232 projects operate on the basis of a comprehensive plan uniquely created for the particular

conditions and opportunities of that village. Each will be responsible to be a demonstration for every other village in the taluka, and for enabling them to engage in the process of community economic and social development. The systematic plan for extension to the next 100 villages around each taluka demonstration is now being created and experimented with. It represents the fourth phase of the state-wide replication project. Obviously, the expansion from one to 232 projects within a single state has caused extensive alterations in the logistic and support functions. They have become far larger, engaging more personnel in securing seed moneys, expertise, and government services. Now we must examine the principles and strategy of local development out of which the Institute staff commonly operate in each of its projects.

III. Principles of Local Socio-Economic Development

In the original band of 24 Human Development Projects, each was launched by a week-long consultation of the residents of the community with visitors who represented a wide range of expertise. In the process of that consultation, the Institute of Cultural Affairs staff articulated the principles of socio-economic change which underlie the Global Social Demonstration Campaign. These principles are summarized here.

Demonstration projects are initiated with the intention of occasioning rapid and profound social change on the local level. It is the conviction of Institute staff members that political change is

rarely profound. It is their contention that the political structure of a community will adapt and evolve naturally, that it "will take care of itself", when profound socio-economic change is undertaken. There are five principles of social development and five of economic development.

The first principle of social development is the forceful delimiting of the community area. For rapid development to happen, a concentration of effort must occur. Human suffering is so universal, and so powerful an attraction of concern that if the target area is not carefully circumscribed, effort can easily be so diluted that no profound change takes place. This means that some replication plan must be implicit in the initial project planning, which acknowledges responsibility for surrounding communities, but postpones effort there for a year or two. Creating a "grid" of the community is an essential technique for delimiting the community. This is particularly crucial if the community does not have natural boundaries, as is the case with many urban communities. Gridding involves building imaginal boundaries around the community. It also involves dividing the community internally into its various parts. The internal divisions enable the establishment or reinforcement of patterns of neighborly care for every resident of the community, for systematically relating the various parts of the community to each other, and for sharing equitably community-wide tasks. Whatever the local communities may call these internal divisions, the Institute staff, in their cross-project discussions, calls them stakes. The grid is displayed publicly

as a symbol of the community and a reminder of the focus of the project.

The second social principle of the Institute's approach is that community development must be <u>comprehensive</u>; it must deal with all the issues of the community at the same time. The "one thing at a time" mindset results in a perenial agenda of projects, but no significant change. The issues of a community are all dynamically interrelated and will either work together to resist individual change, or, if attacked simultaneously, work together so that change in one reinforces change in another. Further, the I.C.A. staff believes a dominent factor in community development is human motivity. By dealing with all the issues at once, the most powerful, though invisible, motivational force of the method is released. Every individual in the community will find something being done in which he is vitally interested. It is this which sustains the effort of the local people who alone do the community development.

Behind all the issues and problems in the community lies the <u>depth human issue which must be addressed</u>. While this issue will take various forms in different communities, with different histories and different conditions, it is inevitably related to the question, "What keeps these people from acting to change their situation?" Though it is related to external constraints, it is the stultifying internalization of the conditions that the depth human issue seeks to identify. Thus, in Fifth City, black suppression and segregation by the structures of white controlled society was internalized by the residents in the

guise of a victim image. External constraints were internalized as "You can't do nothing!" To mobilize the effective effort of the whole community for rapid socio-economic change, the internalized restraints of the depth human problem must be addressed at the same time that the external issues are attacked.

As the project must deal with all the issues, it must also involve all the people of the community, especially engaging all the age groups. Working with the young alone will not engender radical change and will occasion generational resistance. To work only with the men is equally doomed. All the people of the community, among all ages, with both sexes, across all communal, religious, ethnic, or racial boundaries, must be involved.

The Institute's final social principle is that the key to rapid social change is symbol. It is symbols which call forth motivity and alter debilitating self-images. Thus the publicly displayed grid of the project becomes a symbol of the community which has decided to engage in rapid and radical development. It calls forth pride in the community. Songs, rites, decor, emblems, mottoes of the change which is coming to be are all crucial. "Black is beautiful" did more to alter the relationship of the races in the U.S.A. than any piece of legislation or economic boycott. It would be simplistic to believe that symbolic change alone is enough; comprehensive alteration of the structures of society in order to deal with the articulated problems is necessary. But the Institute staff believes the key to releasing the force and energy of the community for rapid development

is in the symbolic arena.

These social principles were forged in the initiation of the pilot Fifth City Project. In the eyes of the I.C.A. staff, their significance has been confirmed in the experience of fourteen years. They represent the presuppositions behind the Institute's approach to rapid social development. The principles of economic development emerged more slowly and were only crystalized with the initiation of the Global Band of Social Development.

The first principle of community economic development, for the I.C.A., is that <u>the local community must be imaginally isolated</u> from its outside economic relationships. It must be imagined as a separate economic entity, divorced from its relationships with neighboring communities, the district capital, and the national economy. It must be treated initially as if it were an independent nation. Of course, later these relationships must be reestablished, but first one must be able to perceive the community as an independent economic unit in order to be able to examine its dependencies and opportunities.

The second principle is to <u>attract as many monies as possible</u> to flow into the "isolate" community. Although the I.C.A. rarely articulates the difference, this principle has two discernible aspects: generating external income and securing the use of capital from external sources. Institute staff members advocate generating as many agricultural and industrial "exports" as possible, providing external services for other communities(which often implies holding jobs in

surrounding communities or cities, returning the wages earned to the local community), and attracting the expenditures of outside money in the community either through tourism or expanded commercial activity. These are all ways of generating income from beyond the community.

Monetary fluidity is also crucial to rapid development and involves ways of making more capital available to the community. For this purpose, efforts to increase the size and availability of loans, and especially for the extension of lines of credit are important. Similarly, the securing of governmental and private grants, both as initiating capital or to undergird the local provision of new services, is an important dimension of increasing the supply of money in the community.

The third economic principle is to retain as much of the money in the community as possible. This can be accomplished by reducing the number of things imported by the community and by producing locally as many of the required usable goods as possible. It can also be accomplished by eliminating outside middlemen, a particularly invidious reality for many villages in underdeveloped countries. Establishing local wholesalers and locally merchandizing as great a variety of goods as is possible are excellent ways of retaining earned income in the community. Another is to provide locally services previously secured from outside the community, for example, transportation or repair services.

The fourth, and closely related, principle is to circulate the money in the community as rapidly as possible. The Institute aims

to have money which comes into the community be "turned over" nine or more times before it flows out again. Thus, they suggest, some of a school teacher's salary from the government might be saved in a local(or branch) bank which lends it to a farmer who may use part of it to pay a waged laborer who buys potatoes from the local grocer who buys his supplies from local farmers, etc. Thus a whole round of local economic activity is engendered, which would be hindered if the teacher simply spent that money in the nearest city. In the same sense, the Institute staff asserts that the first reason for establishing new industry in the community is not to earn profits, though if they come later they will be welcome, but to give people employment and wages to spend locally. The local money supply can be effectively increased by accelerating the rate of circulation.

The fifth economic principle is to _re-relate the community to the more inclusive economic entities_, but from the perspective of the local community. The local community must determine how it will relate to the larger regional or national economy. The national economy must be the servant of the local economy, if local development is to occur. The national economy must relate to the global economy in the same way, rather than in subservient adaptation to it. This radical reorientation of economic perspective is essential to the rapid economic development of local communities, and thereby, the larger economies of the underdeveloped world. It requires the willingness to suspend the "macro-down" perspective for a "micro-up" strategy.

In addition to these principles of local social and economic development, the I.C.A. staff articulate a set of principles that have to do with the effective formation of a local socio-economic project. These principles are more contextual in orientation, and concern the necessary dynamics in a development project. The first of these has already been articulated in introducing the preceeding 10 principles: <u>local development must be socio-economic</u>. Social development and economic development must go hand-in-hand.

The second principle is that the <u>public and private sector have to work together</u> for significant, lasting change. The Institute staff contends that when the public sector attempts to act alone to create change it ends up in great frustration, either with little result or with wasted expenditures with low value return. Further, public sector personnel are inevitably concerned with all the villages and are reluctant to focus priority on one for the sake of the rest. Conversely, the private sector is frequently only concerned with particularity, one situation. The public sector tends to be primarily concerned with economic issues, while the private sector, in supporting local development, emphasizes the social and human dimensions. A comprehensive project must combine the gifts and energies of both these sectors of the larger society to undergird projects in local community development.

Thirdly, an effective demonstration project requires both <u>internal and external dynamics: local residents and people from other places working together</u>. Local people, without the assistance of those

who are objective to the community, have great difficulty in analyzing adequately the underlying dynamics of their own community. Further, self-interest often engenders unself-conscious illusions, which outsiders can assist local residents to perceive. But outsiders cannot impose plans on the community; only the residents can formulate their own vision for their community, for which they are willing to expend their own lives.

The fourth principle is the combination of the local and the global. Local development, done as an end in itself, turns in upon itself and bogs down. A vision of global restructuring, of which this local effort is an integral part, is necessary. This then requires both images of globality in the local community(grids of the world as well as the local community, pictures of the great cultures and races of the globe) and personal contact with colleagues engaged in the same effort in other parts of the world. This is why the initiating consults of the Global Band of Social Demonstration all had a sizeable number of international participants. The gifts of the whole globe are thus made accessible to every demonstration project community.

The Institute's final principle has already been hinted at above: only local people themselves can accomplish the development of their own community. Nobody can do it for them. But, if left alone, local people rarely accomplish radical, rapid development. A catalyzing force seems to be necessary, not to "do for" the local people, but to provide incentive, training, and to act as the go-between relating

bureaucracies and local residents. Thus, an auxiliary staff, which ideally would combine outsiders with local residents, works in each project for approximately two years. At the end of that time, the process of cumulative change should be self-sustaining, the community leadership as equipped as the auxiliaries were when they arrived.

IV. The Mechanisms of Project Initiation

While the Institute's principles of socio-economic development seem to imply that local community development happens virtually without outside help, except for informal assistance from global, non-governmental groups and an occasional contact with the national government, a more balanced philosophy emerges when one examines the practical steps towards launching a Human Development Project.

The Institute speaks of four phases being involved in the "actuation" of a Human Development Project. The _launching_ phases involves the selection of the project and the implementation of the comprehensive social and economic plan created during the consult. This plan is published in booklet form and is thereafter known as the Project Document; it is the guide book for the direction of the project in its first two years. The _acceleration_ phase involves the expansion of the programs and initial moves towards replication in other communities. During the _stabilization_ phase local leadership, having been trained by the resident auxiliary staff in the earlier phases, now assumes full responsibility for the project and its support, with consequent decrease of auxiliary staff. In _maturation_, local initiation drives both the

project and the replication effort in other communities without outside help.

A major factor in launching a project is the selection of the community. Six criteria were developed for the initial band of 24 which disclose the pragmatic necessity of relationships with the socio-economic realitites beyond the local community. In many ways, the "politics will take care of itself" stance is appropriate to the degree that care was taken to follow these criteria for site selection which emphasize the pragmatic choice of conducive conditions.

The first criterion for choosing a project community is that it fit into the project symbolism. At the simplest level, this meant being located in an appropriate place to fill out the 24 time-zone-model. Secondly, it must be in a representative situation for the host nation, e.g., Maliwada, a village in India, was emblematic of the nation's concern to develop her villages as a counterpoise to urban migration. Nearness to a national shrine or place of cultural or historical significance makes it easier for many visitors to see the demonstration. Finally, visible human suffering and apparent hopelessness symbolizes the intent of the project to meet real human need and its capacity to deal with even the most difficult situations.

The Institute's second criterion involves effective framing, securing the context of permission, affirmation and support both locally and nationally. Of primary importance is the local advocacy, the readiness of the local community to be a part of the project for local development. Until such local readiness is apparent, local development

is talled. (In some cases, especially as replication reaches out to touch all the communities in an area, this local support itself must be developed.) Official national support must also be discerned, which involves ascertaining the official policy and outlook relative to local self-development projects. The individuals and offices, without whose support a pilot project would be hampered, must be identified and at least informal acquiescence, if not formal support, must be secured. The legal status of the Institute of Cultural Affairs in the host country must be cleared, usually involving formal registration as a not-for-profit corporation with a national board of directors. Finally, a network of bureaucratic and business contacts must be established who will undergird the project by making available needed expertise and financial support.

The crucial criterion for rapid acceleration of a pilot project is the geo-social stability of the project site. Geographic insularity facilitates working with the community as a cohesive social unit. Community self-identity is likewise enhanced. However, while discernably separate from other units, access to urban services including transportation, communications, and essential utilities makes development much more rapid. Actually linking into these services will frequently become the focus of key tactics built by the initiating consult. Visibility, or perhaps "visitability", is also important if the project is to be a demonstration sign for others.

Some replication scheme for expanding the effect of the demonstration project across the nation or region within which the

project is to be located must be envisioned from the beginning. This requires the openness of both local leaders and officials of the larger socio-political units. It means there must be a way to train local leaders to staff such replications. Systematic visitation of the project by national and international figures is a key for gaining local momentum out of the recognition of the importance of this project for the rest of the country/globe.

The fifth criterion involves the <u>potential for project funding</u>. Although the Institute has been able to secure some outside funding for some of the initial 24 projects, the majority of such funding is secured from within the host nation. The receptivity of local self-help initiatives such as the raising of local funds for community projects in the Harambee Movement in Kenya, is an important consideration in locating a project in that country. Government agency programs and services are another key arena, as is the interest of the private sector in supporting local development. Finally, the capacity for establishing a network of small donors, usually already revealed in previous efforts of the I.C.A. or in attmpting to secure support for the initiating consultation of the project itself, is an important factor.

The Institute's final criterion involves the choice of the particular community for the demonstration site. <u>Local feasibility</u> depends upon a clear invitation to the I.C.A. from the local leadership to initiate the project in their community. The population of the community must be of manageable size(the original band of 24 ranged

from 600 to 25,000; later efforts tended to focus upon communities with a population between 2,000 and 4,000). The people's readiness to radically expend themselves to develop their community was considered and the availability of socio-economic structures readily adaptable for development was evaluated.

Obviously these criteria tend to overlap and mitigate against one another in application. Site selection became a matter of weighing strengths on some criteria against weaknesses in others. Taken together, they indicate that the Institute was very conscious of the need for a great deal of support and protection for the projects by the larger social, economic, and political structures of the nation. The Institute always preferred to have three sites to choose among, and sought sites in which rapid success was most likely.

The other major element in launching a demonstration project is the Initiating Consultation. This week-long event brings together the residents of the community and persons with technical and support expertise from across the host nation and the world. The outsiders help the residents to objectify their hopes and to analyze their situation. The local residents articulate their deep desires for their community and make the crucial decisions about alternative routes to achieve that vision. The consult is a practical manifestation of the expertise of the globe put at the service of a local community. Thus, crucial support links are forged at the earliest planning stage of the project. The methodology the Institute uses to conduct a consult reveals its dynamic conception of the process of

development.

The consult, after a celebrational opening feast, focuses upon enabling the community to articulate its operating vision. The Institute staff believes that man is consciousness and thus exists only out of his vision of the future. But they believe that for most people, this operating vision is mostly unconscious. It is embedded in the symbolism of the community, in its style of life, and its underlying expectations. Individual selfhood is the capacity of man to stand outside himself, to reflect upon his various relationships and take an attitude towards them. Similarly, a community has a web of relationships, but its defining characteristic is the relationship the community takes towards those relationships. The operating vision of the community is the latent part of the community's self-relationship, its attitude towards its fated reality. Community development begins by assisting the members of the community to stand consciously aware of the relationship they take to their community and to forge intentionally the relationship they desire to have. Most communities are relatively unaware of the attitude they take towards themselves. The consult awakens community awareness, makes the latent manifest, and seeks to render the operating vision of the community into a rational model, which the residents will affirm as an expression of their deep longings.

When the operating vision has been captured, the consult seeks to discover the Underlying Contradictions, the realities that deter the actualization, the realization, the incarnation of the local vision.

A contradiction is not a problem; it is a vehicle to the future. It is discovered by examining the frustrations of the community, the irritants. When these have been articulated, the consultants seek the objective blocks that are the source of those irritants. It is in attacking these blocks that the future is released. The Institute's method eschews the teleological approach. The demonstration project does not establish a series of goals to be reached. It attacks the contradictions which are blocking the realization of the operating vision. It is thus a dynamic, recurring process, not a once-for-all increment to be achieved.

The third step of the consult method is to design Practical Proposals, which are more specific than strategies, but more general than tactics. They are the actions which manifest the attack upon the contradictions. They can be designed only by releasing the creativity of the local community to risk steps they have never taken before. Wildness is an essential quality in beginning this step in the process, though increasing practicability is a requirement as the proposals take form.

The practical proposals never accomplish anything until they are embodied into Tactics. The I.C.A. staff likes to use military metaphors, such as that a soldier never dies in his strategies, or proposals. He dies as he implements specific tactics--and correspondingly, success comes from implemented tactics. Creating the Tactical System to actualize the set of proposals is the fourth step in the consult method. The key to effective demonstration projects

is that they focus in this step on specific things to do, rather than on the earlier ways of conceiving the future.

The tactics, which are what are actually done in the project, must then be organized in such a way that they can be conceived programmatically for the sake of estimating costs and securing the necessary funding to support the project. The Actuating Programs are, thus, what is visible to those outside the project. It is these things that government agencies and the private sector fund. But the key to the project is in laying out a timeline of Implementary Steps to accomplish the tactics. This can only be done by the local forces which will be doing them. It is making decisions about what they will be doing to accomplish economic and social development in the community, and when they will do it. No one else can decide such things for them.

The successful accomplishing of these implementaries, as the staff calls them, radically alters the local situation(as would also their failure). This alteration creates the conditions to start the whole process over. After a period of effort, the operating vision will have altered, and with it the underlying contradictions. This will require different proposals and tactics, and so forth. Development is thus seen to be a continual, cumulative process.

The consult serves both as an awakenment event in the local community and an occasion to build a community consensus about its future. It is this consensus which is incorporated in the Project Document. The consult also initiates some of the changes it foresees

and establishes some of the key dynamics and institutions of the development process. The process of community-wide meetings to consense on new directions is a regular feature of the years of implementing the project. Steps in the consult planning are done by task forces related to various development arenas: agriculture, industry, commerce, education, health, community organization. These task forces often become the forces of implementation of the project, and across the global band, are referred to as "guilds". The catalytic auxiliary I.C.A. staff took up residence in the community to help prepare for the consult and working relationships between the auxiliary and the community leaders and residents are firmly established during the consult, as is the common commitment to implement the resulting model for that community's development. Thus the consult not only plotted the project's direction, it established and confirmed the basic mechanisms for implementing the plan.

V. Local Demonstration and the Creation of a Movement

A central element in the Institute of Cultural Affairs' approach to local socio-economic development is the extension of the movement of local man's resurgence. Concretely, this means linking together in common commitment, common symbolic expression, information exchange, and personal contact, leaders of demonstration projects from around the globe.

As a demonstration project begins to accelerate its activities, after its launching consultation, the auxiliary places great emphasis

upon the common task of local development this project shares with others around the world. This sense of common destiny is used to heighten individual motivity and to sustain endeavor through the long periods of hard work. A similar sense of common destiny is emphasized within the project, among the citizens of the community. Internal divisiveness is constantly being overcome and new mutual relations of common effort established.

Leadership training in maintaining a unified effort is a critical task of the auxiliary at the initiation of the project. Creating and supporting a global perspective on community development is an important aspect of maintaining objectivity on the plan of the consult and its implementation. Equipping the leadership with the methods which can facilitate economic and social change is a crucial dynamic. Confirming altered behavior patterns, a new life style, is an essential aspect of the auxiliary's task--a task accomplished primarily by the example of the auxiliaries themselves, and the inclusion into their planning and social life of members of the local community. It is always desireable for the auxiliary to include local residents, as well as outside I.C.A. staff. When some local residents volunteer to work in other demonstrations, particularly in other countries, the sense of movemental solidarity is confirmed in both the sending and the receiving projects. The philosophy and techniques of training, both of local leaders and of those who would become expert auxiliaries, must be examined next.

Chapter 7

The Epistemological Basis of Imaginal Education

> Speaking at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1960, Edwin Land remarked that we had been puny in our conception of the new professions that are now possible for men. Given, for example, the vast underdeveloped areas of the world, how do we arrange the use of our own human resources to bring these areas into the modern age speedily and without untoward suffering? Or, given the vast increase in knowledge in all fields of learning, how do we equip our men and women to impart that knowledge to new generations? I am not speaking of moral equivalents of war in James's sense: that is much too modest a conception. Rather, it is in developing the arts of peace that we shall find an expression for the new images that the century has produced. Until then, we shall not become the full beneficiaries of the change that science has wrought. A people who feel that they are living at the full limit of what is possible will have no crises of identity(Bruner, 1969:165).

The educational methodology of the Institute of Cultural Affairs is called "Imaginal Education". It is a methodology focused upon the relationship of cognitive processes and behavior. The Institute believes that behavior is not based upon ideological belief systems so much as it is based upon "imaginal" perceptions and conceptions of the world, others, and the self. The belief that "All men are created equal" is not as determinative as the image held for "all men". Thus, if new behaviors are to be encouraged, an individual's basic images must be altered. Imaginal education is a methodology to occasion such image alterations.

Imaginal education does not postulate structuralist cognitive universals. It is concerned with the universal conceptual processes. It recognizes the importance of the material world for man's actions, and of the material processes by which thought and image-formation occur, but acknowledges the relationship of the material world and cognitive processes are always imperfect and fallible. It is within

these parameters that the epistemological question must be examined.

Epistemology, as a formal arena of enquiry, seeks to establish with what certainty we may say that we know something. It has focused upon the corresponding arenas of linguistics, logic, the philosophy of science, cognition and perception, biology and evolution, to name just a few. An examination of scientific knowledge has served to highlight the issues, for it "...can be more easily studied than common-sense knowledge. For it is common-sense knowledge writ large, as it were" (Popper, 1959:42). As such, epistemology has systematically examined all of man's attempts to justify his knowledge as verifiable. This chapter is particularly indebted to the findings of those who might be called evolutionary epistemologists, who have pointed out that there is no verifiable or non-presumptive knowledge, that all knowledge is theory-laden, and is the result of trial and error, or hypothesis and testing processes.

However, most people are neither disciplined epistemologists nor formally engaged in scientific pursuits. Their knowing is both less systematic than that required by science and additionally concerned with arenas usually considered beyond the scope of science. For those concerned to assist men and women to live "...at the full limit of what is possible..." an understanding of how one might effectively impact their knowing is critical. It requires an understanding of the perceptual and cognitive processes of man, as they have evolved to their present state. But it also involves an understanding of how man combines his conceptions into operating schemas, world-views, or, what

Kenneth Boulding calls "images". Thus it is with epistemology at this more personal level that this chapter is concerned.

I. Man: The Imaginal Animal

The approach of evolutionary epistemology stresses the continuity between man and the rest of the animal world. A favorite expression is, "Man, cousin of the amoeba, how can we know for certain?" It recognizes that perception is already presumptive and, as such, is "...a knowledge process. Such an inclusion makes relevant the learning processes of animals. However primitive these may be, they too must conform to an adequate logical epistemology"(Campbell, 1974:418). There is then a systematic examination of how animals in various evolutionary nitches "learn", showing that trial and error with selective retention is the basic and common method. Donald T. Campbell, in his as yet unpublished William James Lectures of 1977, demonstrates how this presumptive method is embodied in the development of man, both in structural selectors(e.g., in neurological systems that monitor and modulate sensing and acting neurons, which thus function like filters and amplifiers in electronics) and in capacities that allow vicarious selection, such as sight which allows man to test out possible directions without the necessity of bumping into walls until one finds the door.

Boulding, too, recognizes the continuity of knowledge processes in animals and men. In a chapter entitled "The Image at the Biological Level"(Boulding, 1956), he likens a gene to an image, a blue-print for

a building, which somehow organizes the accumulation of material. Campbell has a similar passage in his article on "Pattern Matching as an Essential in Distal Knowing" in which he uses the term "template" as well as "image", defined as "the storage of behavioral dispositions". Campbell also traces this concept from Uexküll(1934) "search image" and Tolman(1948) "cognitive map" to cybernetic considerations that reintroduce the term "image"(Campbell, 1966:91f). Boulding goes on to affirm that "Even the simplist living creature is an information-gathering and information-organizing structure"(1956:35). He points out that the image, in the genetic structure, teaches and produces, shaping organization and behavior in the animal, but it learns nothing. It is changed only by "blind mutation". Thus the amoeba has an image of food by which it "judges" materials it takes into itself, and on the basis of which it either assimilates or rejects those materials. He goes on to point out that a decorticated dog will react similarly but normal dogs, after hesitating when confronting bad-tasting food, will eat it, disclosing that the canine enhanced brain can extend its conception beyond taste to food-in-general and is able to overrule the reflex reaction of the lower nervous system by what he calls, "...the image-operated action of the higher centers...." (1956:43). The dog marks a distinctly different level of development from the amoebic use of the image, the level of conscious mental processes.

Boulding goes on to say that man, the symbol user, is even more different from the lower animals. "It may be doubted whether any animal apart from man has what could properly be called self-conscious-

ness, that is an image of its image"(1956:45). Using a similar argument related to the centrality of language, Popper points out that only men have the capacity to not only express themselves and signal a response(as other animals do) but to make descriptive statements which can be factually true or false, and, what he calls the highest evolutionary form, the argumentative function which allows critical discussion, the basis of science(Popper, 1972:276f). Thus man, Boulding concludes, is distinct from the other animals not "...by any increased capacity for the intake of information....It is the capacity for organizing information into large and complex images which is the chief glory of our species....We not only know, but we know that we know. This reflective character of the human image is unique...." (1956:25).

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, in his imaginative recounting of evolution, The Phenomenon of Man, focuses upon this distinction of man from the other animals by his capacity to reflect upon his consciousness, "...the power acquired by a consciousness to turn in upon itself, to take possession of itself as of an object endowed with its own particular consistence and value: no longer merely to know, but to know oneself; no longer merely to know, but to know that one knows" Teilhard, 1965:165). This capacity changes the way man acts, for "...the reflective psychic center, once turned in upon itself, can only subsist by means of a double movement which is in reality one and the same. It centers itself further on itself by penetration into a new space, and at the same time it centers the rest of the world

around itself by the establishment of an even more coherent and better organized perspective in the realities which surround it" (1965:172). Teilhard goes on to say that reaching this point of awakening of thought marks a transformation which affects the whole state of the planet, a process he calls noogenesis. "When for the first time in a living creature instinct perceived itself in its own mirror, the whole world took a pace forward"(1965:181). Thus he compares the birth of consciousness of consciousness to the advent of life itself in his tripartite schema of the material universe, the emergence of the biosphere, and the development of the noosphere.

Teilhard goes on to say that this development of self-consciousness puts new challenges before man. One of the more visible is the struggle of intelligence "...to overcome the encircling illusion of proximity...."(1965:216), first in spatial scope, and then in the temporal extension, in both past and future. He recalls Julian Huxley as he says, "The consciousness of each of us is evolution looking at itself and reflecting upon itself"(1965:221). His conclusion is that for modern man, evolution is no longer simply a biological process, but that for the first time, to some extent, its course is within the control of man's intelligence, that man is responsible for the future course of evolution.

Whatever one thinks of Teilhard's scientific analysis, he highlights the significance of consciousness of consciousness as a development that requires an appreciation of the discontinuity of human knowledge processes from those of the animal world. It does not

negate the hypothetical nature of knowledge described by the evolutionary epistemologists. It requires, as the evolutionists themselves acknowledge and extensively practice, the treatment of man as possessing unique capacities which sharply distinguish him from other animals. Thus while he can be said to be the cousin of the amoeba, as a reminder of his inbuilt fallibility(a perspective without which man labors entirely within the realm of illusion), man is such a distant cousin that he lives in what might be called an entirely different realm of reality, that of self-consciousness(he lives in the noosphere). It is at this level that the issues of epistemology on the more personal level are joined. This is a crucial distinction, for as Bruner has pointed out, the way one looks at man profoundly affects his standard of what is considered humanly possible(Bruner, 1969:150).

Søren Kierkegaard was operating under similar categories of consciousness when he created his formula of selfhood: "The self is a relation which relates itself to its own self....(and) by relating itself to its own self and by willing to be itself, the self is grounded transparently in the Power which posited it"(1969:146f). Thus for Kierkegaard, selfhood is a relational category. The self is a web of relationships to the world, to other life forms, to other selves, to its own body. Of course, for Kierkegaard, it was not the nature of these relationships which were critical, but man's willingness to have them. He goes on to describe in detail the ways in which man refuses to be these relationships through naivete, circumspection

(which is perhaps a more accurate expression of his meaning for post-Freudians looking back at Kierkegaard's earlier use of the term "introversion"), and defiance. However, it would seem that one cannot divide the nature of one's relationships and his willing to be them, for in fact, his willingness or unwillingness to be the relations he is colors and shapes those very relationships. Boulding's concept of the image is helpful in grasping how this occurs.

II. Images and Their Functions

Boulding suggests that man operates on the basis of his picture of the world he lives in, that he has a picture of his globe and where he is located on it, his place in time, and of how the world works. The term for this picture of his world is an "image". He contrasts this kind of knowledge with that which carries with it "...an implication of validity, of truth...." by calling it "subjective knowledge". But, far from therefore being of lesser value than that knowledge which is the more usual province of formal epistemology, for those who are concerned to exercise the responsibility Teilhard described, this subjective knowledge is of primary importance, for as Boulding contends, "It is this image that largely governs my behavior"(1956:5f).

Images might be understood as theoretical interpretations of a wide variety of cognitive data. Bruner points out the importance of a concept like the image when he highlights the importance of the poet and the necromancer who look at life "sidewise" rather than "head-on" and thereby stir things together into new connections that

become what he calls "happy hunches". He suggests the scientist's fettish for objectivity often leads him to hide such sources in himself for his hypotheses. He goes on to say, "We honor (our highly limited capacity for taking in and processing information) by learning the methods of compacting vast ranges of experience in economical symbols--concepts, language, metaphor, myth, formulae. The price of failing at this art is either to be trapped in a confined world of experience or to be the victim of an overload of information" (Bruner, 1969:6f). Thus, it would seem that man is forced to forge images as creative inventions to make sense of what would otherwise be an "overload of information". In this sense, perhaps images are more objective, or participate more directly in the schema of objective knowledge, than Boulding is willing to claim. Certainly others have used comparable metaphors in their writings. In some senses such images can be likened to Quine's more formal use of the idea of a "field of theories"(Quine, 1953:43) or to Tolman's rejection of direct s - r bonding in favor of the metaphor of a "map room" (Cf. Bruner, 1956:vii).

Boulding, writing about "The Image of Man and Society", suggests that man's images are particularly rich and complex as a result of their symbolic character. Yet paradoxically, they seem to be largely beyond expression for most men. He is at pains to point out that only individuals have images. There are no social images that exist independently. Public images can be conceived of only as images that many people hold commonly. In an undiscriminating list, he articulates

ten types of images that men hold. They are more easily understood and used when grouped together.

Using Teilhard's double movement of man in centering upon his world and himself, Boulding's first four types of images might be considered together. The first three comprise man's image of the world: his spatial image(his location and the space around him), his temporal image(the stream of time and his place in it), and his relational image(by which Boulding means the universe as a system of discernable regularities, and man's grasp of how things work and interact). It would seem artificial to keep these separate, and yet each of these arenas will become important in the consideration of techniques of changing images. The second crucial arena is man's personal image—his image of himself in a universe of persons, roles, and organizations.

Boulding's next two categories seem to be descriptive of the second level in Kierkegaard's definition of selfhood: the relating to the relations. If the self as a"relation" can be understood to refer to the whole series of relations implied by one's image of the world and of oneself, then the relating to those relations can be talked of in terms of values and affections. The value image is the ordering, on a scale of better and worse, the parts of the whole image. To the extent that values are socially objective, it might be better to consider them part of one's image of the world; to the extent that they are one's evaluation of the world and the self, they express his relationship to himself. The affectional image expresses the emotional

relationships one takes to his world, to other selves, and to himself. It is intricately interwoven with the value image in that all men evaluate their various emotions, inevitably placing them on a scale of better and worse, both generally and relativistically in particular situations. This is clearly a different usage of "image" than that used in the preceeding categories, and might better be considered simply as qualities of the relationship one takes to his images of the world and the self, thus restricting the term "image".

The next four of Boulding's categories are even further removed from the former usage of the term "image". They might better be considered four sets of criteria for making judgments about images of the world and of the self. They are: first, the division into images that are held consciously, those that are in the unconscious but are capable of being raised to consciousness, and those that are in the sub-conscious, monitoring and distorting the perception of data. Second is the criterion of certainty - uncertainty or clarity - vagueness, by which images may be evaluated. Third, and closely related to the second, is the reality - unreality criterion, by which an image may be checked for correspondence to "outside" reality. Boulding recognizes that since man never receives data from reality directly, one is checking the correspondence of an image with his perception of reality, not reality itself. In fact, Boulding suggests man can only check the co-respondence of an image with "images of reality". The fourth, and last, of Boulding's categories is the private/public scale of an image, the extent to which an image is shared with others in

one's society.

To oversimplify, man has an image of his world and an image of himself. These images are made up of many smaller order images. He relates to these images both evaluatively and affectively. These images operate at various levels of consciousness, with various degrees degrees of certainty and reality. Some of them are shared broadly across his society. These images are inextricably intertwined. As Bruner writes, "...man's image of himself....is not independent of his image of the world"(1969:159). The converse is equally true.

Boulding clearly implies the existence of a hierarchy of images that ranges from the imprinted biological images of genes and of reflex reactions, through the interpretive organizing of data perceptions, to the images of the multiple elements that make up one's world, and culminating in the unifying images of one's world and of oneself.

It would appear that this schema is correlative to the more formal studies of perception and cognition described by evolutionary epistemologies. Thus Boulding states at the outset that there are no raw facts, that all facts that intrude on a being are in reality messages that are received, if not solicited, interpretively. Language sets men apart from the animals and creates a "universe of discourse" of commonly held images. Finally, he suggests that such knowledge can never be validated. But he wishes to focus on the organic nature of the organization of knowledge, rather than on describing the presumptive nature of the mechanisms of the growth of knowledge.

Bruner, with his abiding passion for education, seems to share this concern even as he reports on his far more formal and systematic studies of cognition. Thus he can talk about categorization, in ways which are similar to Boulding's use of images, as the essential process which avoids an overload on the mental apparatus. Similarly, in dealing with memory, he points out that the key issue is not storage--capacity far exceeds the ability of use--but the means of retrieval. He then points out that the key to retrieval is the organizing principle through which data is stored and the ability to link the data with the principle used at a later time. Boulding's image is just such a link.

At the unifying level, images seem to play paradigmatic roles. Bruner indicates that the history of culture is the development of such organizing ideas whose power is in their capacity for making the world understandable and, at times, predictable and changeable. He says that our perceptions are received through such organizing ideas or images, that they are "...filtered through the programmed readiness of our senses. The program(Cf., "image") is constructed with our expectations and those are derived from our models or ideas about what exists and what follows what"(Bruner, 1969:120). Paradigmatic images seem to function in much the same way that Thomas Kuhn(1970) suggests that paradigms function in science: as exemplars of how life is to be understood, and as setters of the agenda of research, of hypothesis and testing, of trial and error, of living. In a latter section, the corresponding difficulty in changing paradigms will be made

analogous to the difficulty in changing a person's unifying images.

III. The Formation of Images

What are the sources of man's images? At the most basic level, they can be assumed to be biologically implanted, the selected survivals of the evolutionary process. At the perceptual and cognitive levels, they must surely be similarly selected in the trial and error process, so well described by the evolutionary epistemologists. Most early-developed images must be learned ostensively. Thus images are to be distinguished from abstract ideas which developmentally occur later in childhood. Studies in early-childhood education conducted in the Westside black ghetto of Chicago in the 1960's discovered well-formed self- and racial-images in three year olds(Image, 1964 & 1965). These images are socially learned from parents, siblings, playmates, television, billboards, toys, and many other sources.

Thus images participate in the dynamic that Campbell refers to in the first of his William James Lectures as "socially dependent knowing". Often unconsciously the child comes to accept for himself operating images which he receives through trust in what are "admitted fallible reports other persons make of what they have seen and done". This is social dependence, not just at the informational level, at which Campbell was dealing, and which is chancy enough(Cf., Asch's famous experiment in which all but one of the subjects were in reality collaborators in the experiment and, by agreement, unanimously reporting incorrectly), but at the behaviorally affective level of

interpreting images. The children in the above study, in some respects, bore out the well-known Cooley-Meade articulation of "the looking-glass self" that has been overstated in the summary, "I am what I think you think I am." The children had accepted an image of themselves communicated to them by their society, and an image of the world divided racially, with an evaluative relationship that it was better to be white than to be black as they were.

Images are learned socially. They are tried out by the individual. If they seem to "fit", to correspond to, and make sense of, the data coming from reality, they become a part of one's knowing. However, the more images function at the unifying level, that is, the more they function paradigmatically, the less open they are to being either verifiable or falsifiable. They become self-justifying at two levels. Just as suspicion, when injected into a relationship, regularly engenders a suspicious response(and trust engenders trust), so a projected self-image or image of the world(e.g., as racially hostile) will tend to elicit a confirming response. Secondly, because images operate as interpreters of received data, perception is biased so as to confirm these unifying images.* Thus, despite anomalies, paradigmatic images are resistive to falsification, and function in ways similar to those of what Imre Lakatos calls the hard core of a research program, "This core is 'irrefutable' by methodological decision of its protagonists; anomalies must lead to change only in

* Cf., Francis Bacon's "Idols of the Tribe" in Advancement of Learning, quoted in Campbell, 1977:77.

the 'protective' belt of auxiliary 'observational' hypotheses and initial conditions"(Lakatos, 1970:133). Thus there is a commitment to maintaining one's images which corresponds to the scientist's commitment to his fundamental paradigms. But, lest it appear that images are simply irrationally maintained without support, it must be remembered that, since these images are learned socially, much of the testing elicits a confirming response from the individual's associates, indicating it has been correctly learned, quite apart from questions of its correspondence with reality.

Thus the connection between public and private images plays a crucial role in the formation of images in an individual. Many of the paradigmatic and perceptual/conceptual level images are learned by interiorizing public images, images shared broadly across society. Sometimes they are learned in a fashion similar to that of learning a language, as discussed above. Sometimes they are assumed as a consequence of assuming a role in an organization, assuming the images of both one playing that role and of the organization itself(i.e., the public image of the organization shared by its members and others). Such is the case with the child as he first goes to school and takes on the role of student. Further, this means that changes in public images may be expected to entail changes in the privately held images of those in that society. This feature is critical to the techniques of shifting images, to be examined at the end of this chapter.

IV. Images Control Behavior

In describing the pattern of his own everyday life, Boulding asserts that his images of his life control his behavior. It is not a simplistic nor naively deterministic assertion, for he acknowledges the unpredictability of intervening events. Rather, the control is the conditioning of expectations and the formation of characteristic responses. Bruner lays the ground work for a similar affirmation when he tries to explain the idea of action. He writes that "...action can be understood in terms of the selective principle by which we use the knowledge available to us....(Man) represents the world to himself and acts in behalf of or in reaction to his representations. The representations are the products of his own spirit as it has been formed by living in a society with a language, myths, a history, and ways of doing things"(Bruner, 1969:129f). He then spells out how this happens in an essay entitled, "The Control of Human Behavior".

Bruner posits two forms of control in society: the deliberate or public controls embodied in laws, regulations, and formal education; and the non-deliberate controls of the society's guiding myths and values which he calls the latent culture(prefering that term to the anthropologists' "covert culture"). He then contends that totalitarian states(whose morality permit such approaches) may attempt "...to control men by shaping their conception of the world in which they live" (1969:132). He contends that such control is more advantageous than direct control through punishments and rewards since it is self-administered and avoids the mitigating lag between behavior and response

inherent in external controls. Such control is possible, in part, because early established conceptions of reality tend to function as first editions, upon which later editions are fashioned, at times with corrections to be sure. However, such early versions of social reality have a pre-emptive power. The primary vehicle of such control is language and myth which together are the key to joint action. They predispose men to particular ways of thought and arrangements of the shared subjective reality, a Weltanshauung. Other vehicles of control are the granting of affiliations or its counterpart, social rejection; the limitation of opportunity, as a result of which studies in early sensory deprivation have demonstrated a consequent dulling of curiosity and venturesomeness; and the operation of compensatory schedules in which it has been recognized that to be deprived of something one has already grasped as his, by right, is worse than not achieving one's desires--that the loss symbolizes both a loss of support and overt ostracism.

Bruner, while calling upon intellectuals to exchange their role of myth-slayer for that of myth-maker, rather naively asserts that only immoral totalitarian governments would attempt to control society through such cognitive and indirect(one might say "imaginal") means. Aside from the obvious logical inconsistency that suggests that control that promotes behavior one abhors is in some way different in kind from control that promotes behavior one approves, in point of fact, the very restrictive control he finds so offensive is wide-spread in the so-called "free societies", with the implicit, and usually

explicit, support of the governments and social elites concerned. Two examples may help to both demonstrate this reality and further explain how images control behavior.

The first example comes from the pilot experiment in community reformulation of the Institute of Cultural Affairs, begun in 1964 in the black ghetto of Chicago's Westside, called Fifth City. After an extensive examination and compilation of the critical problems facing the community: economic, political, educational, stylistic, and symbolic, it was discerned that the key factor was the underlying understanding that nothing could really be changed. This factor was taled about by the people of the community as "The Nigger Image"--that to be black was to see oneself as a nigger, a nothing, a "hanky-head", the victim of "Mr. Charley". This widespread radical self-depreciation came to be called "The Victim Image". It was pervasive across the community, from the youngest, as has already been mentioned, to the eldest. It undercut every attempt to deal with the many more surface problems.

Where did such an image come from? Why was it so universally held? Bruner's categories helpfully explain this. The language and mythology of American society communicated this public image of negro worthlessness. Black and white alike used the term "nigger" with shared understanding of all the negative connotations involved. The myth of American life and success, communicated in literature, school, media, and public life was visibly the story of white success and negro failure. The rare negro successes highlighted the racial expectation by focusing upon how this one rose above the failure all

about him. Even the advertising in the community urged the residents to cease being black, and, through the use of skin lighteners and hair straighteners, to emmulate the superior and desirable whites. Affiliation and rejection patterns further reinforced this image by lumping all negroes together in the ghetto and effectively isolating them from mainstream activities of American society except in the most demeaning servant relationships. The limitation of opportunities shut off the very drives necessary to alter the prevailing social conditions.

One high school math teacher discovered how this worked. After months of trying to get through to her tenth graders, she decided to try to motivate them by relating her course work to their future success. One day she asked each student what he or she would be doing ten years later. The dominant response of the boys was that they would be sitting on a street corner drinking wine. The corresponding response among the girls was that they'd be supporting themselves and their children by prostitution. Suddenly the teacher understood why her students were not motivated to learn geometry. The image of their future dictated disinterest. Geometry was irrelevant. Similarly, the American myth of the right of equality and affluence for every citizen, contradicted on every side by ghetto poverty, announced the social ostracism directed towards the negro--an ostracism that simple observation of the way people lived in the ghetto seemed to confirm as well deserved, and was echoed in turn in the residents' relations to their neighbors.

How does the victim image control behavior? It is a self-fulfilling reality. The conviction of impossibility and failure

produces, in turn, the very evidence that reinforces the conviction. As Bruner indicates, in a slightly different context, for a person to search out and find regularities, he must expect them or be aroused to expect them so he will devise ways of searching and finding. "One of the chief enemies of search is the assumption that there is nothing one can find in the environment by way of regularities or relationship" (Bruner, 1969:85). The same thing is true if one substitutes "success" for "regularity". Expecting failure, one is not surprised to do poorly in school(and social pressure from one's fellow students makes it dangerous to do otherwise, if one could). Having failed to get the skills requisite to economic advancement, one receives only the left-overs, the demeaning and undesirable jobs, the poorest paid ones. This means one lives in the poorest housing, eats the poorest food, suffers the poorest health. The evidence of failure confirms the image, and solidifies the torpor of impossibility and the patterns of escapism.

In an entirely different context, a very similar pattern was discovered. In another community reformulation project, this time in the small village of Maliwada in the state of Maharashtra, India, the same pattern of paralysis engendered by a sense of victimism was encountered. This time it was not overtly racial in origin. In this case the stultifying mythology found its roots in the rigidity of the social system of caste and religious communalism, in the oppressive weight of five centuries of subsistence level agricultural poverty, and confirmed by the cultural and technological gap between urban

development and rural poverty. Though the causes and conditions were dramatically different, the same cyclically defeating pattern was discovered, rooted in the image of victimization and self-depreciation, and producing nearly identical results in education, employment, and the living environment. In both communities one encountered a public image, personally believed and appropriated by most of the residents and determinative for most of their behavior.

V. Image Shifts as World-view Alterations

Images can be changed. They are not changed easily. Resistance to such change is high. They are never changed due to conflicting evidence alone. Such evidence is either reinterpeted to fit or dismissed as the exception that proves the point. An image is only given up when a more adequate one is available to replace it, one that makes more sense out of what is happening in one's life. When unifying images change, it is a revolutionary event, radically altering a person's world-view and creating a whole new way of living for him. In these ways, such a change is analogous to paradigm shifts in science as Kuhn describes them.

Boulding distinguishes between one's images and the messages that reach it(though the presumptive nature of such messages has already been examined as has the effect of images in soliciting and receiving such messages). He says such messages may affect an image in one of three ways. The first is that the image may be left unchanged. Many messages have no effect upon one's images, either being largely

ignored, as background noise is, or confirming the image. The second effect is one of simple addition, in which the change is in line with the image, but extends it(cf. the"normal science" role relative to scientific paradigms in Kuhn's model). "There is, however, a third type of change of the image which might be described as a revolutionary change. Sometimes a message hits some sort of nucleus or supporting structure in the image, and the whole thing changes in a quite radical way"(Boulding, 1956:8). Like Kuhn, Boulding relates this revolutionary change to religious conversion--calling such a conversion a spectacular instance of an image change.

Karl Popper seems to be writing of the same kind of experience in describing what he calls the searchlight theory of knowledge(1972: 344 - 347). He uses the phrase "horizon of expectations" in a fashion very similar to Boulding's use of "image". He suggests that man's observations are in response to expectations, either confirming or correcting them. He portrays man as living in the center of a horizon of expectations which, on occasion, can be destroyed, in part or wholly, by the impact of some observation. He also refers to that horizon of expectations as a frame of reference. Where it is destroyed, it must be rebuilt in such a way as to account for the damaging observation.

What causes an image shift to occur? Can images be validated? Is coherence necessary for images? Boulding indicates that coherence does not guarantee truth or validity and goes on to point out that "reality" itself is not guaranteed to be consistent and coherent.

Images are maintained for a number of reasons, not all of which are adequate. As has already been described, many individuals adopt images that correspond to the public image of their sub-culture. Often these images have survival value, both in stability as a public image and in preserving the organism holding the image. So the self-depreciating negro avoided the dangerous confrontation with white society which resulted in numerous lynchings in the decades leading up to the 1960's. These images developed in an orderly pattern, incorporating the feedback messages from both the sub-culture and the dominant culture. They were confirmed by the individual's authority figures from grandmother to teacher to policeman. However, none of these elements guarantees that one's images correspond to reality, though implicitly the image contains within it the notion that the outside world is really there and is adequately reflected by the images. Thus an image requires a faith commitment. It represents the investment of one's life. It is held on the basis of its ability to organize one's life and activity meaningfully. Images are changed only when an alternative image is presented that more adequately makes sense of one's world and/or his own life.

VI. Occasioning Image Shifts

While Boulding has powerfully described the concept of the image and described how it operates and changes, he is very weak in explaining how image shifts may be occasioned. Yet, if one is to take seriously the responsibility for the future that Teilhard has described as in

man's hands, this is a crucial issue. Bruner, in arguing that scientists and humanists must reclaim their powerful positions as myth-makers, is suggesting one means of assuming that responsibility. In this Boulding would concur. What are other ways?

Boulding does clearly indicate the difficulty of occasioning image shifts. He takes seriously the habitual nature of man. His first revised law of economic life is that man will tend to do today (or in any cyclically recurring time pattern) what he did yesterday, thereby avoiding the negative value of uncertainty, unless there are good reasons to do otherwise. His second law is that good reasons have to do with dissatisfaction with what happened yesterday(Boulding, 1956:86f). He then applies this awareness to the changing of images. He describes that change as a fearful plunge into the unknown. Thus images are only changed if there is a great dissatisfaction with the routine of one's life or if a very high value is attached to change itself. However, he points out a crucial dynamic: that once a new image has been successfully established and demonstrated, as for example the possibility of tripling the yield of jowar(sorghum) in the fields of Maliwada by the use of hybrid seeds, powerful messages will spread that image and almost automatically reorganize the images of the laggards.

Bruner and his collaborators likewise acknowledge the difficulties in changing man's basic categorizations. Since such categorization reduces the necessity of constant learning by creating normal responses to familiar situations, a change in ways of categorizing

will require a subsequent change of behavior and a learning of a new pattern of responses(Bruner, 1956:12). In an essay on Freud, he reminds his readers, "If we have learned anything in the last half century of psychology, it is that man has powerful and exquisite capacities for defending himself against violations of his cherished self-image"(Bruner, 1969:150f). He further points out that in his studies in categorization people were unwilling or unable to use information from negative instances as fully as from positive ones, because that required the more difficult step of transformation of information. He observed that it takes more information to cause the abandonment of an hypothesis that fits one's general notions once it is formulated, than it does to form a new hypothesis from raw data (1956:237f). Thus it might be expected that shaking someone loose from an established image might be very difficult, as in fact it is.

A revolutionary image shift happens only when an inadequate paradigmatic image is confronted by a more adequate image that attacks the inadequacies in the former image. It is an explosive occurance, an assault upon strongly held defensive positions which are highly valued, for they summarize the meaning of one's life. To exchange one image for another requires an act of creativity--so well described by Bruner as producing an effective surprise that unexpectedly strikes one with wonder and astonishment and yet at the same time has a quality of obviousness about it that produces a shock of recognition. "The triumph of effective surprise is that it takes one beyond common ways of experiencing the world....creative products have this power of

re-ordering experience and thought...."(1969:22). In what could as well be a description of one's experience after adopting a new paradigmatic image, he says, "Good representation, then, is a release from intellectual bondage"(1969:26).

To occasion an image shift, Boulding suggests one must perceive the weak points in another's images and then pry them apart by symbolic messages(Boulding, 1956:134). Unfortunately, he does not tell how that may be accomplished. However, Teilhard does provide a clue. As has already been indicated, he suggests that the development of consciousness, the development of the noosphere, is the struggle of intelligence "...to overcome the encircling illusion of proximity" (Teilhard, 1965:216). Thus, occasioning image shifts happens as comprehensive and expansive images are presented as alternatives to more reduced and limiting images of one's world and oneself.

In presenting alternatives to an individual's image of the world(and one must rememer that images are always held by individuals; they are not abstractions), it is helpful to observe Boulding's three elements which were earlier grouped together. Here they represent three complimentary approaches: spatial, temporal, and relational. One element of victimism is almost inevitably a severe restriction of one's image of his space. Thus few of the people of Fifth City had much of a picture of Chicago beyond a few blocks from their homes. A surprisingly large proportion of the population of Maliwada had never been away from their village, not even the 12 kilometers to Aurangabad, the district capital with a population of over 100,000.

This meant that they had never seen a city, nor any human settlement of more than 2,000 people! They had no conception that life could be other than it had always been for them. The simple expedient of organized trips to Aurangabad presented a dramatic alternative image of the scope of space a Maliwadan lived within. Similarly, a plane ride over Chicago, locating their homes in relation to the rest of the metropolitan area, enlarged the image of the space Fifth Citizens considered that they lived within. Less dramatic imaginal education uses simplified images of the globe's geo-social continents and systematic grids that relate one's community to the regions and areas of one's own continent. In such ways, one may explode another's entrapping parochialisms.

Stretching the amount of time a person can encompass releases him from the bondage to immediacy and to"the way it's always been done"--which usually means the way it's been done in the easily remembered past. This is attacking the illusion of proximity of time. Boulding has written that nations are the creations of historians and that the image one has of the past gives rise to his image of the present and the future(Boulding, 1956:114). History is not an objective record of the past, but is rather a selected record, shaped by the image of the historian, and, in turn, shaping the images of those who appropriate it. Maliwada sits at the foot of the Deogiri Fort, for a brief time some five centuries ago the capital of India. But for the people of Maliwada, it represented only a ruin where the last Nizam of Hyderabad finally was forced to accede to the Indian union in 1948. It communi-

cated nothing to their image of their village and its future. However, when the story of the glory of the fort as the capital of India was recovered, and of Maliwada(literally: the village of the farmers) as the providers of the kings, a new sense of the future emerged. People began to grasp that Maliwada's future could be as glorious as her past. It is perhaps true to say that one's grasp of the future as possibility is in direct proportion to the scope and glory of one's image of his past. Just so, in Fifth City, it was a course in black heritage, built from images contained in Lerone Bennett's Before the Mayflower(1969), tracing the black man from African prince to slave to freedman to inheritor of the modern urban world, that released residents to claim a new future for themselves and for their community. A decade later, Arthur Haley's Roots(1976) has once again demonstrated the power of shifting people's images of their temporal frame. Boulding points out that the person or nation who has a sense of destiny goes somewhere, even if it is not always where they had expected(1956:125).

Bruner, in the essay in which he suggests that man today is pre-empting the powers of fate, is breaking out of the bondage of necessity, states that man's sense of potency increases as he is able to embrace the enlarged scope of technology(1969:160). To put that another way, as men grasp how the technological urban society of which they are a part(even in remote Maliwada) works, as they develop images which explain the mysteries and extend their direct relationships in interaction, they experience a new sense of power. Thus diagramming

the mechanics of a bank loan, assisting in the filling-in of the application, accompanying individuals to the bank for the interview, and advising in the purchase of new cattle by the farmers at a full-scale cattle auction, is more than simply technological assistance. It is opening up a whole new world of experience. It is a radical cracking of the subsistence image of life, the initiation of a whole new world-view. It was a revolutionary happening for those Maliwada farmers, making possible whole realms of other "modern" approaches to agriculture. It literally opened a new world of possibilities for them far beyond the increased profits of expanded milk output.

The shift in an individual's personal self-image is met with the greatest resistence, as has already been noted. It often entails replacing an image of failure and worthlessness with a sense of one's own significance. This is not an easy task. Once again the enemy is the illusion of proximity. One's personal image must be expanded beyond self-preoccupation. Identity with one's own people and with mankind as a whole, sharing in the common dignity of man, is a crucial step. Identity with one's own people by race, language group, or nationality is perhaps easiest to accomplish. However, it requires a focus upon the gifts of that people, which are perhaps easier to see in the larger aggregate than in oneself. Thus recovering the sense of glory in Maliwada farmers providing for a civilization when the capital was nearby, and linking that to the significance of providing food for famine-ravaged modern India, created the context for a birth of new pride for many of Maliwada's farmers and a sense

of self-worth which had been previously lacking. Such a shift in self-image requires a new affirmation of oneself, gifts and neuroses and all. It means a reappropriating of one's own past as the significant history without which one would not be who he is, and in the light of which the openness of the future appears. Only in light of such an image shift could a young man who had previously spent his days loafing around Maliwada, become a pre-school teacher, then perfect his second language, English, and then take a leading faculty position in a recurring eight week training school to train other young men and women from across Maharashtra in the methods of economic and social development, for use in their own villages. Similarly, when the image "Black is Beautiful" swept across America, individual blacks were presented with an alternative to the "nigger image", and adopting it found they saw the world in a whole new way. Such a dramatic change in behavior followed the adoption of that public image that skin lighteners and hair straighteners have become things of the past. Black men have become proud of being black, and wish for nothing else.

It must be remembered that Boulding maintains that only individuals hold images, that all images are first of all private images. However, when a number of people hold an image in common, it may be spoken of as a public image. One must distinguish between public images and symbolic expressions which aim at creating public images. These symbolic expressions have crucial significance in that they create the milieu in which individuals forge their images of the world and of themselves, and corporately create new public images.

In thinking about the symbolic expressions that affect the shifts of public images, a model that corresponds to the three elements of an individual's image of the world is preferable. Diagrams, publically displayed, that depict the spatial relatedness of the community, and locate each individual in the larger schema, help to define the community and create a common sense of identity. The use of symbolic names for streets and nodes similarly assists individuals in forging a commonly held spatial image. Similarly, myths that recount the greatness of the community and the culture of which it is a part enhance the public temporal image. Ian Barbour sums up the function of myths this way, "Myths are stories which are taken to manifest some aspect of the cosmic order. They provide a community with ways of structuring experience in the present. They inform man about his identity and the framework of significance in which he participates"(Barbour, 1974:5). Rituals and slogans are often the everyday shorthand for renewed mythologies. Some expression of how society functions is also necessary, whether it be a representation of the relation of the social processes: economic, political, and cultural, or a design of the programmatic efforts of reformulation being undertaken in one's own community, or an abstract of a comprehensive curriculum that reflects the shared wisdom of man.

Education is society's established means of communicating public images from one generation to the next. It is a crucial arena for those interested in exercising their responsibility for the future. Bruner highlights the role of education, saying it "...must

also seek to develop the processes of intelligence so that the individual is capable of going beyond the cultural ways of his social world, able to innovate in however modest a way, so that he can create an interior culture of his own....To be whole he must create his own version of the world..."(Bruner, 1969:116). For the youngest children, it is creating a context in which positive self-images and expansive images of the world may flourish. One dare not wait until victim images are firmly established to start this job. It is an opportunity which is missed at great risk, for "...to make up for a bland impoverishment of experience early in life may be too great an obstacle for most organisms"(Bruner, 1969:7). But perhaps the key to the educational process is in training the students(adult or child) in the methods of problem-solving rather than in learning predetermined solutions, for in that way, the student learns that the future can be created, that he can exercise responsibility for it, and that entails a self-image and an image of the world which are the opposite of the illusory proximity of radical self-depreciation.

Chapter 8

The Human Development Training School: Maliwada, Maharashtra

DIVISION PROJECTS
DISTRICT PROJECTS
The 25 Castles
STRONGHOLD PROJECTS
The 50 Strongholds
BEACHHEAD PROJECTS

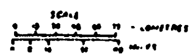
DHULIA
JALGAON
BULDHANA
NAGPUR
BHANDARA
CHANDA
NASIK
THANA
GR. BOMBAY
AHMEDNAGAR
PARBHANI
NANDED
OSMANABAD
KOLABA
SATARA
SHOLAPUR
RATNAGIRI
KOLHAPUR

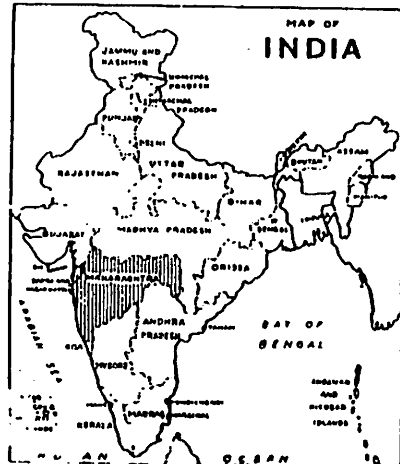
REFERENCE

DIVISIONAL BOUNDARIES
DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
TALUKA, TAHSIL, OR MAHAL BOUNDARIES

MAHARASTRA STATE

Map showing Divisions, Districts and Talukas, Tahsils and Mahals.





I. Cross-Cultural Transmission

Anthropologists have been concerned with cross-culture contact since Europeans first met aboriginal and non-caucasian civilizations. A primary arena of investigation from the earliest studies of these societies has been how a society transmits its culture to succeeding generations. The conjunction of these two foci, the transmission of culture across cultural boundaries to persons of a corresponding generation, has been a continuing concern. The anthropologist sets out to occasion this cross-cultural transmission from his hosts to himself, as he learns what it means to be a part of the society he is studying. Colonial and imperial powers, whether from the beneficent motives of bestowing the "gift" of a superior civilization(or religion) on their charges, or the enlightened self-interest of Indirect Rule, have sought to transmit the essence of their culture to their subject peoples. So Lord Macauley, in an early 19th century "Minute", could describe Her Majesty's intentions to create on the Indian sub-continent a class that was British in everything but blood and color of skin (quoted in Stavrianos, 1975:268f). As a result, a Westernized elite emerged in colony after colony, speaking Spanish, French, Russian, Dutch, English, or some other Western language, which often proved to be the only _lingua franca_ as these colonies emerged as newly-independent nations.

Western culture was also impacted by this cross-culture contact, though not as dramatically. New agricultural products became staples. World-wide trade supplanted national economies. Into the vacuum of

meaninglessness and anomie in the industrialized societies came Eastern spiritualism. Oriental complementary dualism challenged Western assumptions of the necessity of conflictual relationships between man and nature, and man and man.

The Twentieth Century is witnessing the emergence of a Global Culture. Kenneth Boulding(1964) calls this the century of the Great Transition into "Post-civilization". He notes that it is founded on the emergence of a world-wide technology(1964:2). It is also requiring new social forms and a new ideology. Exactly what these new forms and ideology will be is still unclear, and will remain so until men build them. M.N. Srinivas(1966), echoing a theme of W.A. Lewis(1965), notes that the West has experienced a tripartite upheaval over the last three centuries: the industrial revolution, political democratization, and the secularization of religion. He points out that India, and by implication, the rest of the Third World, is experiencing all three dimensions of that upheaval at once. It is out of this world-wide transition that a global society is being forged. Its technology is rapidly evolving. Its social forms and ideology are perceived only dimly.

Socialization and ideology have traditionally been conserving functions in cultures. They have served to enhance the maintenance of the society. Thus, in times of rapid technological change, there is a characteristic culture lag(Cf., Spindler, 1974). The penetration of the vanguard of the technological revolution in improved health care has resulted in population pressure which makes further development

imperative. The adoption of new social forms and ideology are an inevitable corollary of this new technology. However, an earlier adoption would facilitate the effective expansion of the new technology. This would represent a revolutionary departure from the traditional role of education in culture transmission. One such experiment is presented here.

What follows is an analysis of the Human Development Training School(located in Maliwada, Maharashtra, India) as a vehicle to socialize primarily young village men and women into the New Village Movement(Nava Gram Prayas) in the Maharashtra Project. The Project is a scheme for the economic and social development of the villages of the state, featuring the establishment of demonstration villages in each of 232 talukas(Cf., in the U.S.A., "county"). Part of the project includes training ten residents from each village, over 500 of whom are currently on two year volunteer assignments in other villages than their own.

The eight weeks training school is an intensive residential experiment in exposure to elements of an emerging Global Society. It includes training in new technological skills, socialization into cross-barrier(caste and communalism) corporate patterns, and an egalitarian, optimistic, and open-ended ideology. The school was pragmatically created to meet the need for catalytic auxiliary personnel in the village projects. Its design and curriculum, while drawn heavily from other training constructs in use by the Institute of Cultural Affairs, was specifically aimed at motivating and equipping

persons for this task.

The analysis that follows will employ the theories of Culture Transmission. Allan Tindall(1976) has named two distinct arenas, the inter-psychic and the intra-psychic. The inter-psychic dimension deals with the social transactions that recur when culture is transmitted. Frederick Gearing(1973, 1975) has created models of information exchange which, while focused on dyadic relationships, are helpful tools to adapt to more formal educational contexts. These larger contexts are usually individual-group and intra-group exchanges which are not adequately represented by treating them as a series of simultaneous or consecutive dyadic occasions. Gearing also pointed to the alteration of the learner's cognitive mapping of his universe which is part of what Tindall means by the intra-psychic arena. The alteration of the participant's interior functioning is the aim of culture transmission. Gearing points out that in nurturing succeeding generations this involves teaching the constraints on behavior that allow social facility. In cross-cultural transmission, this involves reeducation, a new learning of appropriate constraints, somewhat at odds with those learned as part of the emerging generation. It also involves learning what George Spindler(1974) calls new instrumental linkages. These linkages are not randomly scattered, but are tied together in shared patterns which are systemically interrelated (Dobbert, 1975). People who particiapte in the emerging global society intuitively or consciously exploit these shared patterns of thought and behavior. Cross-cultural transmission is initiation into

unfamiliar patterns of thinking and belief.

The analysis needs to be inclusive of both inter-psychic and intra-psychic dimensions of the school. The next chapter will present the intra-psychic analysis, which will include a description of the alteration in the lives of the students in terms of AFFECT, the alteration in behavior and world-view of the students, NEW SKILLS mastered and incorporated into work in village development, and COGNITIVE BEHAVIOR, alterations in categories, canons of discrimination and logical processes for confronting problem situations.

This chapter will be limited to analyzing the inter-psychic elements, detailing WHO the actors are in the school--the nature of the international staff and the composition of the student body, HOW the culture transmission is accomplished in setting, methods, and linguistic channels, and the CONTENT of the training in terms of technology, socialization and ideology.

Implicit in any such analysis is the question,"Is this school simply the mainfestation of a new cultural imperialism?" There are those who, in a contemporary form of Rousseauian or Huxleyan "noble savage-ism", reject out of hand any factors which encourage culture change. For such persons, who wish to maintain the "living cultural museum" uncorrupted, any intentional culture alteration is imperialistic. However, such ivory tower positions may be dismissed as foredoomed, in most cases leading to the ultimate extinction of the very people such persons profess to worry about.

For the realist, who sees that cultures are inevitably being changed, and who recognizes that there are in fact virtually no intact pre-contact cultures, the issue of imperialism has to do with the degree, extent, and speed of culture change; where the impetus for change is originating; and the degree of control exercised by the peoples experiencing the change.

Most Westerners involved in the process of development today use the term "modernization" to describe the changes in society that accompany economic and technological development. M.N. Srinivas(1966), "India's leading social anthropologist" according to M.B. Emeneau, who introduced his Rabindanath Tagore Memorial Lectures at Berkeley, prefers what he calls the "ethically neutral" term "Westernization" to describe this reality(see his 1966:50ff for his discussion of the terms). The astonishing reversal he proposes rests upon his perception of "modernization" as a normative term--implying an obvious good--whereas "Westernization", for him, can be either good or bad(and is therefore neutral). Thus, elements of Westernization may be accepted or rejected as appropriate,by the people affected. The core of Srinivas' argument is that Westernization has been going on in India for over 150 years, and has been continued self-consciously as government policy since Independence in 1947. He goes on to point out that only an independent India could do some of the things that have dramatically advanced the process, such as outlawing "untouchability", which the British never quite dared to do.

Irawati Karve, in her study with J.S. Ranadive of a Maharashtra town and its surrounding villages, makes the same point even more dramatically. She points out that, contrary to many arm-chair anthropologists who say that peasants will not change,

> ...the(village) farmer is skillful in his work and open to new ideas. What we have seen in Phaltan and the surrounding villages suggested a model for building up communities to which maximum cultural amenities can be provided by the government. This is necessary as the village is becoming a mere agricultural settlement. The classical village community is dead. The realization or the bringing into being of such a model community will mean social engineering involving skills in planning of a different sort(Karve, 1965:118).

Karve's study is replete with indications of culture change at the village level, its inevitable continuance, and calls for planning and guidance inshaping its direction.

What is the Human Development Training School(HDTS)? How did it operate? Did it train men and women to do "social engineering"? Did it provide the skills for "planning of a different sort"?

II. The Participants

This analysis of the HDTS is based on the fourth session of the school, held in Maliwada, Maharashtra, during July - September, 1977. Some 80 persons gathered in the reconstructed Community Center which the first demonstration village of the Maharashtra Project had made available for the school. Maliwada is a village of about 1800 people on the dry Deccan Plateau(about 18" rainfall annually). It is 12 miles from the district and division capital, Aurangabad, a city

of more than 100,000 residents. However, July to September is the monsoon season there, during which it is perpetually damp, raw, and chilly. In the unheated, open-air construction of the school's facilities, the damp was pervasive and the mud a constant factor.

1. The Staff

The primary teaching faculty of the school was composed evenly of Indian and Western staff. Six Americans, one a black, and three Australians worked with an equal number of Indian faculty. An oriental staff member from a similar village development project in Korea taught part of the School. Five Indians comprised the faculty-in-training. Thus the students were exposed to four different races during the course of their training. Other sessions of the school included European, African, and Philippino staff.

The diversity within the Indian staff was almost as extreme as that of its international constituency. The Dean of the School was a sophisticated South Indian woman, the daughter of a surgeon. With her husband, she was also directing one of the village projects, near Poona, which is the capital of another of the state's four divisions. Thus, she split her time between her two assignments. The director of the Maharashtra Project and his wife, who directed the Maliwada village demonstration project, were also part-time faculty members. In addition to these three, several others of the faculty were university trained and came from urban areas. But more than half the full-time Indian faculty were villagers. Two of the key Indian teaching faculty were young men who came from Maliwada and had been trained in

the programs of the village demonstration. Several others had been students in earlier sessions of the school, had staffed other village projects, and had returned to teach out of their own first-hand experience. Thus, the Indian staff, including both the primary teaching staff and the five teachers-in-training, represented an incredible diversity including four religions(Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist) and several castes among the Hindus. In addition, the school's support staff drew from all segments of the village of Maliwada. Perhaps most significantly, the food was prepared by a team which included Brahmin, Malis(farmer caste) and Harijans(untouchables) working together despite caste food taboos.

In addition to the otherness of the international staff and urbanized Indian sophisticates, the students thus had numerous potential role models among the faculty--persons whose backgrounds were similar to their own, but who were now following life-careers(Cf., Gearing,1975) which were quite divergent from any the students had previously considered.

2. The Students

The sixty students were a more homogenous group. There were a few urbanites, some of whom had responded to newspaper advertisements similar to those recruiting Peace Corps volunteers in the U.S.A.(though without the governmental overtones, for Nava Gram Prayas is an entirely voluntaristic movement without direct government attachment). However, 90% of the students were villagers and most were from four villages, one from each division of the state, which were about to initiate

development projects as a part of the Maharashtra Project. There were four women in this session of the school. There was one man who was over 60, several who were between 25 and 60, but the majority were between 17 and 22. They were uniformly poor. Many were shoeless and arrived only with the clothes they wore. Many operated without cash except on the one or two occasions they were given minimal expense money for a meal during a school excursion. A few were illiterate. Some among the villagers had graduated from university(government sponsored university education is increasingly available across Maharashtra, even for Harijans---or perhaps it should be said, especially for Harijans). There was as much diversity among the students in religion and caste as among the faculty, though the proportion of Hindus was far higher(none of the initiating villages in this session was predominantly Muslim). Two farmer castes, Maratha and Mali, were most represented. The primary language of almost all the students was Marathi, though a few spoke Telagu(coming from a project in the neighboring state of Andhra Pradesh). About two-thirds spoke Hindi and most of the rest could "make out" Hindi, but with great difficulty. About a third had some facility in English; some few spoke only English (all urbanites), but most had no facility with that language.

3. Interpersonal Transactions

Gearing(1975) maintains that culture transmission occurs in interpersonal transactions. He attempts to isolate all such interactions into sets of dyadic transactions characterized by the "old hand - new hand" relationship. In addition to the content of the

transaction, in which the initiate learns the constraints on inappropriate displays of information(a position which I find to be a too limited conception of what is happening, for new information which challenges previously accepted constraints is also being passed on--a major factor in "cross-cultural transmission"), the nature of the relationship of the parties involved is central to the process. He describes the dyadic encounter under the category of equivalence, which is the fitting together of divergent cognitive mappings of reality. Thus, there is an agenda for each such encounter in which the participants each position themselves in relation to the other.

The primary transactions of the school are structured to be pedagogue(staff member) - participant(student) transactions. From the description already given of the diversity within the faculty and (to a lesser extent) within the students, one can expect a broad range of such encounters. From the participant's point of view, he might be in a transaction with a Marathi-speaking villager who only three months before had left his own village for the first time, in order to come to this same school; or a Marathi-speaking villager who was a highly trained and skillfully experienced community developer; or an urbanized, university trained Indian who might only speak Hindi and English, or some other language of the sub-continent; or a Westerner, highly trained in the methods and techniques of community development, somewhat familiar with living in India, but who spoke only English (and likely with an American, black, or Australian accent--not at all like the clipped British accent customary among Indian speakers of

English); or, at the extreme, an "inscrutable Korean" whose English was hard for even the Westerners to understand! Thus, from the outset, by the very nature of the agendas of his interpersonal transactions with the faculty, the student was unavoidably aware that he was encountering a context vastly different from that of his village. It was not unexpected, however, for in most cases, the student had first heard of the school when a joint Westerner-Indian team had visited his village. It was to encounter just such a situation that he had come to Maliwada.

The school dynamics gave particular form to pedagogue-participant transactions. The educational methodology employed by the school("imaginal education", as described in the preceding chapter) incorporates a firm and directive pedagogical style. Since the alteration of the student's cognitive mappings is an acknowledged goal of the method, an intrusional stance is required. Life alteration is not systematically occasioned by the typical liberal "take it or leave it" approach. Rather, pedagogues expect and require responses from the students which are "grounded in their own lives". Thus the pedagogue-participant transaction is founded upon life-sharing concretions. Students are constantly pushed to relate aspects of the school to their everyday experience and their own most deeply held convictions and aspirations. While the ideal pedagogue-participant interaction was most visible in the formal teaching occasions, the faculty understood their role to be a 24 hour a day stance, so that many informal contacts between pedagogues and participants maintained

this "old hand - new hand" agenda. However, there were many occasions on which, especially with the Western faculty, the roles were reversed and the students taught the faculty what life was like in their villages, and what the constraints of their own traditions were. Yet, even in that activity, the student is made conscious of an alternative to village life as he tries to adequately describe it. The informant-ethnographer relationship is inherently an occasion of culture change for both participants, or, at the very least, an occasion of heightened culture consciousness.

Participant-participant transactions were an important dimension to the school. While the agendas of these interactions were far less structured, and the positioning relative to each other often involved a complex social dance, significant cross-cultural impact was derived from these constant interchanges. If nothing more than constant interaction with similar types of people from other villages at differing stages of modernization had occured, village parochialism would have been exploded. But in addition to that, the diversity of the participants and the intense social context of the micro-community of the residential school meant that a tremendous amount of sophistication was learned informally. Further, the multi-caste, cross-communal nature of the school, with social structures which ignored these cultural stratifications, forced the participants into relationship patterns many had never before experienced. These new relationships were not without tension. Late in the school, some of these tensions erupted in a confrontation between some of the students and

the kitchen staff which resulted in a short-lived food strike. While cooking three meals a day for 30 people often results in food which is less appealing than that cooked in the familiarity of one's own home(a far sharper contrast for Indian villagers than for urbane Westerners accustomed to "institutionalized cooking"), and while the eruption followed only a few days after a visit to the stainless steel, antiseptic flight kitchens of Air India(a stark contrast with the village-style kitchen of the school), I believe that the "strike" was, in part, an externalizing of tensions built up within the student community itself, and related to its own diversity.

A third set of transactions in which cross-cultural transmission occurred were the participant-outsider interchanges. The school structured numerous such opportunities. Daily contacts were inevitable with the staff enabling the school, the most dramatic of which involved the kitchen staff during the food strike which was touched off by an exchange of insults between an untouchable from the kitchen staff and a (poorer, though of higher status) farmer caste student. The students also interacted daily with the Maliwada villagers who had experienced many major changes in the life of their village in the two years they had been a demonstration village. At times these were formal occasions when a villager told the school how their village had accomplished some specific project. But day by day, the participants could see how the people of Maliwada were living differently than their own neighbors and kin. On occasion, the students also visited other villages in which changes were not happening as systematically

as in the project villages. In such situations they had a chance to compare their exchanges with these villagers and their exchanges with Maliwadans. On a regular basis, officials of various governmental agencies or experts from industry, agriculture, health or some other field related to the curriculum were brought into contact with the students. An excursion to Bombay(18 hours away by train) created multiple villager-urbanite transactions. All of these situations were opportunities for the students to experience and learn how to participate in a culture more extensive than, and in many ways dramatically different from, that of their own village.

Gearing indicates that part of the social dance of the agenda of dyadic transactions is the shifting "we" factor. In conversations in which culture is transmitted, who is included in "we" statements and who in "they" statements is significant. It is, however, changeable in any conversation, in a very short space of time. The basis of such a relationship is "we"(the old hands) and "they" or "you" (the new hands). However, the larger context of the relationship is "we", who share this culture you are learning, and "they", who live in other, strange ways. Thus the incorporation involved in being included within the "we" category is crucial for culture transmission. Without it, a person may discover facts about a culture, but it always remains an object for him.

But further, the student must also adopt the "we" perspective. He must be willing to become a subject in the culture, not merely an object related to it. In straight-forward culture transmission,

incorporating the emerging generation into the only real option the child has, this is rarely a problem. If it should occur that a child refuses the "we" perspective, it is considered pathological. But in "cross-cultural transmission" this decision is the essence of the task. If the incorporating decision is not made by the student, he is not left "cultureless"; he is simply maintaining his stance within the one into which he was first enculturated. Thus cross-cultural transmission relies upon the conscious decision of the student in a way that simple enculturation does not. This is not to say that it does not employ many of the same subtle pressures and manipulations.

Given the context of the HDTS as the "we" community, into which the student is initiated in the ceremonial opening feast, and which is legitimated by affirmations from government officials, leaders of the host demonstration village, and former villagers who are now leaders of Nava Gram Prayas, the student quickly encounters the "old hand - new hand" relationship in the faculty-student relationship. Eschewing the "one of the boys" model, the faculty of the school is a highly corporate and intentional body. It is mutually supportive and reinforcing. Junior faculty receive extensive training from senior faculty, and all significant decisions are made in faculty meetings by consensus, to which even the most junior member may object. The faculty is welded together before the school begins by several weeks of common planning for the construct, design, and living "practics" of the school community. The curriculum is hammered out in common and teaching methodologies are the same for all faculty members(some having

used the same methodological approach, though with other content, for over ten years). Thus the students experience themselves as being over against a formidably corporate body of people, who move together with common accord. For most students this is both awesome and highly attractive. It is likely the most unified group they have experienced outside their own kinship circle. Unlike that ascribed grouping, this one is voluntarily formed and its unifying strictures are based in consensus, not coercion. It is also undoubtedly the most pluralistic group they have ever encountered.

Other "we" - "they" communities form around specific nodes. From the first there are language distinctions. The school was taught in three languages, Marathi, Hindi, and English, since there were some who could only speak one of these. The largest group was composed of those who could speak Marathi, and this was the dominant language of the school. In some situations, only Marathi was used, but those were very limited. On other occasions, such as excursions where guides were employed, language groups were formed. Perhaps three-fourths of the students and a third of the faculty were most comfortable in Marathi. The Hindi-speaking community was composed of a different three-fourths of the students, though for many with greatly reduced facility, and nearly half the faculty. None of the Western faculty was fluent in either Hindi or Marathi. The English-speaking community was composed of a different grouping, including all but a few of the faculty and, at the outset, perhaps a third of the students(thus, faculty meetings and intercourse were conducted in the same multi-

lingual manner as the school itself, which will be described in the next section). Thus an important "we - they" categorization existed from the opening feast onwards which cut across the student - faculty categories.

One of the difficulties of the early sessions of the school, largely overcome in later convenings of the HDTS, but still very present in this fourth session, was the imbalance in pedagogical skill among the faculty. Only three of the Indian faculty were master pedagogues, and they were the three part-time faculty(the dean, the director of the whole Maharashtra Project, and his wife, the director of the Maliwada demonstration). All nine of the Western faculty were master pedagogues, with extensive education and teaching experience. All but one were university graduates, and together they counted more than 20 years of post-graduate study. Five had extensive experience working with aboriginals in Australia, several had ghetto experience in the U.S.A., one was a former university professor, and five had extensive teaching experience beyond the HDTS in adult training programs in India and on several other continents. However, none of these faculty could communicate directly with the majority of the students. Among the full-time Indian faculty, pedagogical experience varied widely. Two had been thoroughly trained in the educational and development methodologies in Maliwada programs and had participated in all three of the previous sessions of the HDTS. Two others had had significant teaching experience using imaginal education in other programs in India and had been a part of

village project staffs. These four were the core of the Indian faculty, and carried the major burden of direct communication with the students. The other five Indian faculty were graduates of earlier schools, had been junior faculty-in-training, and were now carrying full teaching responsibilities for the first time. These nine, plus the five currently in training, were in constant contact with the students and acted as translators whenever Western staff were teaching. Thus, there was an unavoidable "tiering" effect in the students' perceptions of the faculty. It was experienced in the different assignments carried by Indian and Western staff, with the Westerners giving a slight majority of the lectures and the Indian staff conducting the vast majority of the seminars and workshops and other more highly interactive sessions. The differential in roles was exacerbated by the language community realities. The major disadvantage of this arrangement was an implication of Western control. This disadvantage was countered by the clear leadership preeminence of the dean, when she was present, and of the director of the Maharashtra Project when he was present, and of the director of the Maliwada demonstration whose presence was felt daily. It was also countered by the fact that most of the Western teaching assignments were in the presentational mode, while the interactions of faculty and students in which students were forging their basic decisions were largely led by Indian staff. In the eighth and ninth sessions of the school(1978 and 1979), it is reported that this issue has been largely mitigated by the emergence of a predominantly Indian faculty who are the master pedagogues, with Western

staff, in reduced numbers, in a clearly consultative capacity(personal communication).

Most of the students had come to the school to investigate being a part of Nava Gram Prayas(the New Village Movement). Many were there because their village was about to participate in the Maharashtra Project, catalyzed and staffed by Nava Gram Prayas volunteers. They, and many other participants, were weighing whether they wanted to be volunteers for two years in that movement. Thus, a "we" community was implicit throughout that included all Nava Gram Prayas volunteers already at work in villages(called "blue shirts" after their characteristic dress), villagers from places already engaged in the demonstration projects who already understood themselves to be part of a nation-wide movement as they worked in their own locales, and (at least tentatively) the students themselves. At various times during the school, and particularly when blue shirts from other projects came to visit, this "we" community became explicit. It was a community more comprehensive than that of the school, and it represented the immediate population which explicitly shared the global culture being transmitted in the school. In a larger sense, of course, Nava Gram Prayas is a sub-cultural community, a movement within the developmental nationalism which is wide-spread across India, and which has been articulated by both Srinivas and Karve, as well as a host of others(Bose 1973, Epstein 1973, Hunter 1969, Mellor 1968, to mention just a few). This Indian developmental nationalism participates in the emerging global society, which is

being so explicitly struggled with across the Third World, and which is beginning to call forth major repercussions in the Developed World.

III. Mode of Interaction

Having described the actors in the process of "cross-cultural transmission" and the varying representational roles they play, it is now appropriate to examine the ways interaction occurs. Gearing, as has already been noted, chooses to focus upon the atomic nature of interpersonal interaction, the dyad. Many of the interactions within the school were dyadic, and in many cases, such "one to one" interactions were the crucial ones for the students involved. However, many of the interactions are more clearly understood as group processes. While many group experiences can be reduced to sets of dyadic interchanges, from the imputed perspective of an individual student, the experiences of participation in mass rituals, community singing, and corporate team labor are not adequately described dyadically. Neither are the fast-paced interchanges of corporate seminars and workshops.

Tindall(1976:203) uses Del Hymes' concept of a "communicative repetoire" to talk about the elements of the interactive mode of culture transmission. For Tindall this includes "the set of means available" for interaction, "the contexts of situations for communication", and the "appropriateness....of the use of one means as against another". In what follows, the contexts will be examined first and then a particular dimension of the means, focusing upon the channel of

communication itself, since language differences played such an important role in this school.

Gearing talks in two different ways about the interactions that do occur. In one article(1973) he uses the categories of gate-keeping, recruitment, and testing to describe the kinds of transactions that occur. In a later article(1975) he speaks of the three patterns of exchanges that happen in culture transmission:

1) "paced exchanges" are those which are sequentially ordered and present new data as the learner is ready for it. Any cumulative or spiral curriculum(Cf., Bruner, 1963) is obviously a pattern of such paced exchanges, and the HDTS, though only eight weeks long, was consciously designed in this fashion.

2) "selective exchanges" are those reserved to particular groups. Gearing uses the example of differential culture transmission to the sexes. In the HDTS, the selectivity is primarily at the point of student vs. faculty member, and centers primarily upon pedagogical method or practical issues affecting the day-to-day life of the school. An interesting feature of the HDTS curriculum is that as part of the paced exchange, pedagogical methods shift from being selectively exchanged(within the faculty, especially with the junior faculty, but not with the students) to being generally exchanged with the students and faculty alike, later in the school.

3) "proforma exchanges" result when no equivalence between the actors can be reached; the exchange then takes on the nature of ritual conventions without effective content. Gearing goes on to

point out that in social change situations, these patterns of exchange are all renegotiated by parties to the change. When impasses occur, exchanges tend to take on proforma character, with the actors effectively talking past each other. When proforma exchanges occur in the HDTS, it is an indication of crisis in the effective process of "cross-cultural transmission". In the jargon of the faculty, these are the times when the students "turn off", and they are times which require special attention.

1. Formalized Settings

Cross-cultural transmission was the unacknowledged goal of the HDTS. The faculty used such phrases as "creating global citizens" which indicates that they self-consciously were focused upon such transmission. But their own statements about the school were more pragmatically oriented towards training people for participation in Nava Gram Prayas and equipping the students with the skills to do economic and social development at the village level. The students came to learn these skills, realizing that creating changes in India's villages would alter their way of life, without realizing all that that entailed.

The curriculum design created the formal settings for communicating the technology, socialization patterns, and ideology to be transmitted(this "Content" is described in the next section). Lectures were a major mode of interaction. These were imaginal presentations which set the context for more detailed and practical work by the students. Seminars were used to study resource materials,

chief among which was the Project Document for Maliwada, which outlined the overall effort and then described in detail the 17 tactical arenas of action of the demonstration project. Workshops trained the students in model-building skills; they were taught to build implementing plans for actions in their own villages, or in Maliwada, or in some hypothetical situation. In each of the major curriculum arenas, the students were brought into contact with people with specialized expertise. Usually this was done in the format of a panel, each of whose members presented their arenas of knowledge, after which there followed a period of questions and answers. Tutorials were used both for language skills instruction and for training in pedagogical methods (the students were taught how to use the same methods being used to teach them).

In all of these settings the transactions were formalized. The faculty-student roles were clearly maintained and exploited for pedagogical effect. These were very directed sessions, clearly goal-oriented, and conducted with high intentionality. The curricular content always seemed to exceed the available time. They were, for the most part, rapid fire occasions and typically dominated eight to ten hours per day, on the average of four days a week. They were intricately intermixed and orchestrated so as to provide constant changes of pace for the students.

2. Informal Contacts

Surrounding and encompassing the formal settings were a myriad of occasions for informal contacts to occur. Some of these were highly

structured, hardly distinguishable from formal teaching settings. Others were as mundane as cleaning the latrines together. Many of these primarily involved dyadic transactions. The morning and evening meals of the school were more formalized events involving community singing and rituals, an important part of the symbolic life of Nava Gram Prayas(as "We Shall Overcome" was to the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A. in the 1960's). The meals normally entailed a structured conversation(breakfast was eaten all together while the evening meal was eaten in three groups called "colleges"; the mid-day meal was usually an informal buffet in the midst of a methods tutorial). The conversations at meals were focused on the interior reflections of the students, on the meaning and significance of their own personal lives, and what profound human living was like. Thus, they were occasions focused on men's spirits.

Field trips were frequent, regularly to observe the effects of action and the need for further action in the demonstration village. Periodically the school visited outstanding demonstrations of programmatic possibilities within bus distance of Maliwada. Two extended excursions deserve special note. The first was actually a series of short trips on three successive days to visit aspects of the cultural heritage of Maharashtra: a nearby fortress which was once the capital of India under Aurangzeb(Deogiri), a scaled down version of the Taj Mahal in which that king's mother and wife are buried(both dating from the 16th century), and a visit to the Ellora Caves, monastaries and temples of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains from the third to the

seventh centuries. The other excursion was a four day trip to Bombay to glimpse and experience at first-hand the urbanized and industrialized astect of the nation. In the field trips the students were experiencing both the sweeping grandeur and the shocking particularity of India's heritage and modernizational destiny, as communicated by others who were not related to the faculty in any way. The trips created the possibility of triadic interactions in which students and faculty could talk together of the impact of this third component upon them. A common "we" perspective was developed relative to moving into the still unrealized future of global society. It was a very effective methodology for overcoming the latent suspicions of the students that "This is all something you are tyring to put over on us!"

Work days provided another occasion for informal transactions. Common labor, the dignity of working together with others different from yourself, is not endemic to the experience of most Indians. The society is so sharply stratified that working together for common ends is very difficult. Ten times, spaced throughout the eight weeks of the school, the entire HDTS community contributed its labor to projects to benefit the host village. These were times in which the learnings were much more muscular than mental, more social than scholarly. High caste and low, Hindi-speaking and Marathi, brown skins and white(or black, or yellow), common effort forged bonds of oneness and new interpersonal bases for respect. In the same way, living in shared common space created new socialization patterns which transcended outmoded caste and communal barriers. This related both to accomo-

dations in minimal dormitory facilities and in the organization of the community to physically care for the facilities and space.

3. Channel of Communication

Two primary channels of communication were used by the HDTS. The most pervasive was language, which as has already been indicated, entailed some major issues. The other involved the dynamics of action and demonstration. In this latter approach the students were engaged in, or confronted by, participation in the emerging global society manifest in urbanization, modernization, or technological development. The basic dynamic here was of confrontation by a global, social phenomenon which is inexorable and impersonal. It is the happening of our times. Such a confrontation cannot be argued with. It must be acknowledged and then reacted to. The reaction entails a basic life decision: to embrace and further this development, to reject it outright and fight against it(either combatively or by isolative withdrawl), or to accomodate to it, ameliorating its worst effects where possible and enhancing its creative possibilities. While language is an important medium in this process, the channel is primarily visceral.

The multi-lingual context of the school affected every dimension of its effort. Because of the mutual(though only partial) exclusivity of the language communities, interpersonal communication was severely constrained. Every event which took place in one of the formalized settings was translated, often twice. Most lectures were delivered in English, even when given by Indian staff(not all of whom

could speak Marathi, it must be remembered) and then translated, sentence by sentence, into Marathi(a sentence or two of English, pause for translation, then a sentence or two more, etc.). Questions might come in English, Hindi, or Marathi, then be translated so all could understand before being answered(and translation again). Seminars, panels, workshops, and tutorials all embodied the same process. It was a laborious process, but the best that could be achieved, given the diversity of the community, the state of skills of the available faculty, and the constraints of the budget. Informal contacts were similarly constrained, with interpersonal transactions primarily, though by no means exclusively, limited to persons who shared a common language. There were, however, many exchanges which were facilitated by the many willing bilingualists, and halting communication with mutually limited vocabularies and sign language were not uncommon.

English is the _lingua franca_ of India. It is the one language in universal usage across the nation. Hindi is the official language, but since it is also the regional language of the North, it is, in practice, rejected by the peoples of the South, and poorly understood by villagers outside the Hindi-speaking areas, even in closely related tongues like Marathi. Thus the learning of English became an important, though not central and not mandatory, dimension of the school. Tutorials in rudimentary English were conducted each evening and remarkable progress was manifested by many. The constant inter-sentence process of translation assisted this learning. Whereas

roughly a third of the school had English facility at the beginning of the school, though more had been exposed to training in that language, by the end of the school about two-thirds could follow what was being said in English. (An interesting indication of this growing skill was seen in the increasing number who would respond to humor before it was translated.) Facility in English is an important skill for modernization in transcending the parochialism of the village, travelling freely across the nation, or entering into advanced educational opportunities which are often in the English medium, or make extensive use of English terms and texts. The language issue presented severe constratints for the faculty of the school, but it is an issue that goes to the heart of modernization and the emergence of a global society. It is a very practical and lively issue for the developing sense of nationhood for India, a nation which encompasses 17 major languages and hundreds of offshoots. Several of the languages are spoken by more people than speak most of the major European languages, such as German or French.

IV. Content

Tindall(1976:204) says, "Ultimately cultural transmission involves the presentation or display of information that can be learned....The concern is with conceptualizing what information must be made available to learners...." He goes on to say that not all the information to be communicated about a culture can be made explicit; some of it is in the nature of implicit premises which are

unstateable. He points out that Sol Kimball identified three types of information to be learned: a) world-view or ethos, b) body skills and kinship, and c) the system for categorizing people and events. While these arenas are contained throughout the curriculum of the HDTS, they are more logically described as alterations in the intra-psychic realm.

Gearing(1973:185), in defining transactions, speaks of "...the inter-psychic processes by which cognitive mappings may change during an encounter...." and uses the image of changing boundaries on the cognitive map of learners. He says such boundaries may be altered in three ways: that some boundaries are exchanged for others, redefining what is included on the map and how the contents are divided up; some boundaries are created where only a void had existed before--the cartographer's "unexplored areas"; and the elaboration in a more finely grained way of boundaries that already exist(Cf. the comparable set of categories created within "imaginal education" during the early 1960's presented in the preceding chapter, also, Boulding, 1956).

Some anthropologists have preferred categories like technology, socialization, and ideology to describe the various aspects of culture that must be transmitted. They further state that in culture change it is usually technology which changes first, that socialization patterns and ideology lag behind as a safety device, in much the same way that homeostatic mechanisms in the body often buffer signals of extreme environmental variations so as to prevent too extreme a reaction

of bodily processes to short-term change. So socialization and ideology change slowly to dampen extremes in the development of technology(Cf., Hardesty, 1977 and Harris, 1971 & 1979 and Geertz, 1963). The first session of the HDTS focused on altering outmoded ideologies and socialization patterns. After evaluation, successive revisions of the school's curriculum focused more and more on the "how to" dimension, on technological alteration. Thus, pragmatically and unintentionally, the designers of the school, acknowledging the importance of the technological element, moved towards a more systemic, simultaneous, approach to development, altering physicality, socialization, and ideology all at once.

1. Technology

The core of the HDTS curriculum is built around nine two-day modules on specific "how to" arenas crucial to village development and modernization. Six of these modules are specifically technological in nature. Three of them would better be described as social engineering. For the sake of simplicity, all nine modules will be described together here under the category of technology(see accompanying charts for a graphic representation of the school curriculum and the nine programs of development at the village level upon which it is based).

a. the economic cycle

Economic development of village life is approached through three modules which focus on the upgrading of agriculture, the initiation of industrialization, and the expansion of commercial activity. Each village will require tactics specifically geared to its own

ICA: CHICAGO

1978-1979

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT TRAINING SCHOOL CURRICULUM DESIGN

	HDTS	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	HERITAGE	CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT	URBAN	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT	HDTS
	Week 1	Week 1 / Week 2	Week 3	Week 4 / Week 5	Week 6	Week 6 / Week 7	Week 8
	ORIENTATION	MODULES: CO-OP AGRICULTURE; APPROPRIATE INDUSTRY; COMMERCIAL SERVICES — LAB: COMMUNITY AWAKENMENT	EXCURSION	MODULES: LIVING ENVIRONMENT; COMMUNITY IDENTITY; CORPORATE PATTERNS — LAB: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT	EXCURSION	MODULES: PREVENTATIVE CARE; FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION; COMMUNITY WELFARE — LAB: GLOBAL SERVANT FORCE	COUNCIL
		ECONOMIC CYCLE		CULTURAL CYCLE		SOCIAL CYCLE	
MEAL CURR	MORN. COLL	CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL CONTEXT'G		GLOBAL-LOCAL VISIONING		AUXILIARY TACTICAL EQUIPPING	
	LUNCH PED	BASIC SOCIAL METHODS		COMMUNITY FORUM PEDAGOGY		COMMUNITY SUPPORT METHODS	
	EVEN'G R/T	HUMANNESS POETRY REFLECTION		KAZANTZAKIS IMAGERY STUDY		PROFOUND HUMANNESS EXERCISES	

June 1977

PROGRAMMATIC CHART

ICA

Toward the Actuation of Comprehensive Human Development Projects on the Local Level

thirty six programs — nine structures — three dynamics — one project

A ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT LOCAL PRODUCTIVITY -toward self sustenance	B HUMAN DEVELOPMENT LOCAL MOTIVITY toward self confidence	C SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT LOCAL SOCIALITY -toward self reliance
Enabling local— COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURE	Reconstructing local— LIVING ENVIRONMENT	Creating local— PREVENTIVE CARE
1 expanded cultivation	13 domestic housing	25 intermediate sanitation
2 intensified production	14 public facilities	26 total nutrition
3 water delivery	15 village design	27 systematic immunization
4 equipment pool	16 essential services	28 primary treatment
Developing local— APPROPRIATE INDUSTRY	Catalyzing local— CORPORATE PATTERNS	Establishing local— FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION
5 cottage production	17 total engagement	29 early learning
6 agro-business	18 community commons	30 formal schooling
7 processing plants	19 consensus assemblies	31 youth training
8 ancillary industry	20 corporate workdays	32 adult education
Initiating local— COMMERCIAL SERVICES	Recovering local— IDENTITY SYSTEMS	Instituting local— COMMUNITY WELFARE
9 common marketing	21 community self-story	33 family development
10 local merchandising	22 symbol systems	34 women's advancement
11 savings & loans	23 corporate rituals	35 youth task force
12 basic transport	24 village celebrations	36 elderly engagement

situation and possibilities, but these general arenas must be dealt with. Agriculture is the basis of the economy in most villages in Maharashtra, and is the arena in which dramatic increases can be created in a short time through the introduction of improved or hybrid seeds, fertilizers, herbicides, perticides, improved irrigation, expanded domestic animal husbandry, and other such means as are locally ecologically adaptable(Cf. Mellor, 1968 & 1976, and Hunter, 1969 for a detailed account of the primacy of agricultural development for India, and Chapter 10 for an account of the success of economic development in Maliwada). Industrial initiation, usually at a basic level, is a key to expanded employment in the villages(helping to reduce rural-urban migration thereby) and an evening of cash income across the families of the villages. Such initiation usually employs relatively simple technology and is labor intensive, such as making shipping boxes for nearby industries, or processing food stuffs(two examples visible to the students in Maliwada). The expansion of commercial services involves stimulating entrepreneurial endeavors, capturing local purchases in local markets, and enhancing savings and credit availability so as to retain moneys in the village as long as possible, expand the locally available capital, and increase the money turnover within the community before it is used for outside purchases of goods, services, or for taxation. Each of these modules is begun with a contextual lecture followed by a seminar on Maliwada's relevant tactics and observation of their implementation in the host village. The afternoon of the first day is usually spent in a field trip to a

demonstration site for a key aspect of the module arena. The second day of the module is begun with an implementary ("how to") lecture, followed by a panel of experts. The afternoon is spent in building an implementable model for some aspect of agricultural innovation, industrial initiation, or commercial expansion, depending on which module is being taught. This general modular format was followed for all nine modules.

b. social cycle

The social cycle contained modules dealing with the health of the villagers, their education, and the welfare of all the residents. The health module focused on improving the vigor of the populace, primarily through techniques of preventive medicine, sanitation, and nutrition. It did show how to forge relationships with health professionals for therapeutic and corrective services(e.g., eye clinics and the provision of eye glasses). The education module focused on extending the scope of education in the village, primarily through pre-schooling, adult training programs and the extension of school-age participation in the state-run schools(village enrollments characteristically only involve about 35% of the eligible children and youth in such schools at the initiation of a project). The module also presents the imaginal education methodology for enlivening and making relevant the local educational process at all levels. The welfare module is more an exercise in social engineering than any yet mentioned, and focuses on techniques for enabling women and youth to engage directly in the task of village development and modernization.

Excellent governmental programs such as the Mahila Mendal, a national woman's program, give direct support to tactics in this arena. The students are taught how to incorporate governmental programs in local development.

c. cultural cycle

This cycle, which might better have been called the communal or community services cycle, focused on altering the life of the village through modernizing techniques. The most technologically oriented of the three modules was that concerned with the living environment. Housing, the physical space and appearance of the village, and basic utilities development, including safe water, sanitary waste facilities (often connected to methane gas producing "Gober Gas" pits which also utilize manure), drainage, electricity, transportation, mail, and phone systems are all the subjects of this wide-ranging module. The other two modules of the cycle have to do with techniques for mobilizing the whole village populace for development. Karve(1965) reports an early casualty of the beginning of modernization was just such community-wide participation in village efforts. The corporate patterns module focuses on organizing for village-wide involvement in the planning and implementation of specific program arenas and in the execution of a plan of comprehensive care that nurtures every family in the village. The community identity module centers on revivifying the village's symbolic life: its self-story, rituals, singing, and celebrative events. Thus it can be seen that, while involving new techniques and methodologies, the welfare, corporate patterns, and

community identity modules are more accurately described as part of the redesigning of socialization patterns which are necessary if development is to happen. They are direct action towards modernization.

2. Socialization Patterns
(The Common Life of the School)

The HDTS was a self-contained community in many ways, though it was in constant interaction with its host village. It provided all the necessities of life for its participants. It was ordered so as to care for all the necessary interpersonal contacts, with its own rudimentary division of labor. It was operated out of an acknowledged world-view and ideology. The creation of such a school confronts its designers with the choice of social forms to embody. The villages of India are in the process of altering their social patterns, both in response to national legislation and in response to economic necessity. The school's designers created social forms which would support and reemphasize the modernizing trends.

a. social stratification

Perhaps the most difficult and violent issue in modernization for India is the alteration of the rigid stratification of society by caste and communalism. This policy has been a central concern for developmental nationalism since before Independence, though it has not always been universally supported. It is imtimately related to the occupational profile which will be examined next. Village design has highly segmented and isolated residences by caste, with untouchables and other low or scheduled castes separated from the dominant castes (Maratha or Mali in Maharashtra. Artisan and craft castes were

traditionally representationally present in each village(i.e., one blacksmith, one gold-smith, several carpenters, etc.). Social intercourse was usually restricted to members of one's own, or comparable, caste, and more probably to one's own kin. Pollution prescriptions circumscribed all caste contact.

Today, India is moving toward an egalitarian society. In the city and larger town, many caste restrictions have disappeared and others are easily circumvented by changing one's name and dress. Legislation forbids caste ex-communication for refusing to abide by traditional restrictions or hereditary vocations; it forbids public-place segregation to observe pollution restrictions; it requires political representation of the lower castes. In the industrialized areas, caste restrictions were not compatible with the need for a flexible, mobile labor force doing jobs not related to any hereditary positions. Thus there arose the phenomenon of villagers who lived in virtual caste anonymity in the city reverting to traditional practices while in the village.

The school was organized on an egalitarian basis, without reference to caste or religious community(non-Hindus are outside the caste system, and, depending upon the circumstances, may be lumped together with the outcastes or may be isolated by religious tradition, opposed by all Hindus, including the outcastes. In reaction against being so manipulated by the upper castes, many outcastes in Maharashtra have become Neo-Buddhists, trading caste stratification for communal segregation). The school was organized into three colleges, each with

three teams, each with two units, with students distributed evenly by village of residence and sex. No records of caste were kept. For the Westerners on the faculty, it was a caste-free context. Undoubtedly such distinctions did not just disappear for the Indian participants and faculty, but they did not form part of the rationale for assignments. The teams and units were assigned to academic patterns, task jobs, and space and facility care chores on an arbitrary numerical rationale. Team and unit student leadership was chosen after several weeks of the school on the basis of observed leadership, with a bias towards geographical distribution among those chosen. Residence accomodations were distinguished only by sex. Seating and serving procedures were indiscriminate or by college. The teams learned to work together without regard for caste or community background. On the relatively infrequent times when meat was served, a vegetarian option was always provided, as is the pattern in non-vegetarian restaurants across India.

b. occupational profile

Karve found in her analysis of Maharashtra rural areas that the villages were becoming merely agricultural settlements, that the artisan castes were congregating in the larger towns and cities. "Our survey shows that the villages no longer possess a vigorous, many-sided life...."(1965:119). She found that only 4% of the workforce were agricultural laborers, since most villagers owned or rented their own land. Few women were employed outside the homestead. This has resulted in the assumption of non-hereditary jobs by persons of other castes--

especially trades like carpentering, blacksmithing, masonry, tailoring, and music. There was resistance, however, to assuming either low-status tasks(dung carriers, tanners, dhobis, etc.) or those requiring specialized skills learned in long apprenticeships. The government has begun to encourage female employment(beyond the "beast of burden" type jobs reserved for low-caste women in construction jobs) through the Mahila Mendal.

The school engaged in a multitude of different kinds of work, both in its internal structures and in the work undertaken for the host village on shramdams(workdays). This work was selected on the basis of its necessity in the development of the village and without regard for ritual pollution. While some of the students found this an assault, the practical necessity of the tasks, in the context of development, seemed to provide adequate rationale for them to overcome their hesitancies when encouraged by their fellows. The economic development aspects of the curriculum demonstrated the new possibilities available for women and its potential benefits to the village(see Chapter 10 for income improvement from the employment of women in Maliwada).

c. family life

Villages in Maharashtra have traditionally lived in joint, patrilineal and patrilocal families. Karve(1965) found that most nuclear families in the villages she studied were headed by men between 36 and 45, and were simply in a transitional stage into a joint family under a new generational patriarch. This pattern, however,

is beginning to experience some stress as the legal ceilings on land holdings have forced the division of the family lands among the sons. Marriage is still strictly within caste lines except for a few educated persons who live in the larger towns. The age of marriage is shifting with prosperity and education, with men marrying earlier and women later, narrowing the age differences between husbands and wives. In Maliwada, marriages were still largely arranged by the families, with the bride and groom often unknown to each other until the arrangement was being made. With increasing opportunities for employment, and thus a measure of economic independence from one's husband, women's roles in the family are altering in the villages (Cf., Epstein, 1962 & 1973 for a detailed account of this phenomenon, and the distinction between agriculturally prosperous towns and those which diversify and industrialize). Karve found that 90% of the villagers she surveyed had maintained their traditional residence for generations, living in their own homes(very few rented, and none for more than Rs 100 annually). All those family heads questioned indicated that they visited the nearby town at least weekly(a higher frequency than seems to have been the case in Maliwada). Karve found a widespread awareness of the higher degree of modernization of the town which was manifested in the advent of furniture and modern household implements. She makes the flat statement that, "In Maharashtra any kind of furniture is also something introduced during the British time"(1965:63). What she does not speak of is the amount of rural-urban migration which occurred among younger offspring of

these families. She does note that where sugar mills had brought new prosperity, in-migration from the surrounding districts did occur. Similarly in Maliwada, as new prosperity emerged, the population expanded, but there it appeared to be primarily the return of family members who had previously migrated to urban areas.

The HDTS had no direct teaching about the nature of family patterns (though the model housing dimension of the living environment and the nutrition and sanitation aspects of the health module were relevant). Joint vs. nuclear family pattern did not seem to be a significant issue for village development policies. Further, the national political decisions on land tenure, while crucial to national development possibilities, were beyond the scope of the school. Nava Gram Prayas is not a political force, *per se*. It does not advocate particular political reforms. The school did use tables and chairs for all study sessions and meals. A standard range of food utensils and crockery were employed--all of which were strange to some of the students. Of course, a high degree of mobility was involved in attending the school which was located at some major distance from some of the villages represented. Trips to other villages, the district capital, and Bombay reinforced the ease of mobility. This was a crucial bit of socialization for future Nava Gram Prayas volunteers who would find themselves required to do extensive travelling.

d. civic participation

"In a caste society, most of a man's life was spent in doing duties and fulfilling obligations towards members of his own family and

caste....Most of the hereditary positions and their power and emoluments have been abolished by law"(Karve, 1965:93). Caste roles also had been used to organize ceremorial feasts and celebration preparation. With an assignment from one's caste, one could not refuse to do his part. Karve found that this compulsory dimension was almost absent in modern villages. Democratic procedures have replaced the hereditary ones in the villages, but too often these are shams and result in only token changes(e.g., symbolic Harijan representation on panchayats, without effective participation of the delegate, Epstein, 1973). Voluntarism has not yet replaced the compulsory task allocations.

A school is always a directed occasion, with a pre-set curriculum and with student particiaption virtually guaranteed. In that sense, it is different from the villages its students are being prepared to serve. However, the team and unit organization is comparable to the stake system taught in the corporate patterns module for organizing village care and citizen participation . Similarly, employing a consensus decision-making process when decisions need to be made prepares the students for participatory decision-making in the villages, for involvement in village development, beyond immediate self-interest, flows from decisional commitment.

3. Ideology

Yehudi Cohen(1970) points out that religion and education together serve as legitimating forces for state systems. They embody the belief systems that undergird and support a society's structures. Especially in sedentary societies, in which the regulation of personal

relationships is crucial, religious and ideological factors legitimate authority and established forms. However, he goes on to say that when local values are successfully supplanted with universal ones, religion diminishes in importance as the legitimating symbol system. It is significant that while Gandhi emphasized the rejuvination of religion, he added to his practices dimensions from Islam and Christianity, thus broadening beyond traditional Hinduism. Significantly, at Independence, under the urging of Nehru, India was proclaimed a secular state. This was not a new trend, for in the early decades of the century, the Satyashodhak movement had undercut Brahmin supremacy in political, religious, and social affairs, resulting in a significant loss of respect for, and employment in ritualization of, Brahmin priests by the lower castes(Karve, 1965). It is in this context that the HDTS was held, attempting to articulate an ideology that is universal in nature and persuasive enough to undergird modernizing social forms.

a . modernization

Of first import, and already well received in principle by the arriving students, was the value of modernization for their villages. This involved taking the trends already described and articulating their value and implications. Open-endedness is a key dimension to modernization: that systems are not constrained by what George Foster (1969) calls "notions of limited good". The faculty constantly stressed that technology is available to serve man, that with it local man can forge his own destiny. However, the loosening of technological constraints does not eliminate social or political constraints, so

political realism is also a necessity. Thus, a priority was placed upon teaching the students how to gain the support of the village, taluka, and district political and bureaucratic structures. Further, the HDTS and Nava Gram Prayas ride on the waves of the patriotic and developmental fervor of this newly independent nation. Thus, modernization and Indian nationalism are combined.

b. egalitarianism

As has been said, the Indian leadership, since Independence, has articulated, though not always lived up to, an egalitarian ideal. In the school, this ideal is developed into a full ideology in two dimensions. On the one hand, the straight-forward ideological position is articulated that "All the earth belongs to all the people." It is further elaborated into its economic, political, and cultural corollaries: "All the goods belong to all", which is not interpreted as a radical attack on private property, but that the benefits of common resources and action belong to all men and every man deserves a sustaining share of the globe's resources; "All the decisions belong to all", that there are no sanctified elites who have the right to run the lives of local men and women; and "All the gifts of all the cultures belong to all", that every culture can benefit from the gifts of others unlike themselves, and have the right to call upon those gifts, and the obligation to share their own.

At the same time, the school articulates an understanding of what profound human living is. In fact, a substantial portion of the school's curriculum is focused on this arena, involving suggestions by

the staff, discussion, interior evaluation, and appropriation by the students. This is an attempt to enable the spirit growth of the students, to allow them to grasp the significance of their own internal struggles, and to develop the interior strength which will sustain them through the difficulties of constant innovation and the frustrations of the innumerable details which never seem to work out as desired when doing development and modernization, but which, if persevered with, will finally bring change.

The Internal States of Being of Profound Humanness: Mystery, Event, Consciousness, Integrity, Care, Effulgence, are the phenomenological ground of all existence. They are the essential experiences of life, which when lived to their fullest comprise the interior dimension of profound living. They are not simply the things that happen to a man, nor the emotions he embodies. They are the transparent realities that subsist in all experience, the eternally recurring dimensions of life perceived when one sees through the surface diversity of appearances. These are the archetypal encounters of life with itself, with all existence, with the past and the future. No man can adequately judge whether another is living these dimensions to the depths, though he has clues from the external manifestations a person exhibits. The events that occasion the profound humanness of these internal states are unique to each individual, though the great seminal events of birth, death, marriage, etc., have almost universal impact. It is the way one lives these events, takes them into himself, and appropriates them that is described by these Internal States of Being.

The External Manifestations are observable and can be differentiated: Declaration, Creativity, Presence, Action, Totality, and Corporateness. Just as consciousness is a quality of humanness, but one that is shared with other animals, so the external manifestations of man are inevitable as a part of his being, but a part he shares with the animal world(as we talk of dogs being "loving" or "loyal" or "mean and dangerous"). As it is consciousness of consciousness that we mean to point to as profoundly human, so it is those external manifestations which are coherent with and reflect the internal states of being that we mean to point to by profound humanness. Thus it is not all action that is profoundly human, for by some action, men seek to escape or ignore their profundity, to avoid living their internal states. The External Manifestations categories indicate and point to those embodiments of man that describe the style of Profound Human living. These descriptions are not for the sake of rejecting any as living unprofoundly, but are for the purpose of guiding everyman in his own search for significant living.

c. the moral life

Interpersonal relations were very carefully prescribed under caste stratification. Rights, obligations, and restrictions were specific and flaunting them brought harsh punishment, including caste ex-communication which could deprive a person of land, social contacts, and livelihood. The moral life was in fulfilling one's dharma(duty). With the erosion and alteration of the caste regulation of society, a new moral foundation is required. Built on the egalitarian ideology,

and borrowing heavily on the example and writings of Gandhi and Tagore, the HDTS describes Nava Gram Prayas as a movement of "Those Who Care". It speaks of morality as giving expression to one's care for the world and his fellowman. The life of service is the life of releasing others to achieve their full potential, to live their full humanness.

To that end, Nava Gram Prayas is characterized as a movement of those who sacrifice themselves for the sake of the development of India's villages, and the enhancement of the lives of her poor. It is seen as a group of volunteers who put themselves under assignment to various villages. They commit themselves to living on poverty stipends, in communal arrangements similar to those experienced in the school, though in smaller groups, in which colleagueship substitutes for the close bonds of kinship and caste during the time of their service.

d. symbolization

Srinivas(1966), in calling for the secularization of India's religion, called for its rationalization, not its elimination. Man must have symbols which express his ultimate convictions. Symbols have the capacity to move men in a-rational ways, and provide the emotive responses that motivate action. The HDTS, incorporating persons of divergent religious traditions, denigrating none, nor favoring any, found itself requiring a unifying symbolic life. Drawing upon, and creating for, the symbolic life of the village projects, the school started each morning with a daily ritual involving songs written to embody the ideology of the movement and a liturgy drawn

from the works of one of India's foremost modern poets, Tagore. The songs, reflecting the effort of village renewal, both in India and from around the world, created a sense of community, common purpose, and enthusiasm. Rites, slogans, even the name "Nava Gram Prayas" all served to remind the students what they were about. Decor of the facilities was created to reinforce this common thrust. The symbolism of the blue shirt, worn by the volunteers of Nava Gram Prayas, and thus by the faculty of the school, served as a constant reminder of the commitment of one's life which was possible.

V. Conclusion

Both Gearing(1975) and Kimball(1965) point to the cruciality of the rite of passage upon successful completion of culture transmission. The HDTS concluded in a Council which included most of the current volunteers of Nava Gram Prayas, as well as the HDTS students. After examining the issues facing the movement and designing strategies for the work of the next 13 weeks, the group consensed on their own assignments for the new quarter. Students were included within that assignment listing by their own decision. More than two-thirds of those who complete the fourth session of the school took an assignment to work in a village project. The Council closed with the HDTS graduation, with the former students taking their place alongside their more experienced colleagues.

Jaquetta Hill Burnett(1974) has discussed the comparison of a child learning his own culture and the ethnographer learning a strange

one. In one sense, the HDTS can be understood as ethnography in reverse. In it the faculty, especially the non-national faculty, act as informants of a society which is strange to the students, the emerging global society. The students sort out what they hear and what they observe. They learn how to act within the patterns associated with modernization. But they must make their own choices, their own decisions, about what is valid and what is not, what to accept and what to reject. In that sense, it is the 500 men and women under assignment in Nava Gram Prayas who validate the HDTS. The only task of the school is to meet their needs, to prepare them for their task in India's villages. The faculty recognizes this and therefore seeks constant feedback from those in the field and makes constant revisions in the school as a result.

It is clear that in India, the HDTS rides on the back of the presentation of modern technology, which is intensely desired by the students. Unfamiliar and strange customs, structures, and ideas are tolerated, then accepted, because they accompany this technological training. The patterns of socialization and ideology implicit in the acceptance of Western technology, and explicit in the school, undergird and enable the introduction of it. The provision of the technology legitimates new social patterns and new ideologies.

Chapter 9

The Intra-Psychic Alterations of the "Blue Shirts"

I. Development and Cognitive Maps

Yehudi Cohen(1970) writes of the connection of the development of education and civilization. He contends that education first arose to train the elite in how to relate across state boundaries with people different from one's own people. He portrays this education as largely rote learning. His theory of civilizational development is that, as states are brought together within a civilization, the elite, who act as boundary guardians, work to eliminate interior boundaries while strengthening the exterior boundaries. A homogenous internal culture is developed which adhers to a common authority structure, with each province expereiencing more commonality with each other than with any peoples outside the boundaries of the emerging civilization. More universal values and customs subvert locally unique values and customs. A common language is often imposed, either replacing former local languages or becoming a second language in which most have some facility. Mass education, when it developed, was distinct from and complementary to elite education. It also had the function of subverting local uniqueness. More important than what was learned was that everyone learned the same thing. A common world view, a set of values, a symbol system, and common methodological skills were learned by the whole populace. This function had also been fulfilled by religion, and Cohen sees the connection in that mass education grew out of the religious communities.

As a global society emerges, elements of these two functions of education begin to come together. The Human Development Training

School combines aspects of both dimensions: cross-cultural training which in the past has been elitist, and the provision of essential perspectives which are coming to be shared across the globe. In this sense, it is both elitist and mass education. There is no question that the school produces a village elite, but it is not the traditional elite of Indian village life. The elite of tradition is hereditarily determined. Such roles are ascribed on the basis of the caste stratification of the village, kinship patterns within the castes, including primogenitur descent, age, and sex. This new group of HDTS graduates is a functional elite which defies all of these ascribed criteria. However, it is not a replacement of the traditional elite, but a catalytic elite which is adjunct to that traditional elite(or its more democratic counterpart, if panchayat reform has been meaningful in a particular project village). It is dependent upon its capacity to transcend the boundaries which have kept India's villages isolated and parochial.

Earlier civilizations were forged by military coercion, eliminating geo-political boundaries by force. None can diminish the importance of British military pacification of the sub-continent. Local autonomy was forecefully broken and the Indian union was created, the largest common governance of Sub-Asia in several thousand years. Now, the boundaries isolating India's villages are no longer geographical, but are between contrasting cultures. This new elite is composed of those who can cross the boundaries between traditionalism and modernism, between parochialism and globality, between cant and

secularization, between fatalism and developmentalism. In undertaking the task of village development, they seek to lead whole villages across these boundaries. They seek to erase the internal boundaries that separate the village from the rest of the global society of which they are a part.

In inviting this functional elite into their villages, the residents and leaders are asking for the chance to become citizens, not just of their village, or of Maharashtra, or of India, but of the global society. They have seen the benefits of belonging to that society. They have seen the disadvantages of remaining on its periphery or isolated from it. They have seen their young migrate in order to belong to that world. Without being able to anticipate all of the costs of their action, but willing to take the risk, they have chosen to merge their village into the culture of the emerging global society. The new functional elite will disappear as they are successful. The elimination of the boundaries will dissolve the difference which makes them elite.

II. Intra-Psychic Alteration: Affect

The alteration that happens to a villager who comes to the HDTS is an alteration of his world-view and his relationship to that world, an acquisition of a repetoire of skills necessary to operate within his new socio-cultural environment, and the adoption of a new set of cognitive behaviors. In the preceding chapter the structure and operation of the HDTS was described, and an analysis was made of

how these alterations were produced. Here it is intended to describe what the change within the students is like.

The alteration of the affective dimension of life is a change in one's view of the world, his relationship to that world, other humans, and himself, and, thereby, his vision of his own role in life. The HDTS occasioned profound alteration in all of these dimensions in the vast majority of its students. Each of these must be examined in detail.

1. World-view

While Irawati Karve(1965:118) flatly asserts, "The classical village community is dead", the world-view of the villagers arriving at the HDTS was still largely circumscribed by classical values. The ways of tradition were considered the proper ways. But chinks have appeared in that view of the world. Visits to urban centers have provided glimpses of alien perspectives, some of which are highly attractive. Thus the students arrived, conditioned by 15 or 25 or even 60 years of enculturation, but disturbed by doubts about the adequacy of these understandings for the future. Some of their fundamental convictions have been shaken by government legislation which has proscribed certain traditional implementing behaviors. Some of their convictions have been contested in government schools. Some have been assaulted by the vision of relative material affluence and the threat of increasing poverty and hunger.

The effective limits of the world for most arriving villagers are the boundaries of their own village. For most, these limits are not geographical absolutes, for neighboring villages were familiar to

them. But these surrounding villages are simply replicas of the world of their own villages. Urban areas, if they are known at all(over half the school had never been to a city of more than 50,000 people) are strange, exotic places . They are not really a part of one's world. Caste stratification creates a pluralistic society, but one in which a person never knows what it is like to live except in the jati into which he/she is born. Kinship patterns are central. The joint family includes all one's primary relationships. The village is hierarchically organized and each person knows his place. Ethical relationships are those which honor these differing places and observe the duties and obligations and conventions proper to them. These positions do not change during a person's lifetime, though the particular individuals filling them will. The traditions of the village condition one's expectations and enable the making of appropriate decisions when options are presented. Their guidance has sustained the village through the centuries and therefore they are the basis of the future. The future will look, in all major ways, like the past. The rituals and celebrations of religion have brought protection and significance and richness to life and have enabled appropriate expressions of gratitude towards those forces and beings which have sustained life. To tamper with them is to risk losing that sustenance.

The HDTS dramatically and systematically altered that view of the world. For most students this was an uprooting happening. It was, at times, cataclysmic. Gearing(1973) speaks of such alteration as an exchanging of boundaries of an individual's cognitive map, but

such language does not catch the affective explosiveness which is involved. It is like moving to another country and learning how to live in entirely new ways, while the eyes and ears continue to report the same signals they always have, or at least, some of the same ones. Just travelling to the school, often across hundreds of miles by bus and train, the students began to experience the breaking down of parochial barriers. Confronting a multi-national and multi-caste faculty furthered the effect. the four-day excursion to Bombay was a graphic encounter with the whole globe. The various curriculum modules surrounded the student and involved him in the patterns of an expanded world. Nothing short of living in the whole globe, with all its diversity of race, custom, language, and social form would ever again be imaginally adequate. Retreat to the village is no longer possible, for the globe goes with the student wherever he goes from this time forward.

His style became the style of modern urban man--even as he continued to live in the rural village. His space was no longer bounded by the village, a reality which became graphic to those who became a part of the volunteer force of Nava Gram Prayas across Maharashtra. In such a role, he found himself constantly moving from village to district capital to consult with government and business leaders. He travelled across the state to meet with and assist colleagues in their projects. This colleagueship partially displaced the primacy of kinship in social relations. He finds himself building structures of economic development and social organization, instead of

relying upon relations of mutuality which prevailed in the village world in which he grew up. Time ceases to be the simple cyclical patterning of his days and seasons, and becomes complexly rational. Precision in scheduling and the allocation of his time between a complex set of interrelated demands creates a new sense of self-perception. But perhaps most significantly, it is his persistent orientation to the future which distinguishes him. No longer does he look to the past for his life-orientation. He grasps that he is building what the future will be like, and it is this which captivates him. From this perspective, the past takes on a completely different significance--no longer the determiner of his decisions, it becomes a repository of wisdom which may be drawn upon when relevant, but transcended when new conditions require new responses.

The students came to experience awe in events at the center of their existence in response to the secularizing symbolic life of the HDTS and the articulation of profound human living embodied in the teachings of the school. They came to encounter ultimacy less at the edges of life(in death and otherness) than at the profound possibility they were offered to create the future and to see the future created by common men like themselves. They became aware that they were creating temporal models which had to be built and then would need to be rebuilt. The students stopped worrying about the eternal correctness of their solutions, and were excited by functional pragmatism. They struggled, not against the powers and demons of irrational cant, but against the historical forces of

traditionalism, social rigidity, and fear. Their certitude no longer came from the old religious or social authorities, but from the satisfaction of finding authentic strategies to enable the villages they would serve to move into the future. This is the rationalization of the symbolic life of which Srinivas speaks (1966). Most students will undoubtedly continue in the religious practices in which they were raised. But alongside them, and bringing new power and depth to them, will be the symbolic expressions of profound humanness of Nava Gram Prayas.

Thus, during the school, students and junior faculty who were Hindus would from time to time appear with the saffron splotch on their foreheads that indicated they had done "puja"(ritual honor) at the nearby temple. One of the young teachers, in conversation with me, was unable to explain what the meaning of the act was for him. It was a symbolic form that was expected of him, and in which he comfortably participated, but about which he was unable to speak. Similarly, on celebrative occasions in the school, or holiday observances such as Independence Day, which the school observed with the village, all present were marked with saffron. This marking ignored national or religious distinctions, treating Indians and extra-nationals, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, and Christians all alike. A third occasion for puja was upon the death of a distant relative of another colleague, not part of the school. In this case, puja corresponded to paying respect to the dead and to the grieving family, and was reported as a social obligation of kinship.

During the HDTS, the festival of Go Puja(Cow worship/honor) was observed in the village. This festival is a two day event offering worship and gratitude to the bullocks which labored all year for the families of the village. For a month preceding the celebration, the town was symbolically closed to cattle. A small tree trunk was laid across the main road into the village, and cattle were not allowed to use this street(though many families continued to bring their bullocks from the fields to their houses at night, using back roads). On the first evening of the festival the bullocks were decorated with head-dresses, with many mirrors in evidence. Intricate designs of dye were created on the sides of the beasts. The bullocks were led to a shrine across the road from the village entrance, made to kneel in homage to the god of the shrine and received a blessing from the guardians of the place. Then the cattle were lined up at the entrance to the village. There was obvious competitiveness in the elaborateness of the animals' decorations. After the creation and dedication of a small altar in the center of the road, just at sunset, the barrier was removed and the bullocks were led at a run through the main streets of the village, ending up at the various owners' homes. There worship was offered to the family's animals and specially prepared sweets were given to them. Only after the streets were clear did the Harijans, most of whom were Neo-Buddhists, bring their bullocks, also decorated, and run them through the streets to their homes. The Harijans had only about a third as many bullocks in their run. While ignoring the street entrance altar, which the first set of bullocks had trammelled,

Harijan rituals at their homes were not discernibly different from those of the Hindus. Following the honoring of the bullocks, a fair was held. A bazaar with many stalls for the sale of sweets and carnival-type knick-knacks was set up on the border road where the bullocks had gathered and done reverence. Travelling musicians and dancers performed for two nights. The specific shrine rituals seemed to be restricted to Hindus, but the rest of the celebration encompassed the whole village, though in a segmented way.

Students of the school participated whole-heartedly in the festival. When questioned about the festival, they provided accounts of what was happening at each stage. It was obvious they thought it entirely appropriate to take two days to honor the beasts who not only labored so diligently for their masters, but also provided highly utilized products: milk, dung(used as wall plaster and as a covering for the dirt floors, and as fertilizer) and urine(used in a sacred drink for the most devout--a practice popularized by Gandhi). However, the students seemed to distinguish between expressing gratitude and imputing ultimacy to the beasts. Thus, the forms of an ancient agrarian religious celebration were maintained, but the interior states of being were more easily expressed by the students in the categories of profound humanness they had learned in the school.

Released from the lock-step causality of a limited universe, the students adopted a new optimism about the future. They grasped that it is a dynamic world in which they live, not a static one. The future was no longer simply the reembodiment of the past. The students

were ready to move with confidence into creating progress at the village level. They incorporated the developmental nationalism of India's leaders into themselves. They were not adopting a national program. They were accepting a way of looking at life. It is now their perspective.

2. Personal Worthwhileness

A major concern of the HDTS faculty was to occasion a deep and abiding sense of personal worth in the students. Most students arrived with a sense of themselves as victims. Sometimes it was the victimization of fatalism--being trapped by the accidents of birth into a rigid social system in which no alternatives were apparent. Sometimes it was the victimization of being an oppressed people. By means described in the two preceding chapters, many students were liberated from this sense of victimization. They developed a sense of their own significance. A new sense of confidence in their own abilities began to be apparent. This included confidence in their abiltiy to particiapte directly in the school and in the use of their free time. A new sense of self-pride could be seen in improved bearing, new care for their own appearance, and a new venturesomeness in initiating trips to Aurangabad and other places outside of Maliwada.

Some of the students were involved in securing "in-kind contributions" from businessmen and government bureaucrats towards the end of the school. It seemed a major accomplishment that some students would even consider going on such calls, given the victimization and self-image of being poor, ignorant farmers with which they

arrived at the school. One young man left the school with great trepidation the first day. He returned that evening having secured two panels of plywood. He was ecstatic, and seemed to have grown four inches. By the end of the week, he had walked into the office of the manager of the four-star tourist hotel near the airport in Aurangabad and talked him into hosting and providing a free banquet for the school's closing feast. He had become a giant in his own eyes. While his alteration was dramatic, it was representative of the sense of self-worth which developed in many of the students. The faculty spoke of this kind of change as the development of a sense of selfhood.

Many Indians manifest a deep sense of humiliation at being Indian. Perhaps it is the result of a century and a half of British imperial rule(the British Raj). Perhaps it is the result of a thousand years of foreign domination dating the to Moghuls who preceded the British. Some students would tell the history of India as a succession of conquerors, from the Aryans onwards. The country's heroes were portrayed as men who resisted, though usually without lasting effect. One such figure was Sanjiva, who fought the British for a decade in Maharashtra in the 19th century. It is small wonder that Gandhi and the other leaders of the successful Independence Movement were so lionized. Through the cultural heritage excursions, mythology recreation, and stress on developmental nationalism and patriotism, a new sense of cultural and national pride was developed in most of the students. The poverty of their nation and of their people, instead of being a mark of shame, became a challenge to be overcome, and the

progress already achieved since Independence the source of deep satisfaction and courage. They left the school confident that India's villages could be developed by their efforts, and the efforts of their fellow villagers, with the support of the nation's leaders.

Accompanying the growing sense of self-worth and national pride was a growing confidence in the capabilities of "local man". Throughout the early part of the school, suggestions of change that could be created in the villages of India regularly encountered high levels of skepticism among the students, who were remembering how things had always been in their own villages. But as the school progressed, as new possibilities were put before them, and most important, as they again and again met Maliwada villagers who were competantly building their village and met other volunteers of Nava Gram Prayas who brought stories of similar change in other villages, a new confidence in the efforts of common people developed. Finally students came to ascribe to villagers the same worth and significance they were coming to experience about themselves.

This led to expressions of deep care to release in their fellow villagers the same sense of self-worth they had come to know. They began to speak of themselves as volunteers in Nava Gram Prayas, ready to undergo considerable sacrifice to release villagers to their full potential, and thereby to renew the villages of their nation. This sense of sacrificial care, reminiscent of the Gandhian example, was in marked contrast to stratified obligations and righteousness in social relations with which they had come to the HDTS. Pollution was

no longer a primary interpersonal category. It had been replaced by sacrificial care.

3. Altered Life Careers

Frederick Gearing(1975), in writing about culture transmission, borrowed Bohannon's description of people as living in a two-story world. The first story is that of household and neighborhood. The second is the bureaucratic world of business, government and supra-local organizations. He suggests that men and women adopt life careers as non-random movement through, and participation in, both the localized world and the bureaucratic world. Each event that goes into learning such a life career is part of the community's total educational structure, not just the school system. A community can be described as the pattern of recurrent life careers as they vary by sex, class, ethnicity, and the division of labor. The community description would also include the constraints upon the choice of life careers and the ways of exercising them. In social change, these constraints are altered and the patterned exchanges of the community must be renegotiated.

The HDTS occasions a profound alteration in the life careers of many of its students. Two-thirds of the graduates of the school asked for assignments as volunteers in Nava Gram Prayas, as participants in the movement of village development. In the last chapter Gearing's dyadic model was used to analyze faculty-student, student-student, and outsider-student transactions through which the possibility of such new life careers were encountered and learned. The crucial result of these encounters is that such new life careers were adopted. Such

career alteration involves a whole new conception of the self. Kierkegaard(1969:146) described the self as a "...relation which relates itself to its own self, and in relating itself to its own self relates itself to another." His concern was for individuals to affirm with gratitude being who they were. The "Sickness Unto Death" is the despair of not willing to be oneself, or willing to be oneself in defiance rather than in gratitude. These notions are foundational to what the faculty meant by "selfhood", which was alluded to above. The notion of the self as a set of relations, rather than as a substance located somewhere in the body, has profound implications for altered life careers. A life career is a patterned set of relationships. To choose to radically alter one's life career is to radically alter the relationships he participates in, and thus he becomes a different self. This is not to say that all past relationships are terminated; many endure. But many of these relationships are fundamentally revamped. The student literally becomes a different person.

The HDTS is instrumental in portraying new life careers that are open to its students. Some chose to return to the old familiar life careers they had begun to learn in their villages. Some few chose new life careers in the urban world, to which the school had introduced them. Most chose a new life career in the context of Nava Gram Prayas. The school presented the students with many models to examine. The teachers, especially those who themselves came out of similar villages, were perhaps most effective as role models of such new life careers. The school conveyed a great deal of information

about what such a life would be like. It began to train the students in the appropriate embodiment of such a life career. It involved them in a symbol system, a representative style, a characteristic discipline. But at the end of the school, when other Nava Gram Prayas volunteers came to the Council that was the concluding event of the school, the new graduates had just begun to learn this new life career. They were still raw recruits, who had learned the basics, as if in a "boot camp", but the depth learning would be in the villages. It would be there they would learn to eliminate inappropriate behaviors by emulating the "old hands" with whom they were assigned. The decision to adopt a new life career was made in the HDTS. Learning how to live that career involved an apprenticeship in the villages as part of a catalytic auxiliary force.

Further, as has been intimated in the preceding section, the students came to see the possibilities of new life careers for local villagers. Some might be recruited to the school and into Nava Gram Prayas as volunteers. Many would be the New Village Movement by staying in their villages and radically transforming them. Village development entails creating many new life careers(not just jobs, though these entail new life patterns) and fundamentally altering many of the existing ones. For the student to see himself as calling persons in traditional roles to alter the way they play those roles required a deep alteration of his self-image. Spindler(1974:181) suggests this is an alteration in identity, which he defines as "...a cathexis with certain instrumental linkages that are central to one's

presentation of self in the context of one's life style." He continues, "Identities tend to persist but are also situationally adaptive." Thus the alteration of the instrumental linkages in a community alters the identities of those involved. Given the creation of a new social context in the village, people begin to play new roles and become different persons. In that the linkages forged in Nav a Gram Prayas extend to similar village development projects in over 25 countries, the student begins to grasp himself as related to the whole world, as a global citizen.

III. Intra-Psychic Alteration: Skills Equipment

Solon T. Kimball (quoted in Tindall, 1976:200) described the alteration of individuals intra-psychically as changes in affect or world-view, skills, and cognitive behavior. In skill acquisition, and speaking in the context of culture transmission from one generation to the next, rather than cross-culturally, he includes "language, kinship, household skills...." The HDTS students learned new skills relating to communications, corporate practices, technology and envisionment. The similarity of the first three to Kimball's categories is obvious. The skills of envisioning the future are particularly relevant to the life career of one who seeks to bring the future into the "now".

1. Communication

As a child must learn the language of his culture to participate fully in it, so individuals must learn the language of the global

society to participate fully in it. The Indian government has numerous programs to assist in development, but most are relatively unused at the village level. To visit a Zilla Parishad office, which coordinates government services at the district level, is to visit the world of bureaucracy-in-frustration. Bureaucrats are frustrated at villager unwillingness to adopt new ways. To visit India's villages is to experience the frustration of the inability to secure government assistance. The two sides both want development to occur and need each other's cooperation. But they speak two different languages, while using the same words.

In the previous chapter the learning of English, the operating _lingua franca_ of India, was described and evaluated. The increased facility in English is a significant skill acquisition for the HDTS graduates who made that effort. But linguistic facility that can transcend the villager-to-bureaucrat/technocrat/businessman barrier is even more crucial. To be able to translate between what "...Bohannon has called the two story system of contemporary life...."(Gearing, 1975:194) is the primary communication skill learned by the students. It includes the capacity to take disparate data and combine them into a coherent story that interrelates the two worlds persuasively. It entails the learning of elicitation techniques which can gather the wisdom of sophisticates and simple folk. Along with their wisdom their life commitment must be secured. Also required are the skills of discernment of obscure or partially hidden key elements of a problem, the comprehension of complex dimensions of situations, and the

incorporation of all of that into a reasonable picture of what is happening in the village. It was the acquisition of these skills which were demonstrated in the "in-kind" successes noted above. But they were also observable in the growing sophistication in the questioning of panels of experts in the later curricular modules of the school and in the more comprehensive and complex models built in the later workshops. However, the key measure of this alteration is in the successful programs in operation in the villages to which the graduates of earlier sessions of the HDTS have been assigned.

2. Corporate Practices

Colleagueship in Nava Gram Prayas, first experienced in the HDTS and later in the village auxiliaries, became a substitute for the kinship relationships of one's village. It was not a complete replacement. Nava Gram Prayas volunteers, most of whom are young, unmarried men, recognized that their marriages would be arranged by their parents. One young man left the village in which he was working to go home to be married. He then returned to the village to work. Before leaving his comment was, "If my future wife wants to come with me to the village, that will be good. If she doesn't, she can stay at home and work with my family until my two years(of volunteer service) are finished." Thus kin obligations are recognized and honored, but so are collegial obligations and the duties of new life careers. In the above case, they were merged as the new wife joined the young man in his village assignment. Others, in similar conflicts of responsibilities were not so fortunate.

Colleagueship which transcends caste and kinship is also crucial to villages as they seek to develop. Learning how to foster corporate action, whether among villagers or within the auxiliary itself, is an essential skill. It involves learning to build common structures for interreleated action, such as a guild system which includes representatives from the various segments of the village in each program coordinating group. It involves learning to manipulate the relevant symbols--decor, rituals, songs, celebrations--that motivate people to action. It involves catalyzing and training leadership. These skills are demonstrated in the school. Daily student leadership of many of the school's activities gave them a chance to practice and polish these skills. But it was in the daily responsibilities of living with nine or ten colleagues in a village distant from one's own, and working with those villagers, that these skills became second nature to the students. It was remarkable to visit a village such as Chichale, near Bombay, and to see these young men quickly employ the model-building workshop methods I had been teaching in the school to solve an issue which arose, rather than simply discussing it.

3. Technology

The key to village development is the introduction of appropriate advanced technology. The technology which is needed is not that of heavy industrialization or the advanced sciences, but rather the mid-level technology which allows a village to participate in the world of advanced technology and benefit from its development at more moderate levels. The nine curricular modules of the HDTS focus on

presenting to the students a cross-section of the technology most relevant for village development, especially in agriculture, industry, commerce, health, education, construction and utility services.

The students obviously did not become skilled in any of these arenas. Many barely understood what they were confronting, as they met experts in these fields or visited demonstration projects. What they did learn was an appreciation for what new technologies can offer, and some of the limits involved. They learned how to make contact with those who have necessary technological skills. They learned what kinds of skills can be quickly learned by villagers(particular industrial or processing skills--such as plastic bag heat-sealing as done in the packaging of Maliwada's Nutri-food industry, or health-caretakers skills, or imaginal education teaching skills, or new irrigation or plowing techniques, etc.). They also learned what kinds of people can be enticed to teach villagers these skills and how to get them to do it. They learned where to send villagers for more extensive training for more complex skills. In summary, they learned the value of the technological skills and how to get access to them. Later, working in particular programs in the villages, graduates learned some of these specific skills themselves.

4. Envisionment

The capacity to envision the future is crucial to development. If one can only see the future as a repetition of the past, radical change is precluded. It is in such situations that Foster's(1969) notions of "the limited good" seem descriptive of the defeat of the

notion of the expandability of local economies. The faculty asserted that one's capacity to envision the future related directly to the capacity to grasp and encompass the past. If one's vision of the way things have always been only extends through one's own lifetime, or only through the British Raj, then one's vision of the future is likewise monchromatically limited. Thus the school's emphasis on recovering the heritage of India served the function of expanding the student's capacity to envision alternative futures.

The particular skills the students learned, in addition to appropriation of the richness of their own past, were the skills of contradiction discernment, proposal creation, strategic and tactical planning, and actional implementation. These are the constituent skills of model building, taught and practiced over and over in the workshops of the curriculum. These skills have already been mentioned above. Here their importance is in the perspective alteration which resulted, releasing the students to foresee new conditions and patterns in the villages in which they would work and be used to release the villagers to their own foresight. Finally the students learned that it is not their foresight which is determinative, but that of the villagers with whom they would be working. People will engage their own beings and effort to realize their own dreams. They will not do so to achieve other people's dreams which they do not share. The students articulated this understanding in testimonials at the closing feast of the school. The volunteers coming back from working in the villages reported they had learned this lesson viscerally through

hard experience. Thus, the twofold level of learning of school and apprenticeship is reinforced.

IV. Intra-Psychic Alteration: Cognitive Behavior

The manipulation of agro-industrial technology and its accompanying social engineering requires a scientific cognitive process. Of course, in the larger sense, every society has its "science", its way of "having knowledge". In this century, "science" has come to mean a particular pattern of rationality involving observation and data collection, inductive and deductive logic, hypothesis and experimental testing. Though historians trace its roots back to Archimedes and his contemporaries, modern science came to bloom with Copernicus and Newton(Cf. Kuhn, 1970). As Karl Popper (1972) points out, the Objective Knowledge of science is not as "objective" as many people in the West suppose. In fact, it is a way of thinking which is based upon hypotesis and correction of error. Popper further postulates that this is the same process by which all men learn, and is the direct evolutionary descendent of the same process in simpler biological organisms(Cf. above, Chapter 7, for a review of this field and its relevance for the educational methodology employed in the HDTS). But not all societies teach their people to think in this manner.

Cohen(1970), in recounting the evolution of civilizations, points out that the three essential common elements in the ordering of a civilization are a stratification system which establishes an elite

to control change, a common language(a lingua franca), and a common religion with an ideology that legitimates the civilization and its structures. He points out that education, especially mass education, can functionally supplant religion, as it has in the U.S.A.

Marion Dobbert(1970:212) takes this idea further and suggests that "...scientific explanations may be considered the religion of the United States." She notes that science meets Geertz's criteria of religion that its world-view propounds the vastness and complexity of the universe, whose parts are independent, related in lawful, not chaotic, ways of unceasing movement. The practitioners of this new religion, its shamens, are called "scientists" and include also engineers, managers, lawyers, clergy, and teachers. She points out that there is a hierarchy among such practitioners:

> --that two years technical training creates skilled workers and foremen
> --that university training creates teachers who communicate the system to all the young
> --and administrators who adjust the system
> --that a Ph.D. signifies the high priests of the system who wrestle for further esoteric insight into the way the world is.

The HDTS attempts to instill the scientific world-view in its students. Without this perspective it is perceived that little creative development will occur at the village level. This requires new ways of thinking. Kimball(1965) says this involves changing the categories used in thought, the canons of discrimination and the processes by which things happen. New categories of experience are added by the students to account for the expanded world they encounter. Larger

alterations involve the criteria by which identification and evaluations are made. The largest changes are required in the connective processes, the understandings of the way things happen. A detailed analysis of each of these areas is beyond the scope of this investigation. More in keeping with the methodologies of the school, it is possible to indicate alterations in master images through which the students grasped their world and their understanding of the connective processes.

1. Master Image Shift

One's image of the world conditions what he sees. It is like wearing a set of glasses. There may be blind spots which filter certain happenings out of the person's awareness. The screen coalesces certain happenings together in regular ways. An alternate image may unite the same experiences in other ways. Such an image shift happened for most of the students. Though for each individual there were unique dimensions, there were some characteristics of this shift that were common for most of the graduates--particularly for those who volunteered to be assigned to villages.

The master image shift was primarily in how society was perceived. As has been indicated above, most of the villagers arriving at the school had a static conception of society. Their image of human relations were highly stratified by caste and religious community. One's place in society was established at birth, and could vary only slightly, barring some horrendous mistake which could lead to caste ex-communication. Likewise, the wealth of the village society was largely established, with competition only for how it was distributed.

Authority was similarly established and varied only marginally--and then only among individuals, not structurally. Given this general mindset, it is no surprise that "passive resistence" was such an effective weapon in the Independence movement. Rather than active involvement for radical change, passive resistence simply bogged down all mobility, which hampered those seeking to expropriate profits more than it did those on a subsistence level of existence. Unfortunately the mode continues to exist 30 years after Independence, and continues to deter change, even for the sake of local benefit. It is a detrimental factor to be reckoned with in doing village development in India.

The school was founded on a dynamic image of a society of technological developmentalism. In such a society, nothing is fixed and static. Mobility is a fundamental assumption. Wealth is expandable through a combination of new technology, redirected human labor investment, and the acquisition of capital investment through loans or grants. Roles are flexible and multiplying. Relationships honor individuals rather than hierarchical positions, though tactically acknowledging the reality of the hierarchies. Egalitarianism, while it does not ignore the historical social milieu, means opportunities for every villager.

Throughout the school, the progressive adoption of the dynamic image of society began to be evident. Creative proposals flowed more and more easily in the model-building workshops. Responses heavily tinged with victimization("that won't work!" "We Can't", of "If only")

were replaced by expressions of determination. Personal resistence gave way to careful strategizing on how to overcome resistence in the bureaucrats to be encountered when dealing with government and businesses. The openness and opportunities of the future replaced the foreclosure from the past. The shift in master image not only shifted what was perceived, it shifted the relationship of the students to that reality. The expressions shifted from "What _you_ are doing...." to "What _we_ are doing."

2. The Connective Processes

As important as new categories for perceiving reality and new evaluations of the significance of previously perceived relationships was the development of a new way of thinking. Modern scientific thinking is dramatically different from that of the traditional Indian villager. The faculty experienced this with great frustration at the beginning of the school. Knowing that many of the students had completed their secondary schooling, the faculty expected more problem-solving facility than was actually present. Educated in a system which emphasizes rote learning, the students' processes of thought had not been altered by their schooling(or perhaps they had been altered, but negatively). They had learned new things, but not a new process of thinking.

To adopt modern scientific thinking processes, the students required retraining in three areas: quantification, sequencing, and causation. Of course, the students knew how to quantify things. Unlike some societies which have little emphasis on quantification

(some do not even have numbers for more than twenty items, Cf., Rappaport, 1967), Indian society has had a high level of commercialization, including enumeration, for millennia. However, a subsistence economy which is centered upon producing enough food to maintain one's family, is only peripherally engaged in the exchange economy. The careful measurements of modern agronomy are ignored in traditional agriculture. A new significance for quantification must be acquired.

Similarly, sequencing is not an unknown reality, but a new appreciation for determining sequences rather than simply repeating them is necessary. The students had learned many well-ingrained sequences, often using the language of modern practices. The bureaucratic process is always susceptible to rigidified sequences, but in India this art reaches its culmination. The British training in proper form, when enhanced by the Indian gift for panoramic elaboration, creates extensive patterned sequences disconnected from mechanical cause-effect relationships. It shows the Indian propensity for elaborately patterned stratification of social reality over cost-efficiency productivity. Within the system, individuals are highly aware of all the persons or positions which must be attended to. To ignore any of these would invite peril. This way of thinking is foreign to many scientifically trained Westerners, and is often overlooked, to their discomfort. The students are well-skilled in this way of thinking, but deficiencies are corrected in workshops on bureaucratic relations which are important to the securing of assistance for the projects. These are relationships and sequences which are largely learned by rote.

But sequencing that follows the patterns of formal logic, of inductive and deductive argument, is largely unknown. New processes of thinking which involve learning how to determine sequences, must be adopted. Instead of focusing on new content, though there is much of that, the school emphasizes learning methods. Instead of learning sets of solutions, the students learn the processes of problem-solving. This is a very painful process for both the students and the faculty. To see a student, who seemed to have done excellently in a previous workshop, repeat exactly the steps employed there, on a problem that bears no resemblance to the former one, can be humorous in its ludicrous irrelevance--like seeing a slap-stick comedy. But when one thinks of the shackles of subsistence living such rote sequencing maintains, when one realizes the pain of the student who is trying to wrench his cognitive processes about and who does not comprehend why this sequence he has learned with such effort doesn't seem to be working, the response is more likely to be of overwhelming pathos.

Foundational to alterations in quantification and sequencing is the alteration in understandings of causation. In the static world of traditional Indian villages, what is most evident are the recurring patterns of events. Proximity in time creates linkages between various recurring events. These linkages are often expressed causally. Modern scientific thinking delimits the number and kind of such linkages it will tolerate as causal. It requires that prediction be a quality of such causal assertions. It requires replicability of the linkage in other circumstances. Under the aegis of Newtonian science, it requires

physical mechanisms to be identified(or at least to be hypothesized). It rejects non-demonstrable causation as irrelevant. Sophisticated science has modified mechanical causation with statistical probability, but for everyday use, demonstrable, and thus usually mechanical, causation is key. The students were asked to exchange a set of learned linkages for an understanding of connective processes which can be experimentally demonstrated, with high replicability, and universal applicability. Such an alteration of understanding of causation required a flexibility of mental manipulation that was literally foreign to them. But it was a requirement imposed by the necessity of village development. It was this fact which sustained the students in their struggle.

Signs of the adoption of a new understanding of causation were evident in the later workshops of the HDTS. In the earlier part of the school, students often suggested things which, to the faculty, were without linkage to the other elements of the model being built. By the later workshops, these disconnected suggestions largely had disappeared and student responses and suggestions had more discernible and obvious consequences, either direct predictable effects or indirect contributive implications. However, the primary mark of success in altering the cognitive processes of the students came later in their work in the villages to which they were assigned. Models built there were not scholastic exercises, but the agenda for the ex-students' daily effort. The workability of those models would be determinative of progress in village development. Although a compre-

hensive evaluation of village development across Maharashtra has not yet been completed, a representative evaluation of one village, Maliwada, gives evidence of the success of such model building. I will examine this evidence in the next chapter.

V. Conclusion

The student who completed the Human Development Training School was a changed person. His world-view had been expanded beyond recognition. His relationship to his world had been challenged by new life career possibilities. His repetoire of skills had been dramatically expanded. His very way of thinking had been profoundly altered. Not all the students affirmed these changes. For some, the implications of such alterations were so frightening that they rejected them and returned to their villages to try to return to the old ways. Others simply preferred the former ways, somewhat modified by what they had learned. Two-thirds affirmed these alterations in themselves, embraced roles in Nava Gram Prayas, and assumed the apprenticeship which would solidify these new life careers. For them, the struggle was not over. The interior competition of old ways and new will undoubtedly continue for years, at least. But they had crossed a line. They lived in a different world than they had eight weeks earlier. They were dedicated to erasing the boundary which isolated the villages of Maharashtra from this new world, for the emerging global society.

Chapter 10

The Alteration at the Village Level

I. The Maharashtra Project

In 1975 a project was launched in the State of Maharashtra to comprehensively develop its 25,000 villages. The project is guided by the Institute of Cultural Affairs, a non-profit, global group concerned with the human factor in global development, with international coordinating centers in Bombay, Brussells, Singapore, Nairobi, Hong Kong, and Chicago. Its multinational staff is located in over 29 countries. Much like the Vicos experiment, the project was launched by the development of a single demonstration village: Maliwada, located in the Aurangabad Division. A comprehensive program of economic, social, and community development was designed by the residents of the village with the assistance of a large number of technical consultants. Other demonstration villages were launched through similar processes in seven other countries during the same year. The development program was enacted by the residents of Maliwada, assisted by a core of I.C.A. staff who moved into the village. This auxiliary, under the leadership first of Vinod Parekh, then later, as the Maharashtra Project expanded to other villages across the state, of his wife, Kamala, was composed of both Indian and Western staff.

The second phase of the project was launched a year later, with replication of the demonstration village project in villages of each of the other three divisions of the state: Bombay, Poona, and Nagpur. Each of these village projects were initiated by the same kind of initial consultation of villagers and technical experts. The third phase of the project was a similar extension to each of the

25 districts of the state. The fourth phase entailed establishing a demonstration village in each of the 232 talukas of the state (roughly approximate to counties in the United States). Further expansion of the plan includes establishing 10 signal villages in each taluka, and then a further expansion of ten villages around each of the ten signals and served by them, at which point development will be happening in each of the state's 25,000 villages.

One of the most significant issues in any such scheme, and one around which earlier attempts at community development had foundered, as has already been noted in regard to the approach of India's First and Second Five Year Plans, is that of staffing. In preparation for the first expansion to division level demonstration, it quickly became apparent that staffing requirements were beyond the capacity or intent of the I.C.A. An integral part of the project was the recruitment and equipping of an indigenous staff of catalysts. The development of such a body of trained people would both provide the needed impetus for the demonstration projects and equip a core of local residents in the demonstration villages. The staffing needs were met by the requirement that any village which seeks to become a part of the project must provide ten people to be trained intensively in the methods of village development. Such persons were to understand that they were being requested to volunteer for two years of service, either in their own or in another village. They did not commit themselves until the end of the intensive eight week training program conducted by the Human Development Training School, held on site in Maliwada. After

two years of quarterly expansion throughout the first four phases of the project, more than 500 persons are now assigned village volunteers as a part of this New Village Movement(Nava Gram Prayas).

II. The Local Village Design

Maliwada is located 12 miles from the division and district capital, Aurangabad, a city of 100,000 inhabitants. It is situated at the foot of the Diogiri fort, a natural rock outcropping standing 1800 feet above the Deccan Plateau. The fort had been created, made habitable, and reinforced with surrounding walls when it was, for a short period, the seat of the Moghul capital of India under Aurangzeb. It was to Diogiri that the last Nizam of Hyderabad fled in 1947 during his resistance to incorporation into the Indian Union. In 1975, Maliwada(literally, the place of the farmers) was a village of 1699 people, mainly of the mali(farmer) caste, though with sizeable Harijan and Neo-Buddhist communities. It is administratively combined with two other nearby villages, but in most areas can be considered an independent unit. It is located on a state highway and near an important, though narrow gauge(i.e., provincial) railway line.

Early in 1975, national officials suggested that a comprehensive village project might best be launched in the state of Maharashtra. State officials suggested the Aurangabad division, the only division whose capital was under 500,000 in population(the state population is over 50,000,000--larger than most of the nations of the developing world and many of the nations of Europe). Aurangabad District and

Block Development officials suggested a number of villages. Out of the several which were visited and interviewed, and from which invitations to conduct the project were received, Maliwada was chosen. The initiating consultation was held the last week of December, 1975. It was a week long event involving some 100 consultants from government, business, and social service agencies across India and from the West. The results of that consultation, detailing the vision of the villagers about their own development, the contradictions which were blocking that vision, the proposals to overcome those contradictions, the tactical implementary actions required and their organizing administrative programs, was drawn together into a Consult Document, given to each family in the village. This document was the foundation stone for the development of the village(as well as becoming the key text for the training of other auxiliary staff during the replication phases). The auxiliary staff had moved into the village prior to the consult, and work began the first week of January. Charts of the results of the consult for this village are included as Plates 1 - 5 at the conclusion of this chapter. Plate 5 shows the programs which combined the various tactics for administrative, funding, and planning purposes.

The seventeen programs for Maliwada grouped themselves into three main arenas focused on social well-being, community reconstruction, and economic well-being. All were to be initiated simultaneously, though at varying levels of intensity. Community health was broadly conceived, not just supplying medical services, though doing that for

the first time in the village, but also in upgrading nutrition and sanitation, which were to be accomplished by expanding the diet, through a community garden and milk-cattle project, and through a demonstration home. The educational programs focused on pre-school education which could become a demonstration school for indirect impact on the state-run primary school, and as a vehicle for creating cross-caste unity in the village through the community kitchen. Adult education, both in technical skills and in literacy, was conducted in the community training programs.

Maliwada is an ancient village with man "buildings" which were only shells of rock walls. They showed a former time of prosperity, but now simply bespoke a situation of collapse. Many residents lived in little more than lean-tos, built within the walls of collapsing houses. Both to improve the living conditions and to regenerate the sense of hope(an essential ingredient in self-generating development, Cf. the Israeli writer Weitz, 1971), three programs focused on reconstruction of the village: its housing, community facilities, and utilities(wells, streets, drainage--a major problem during the monsoon, transportation, and electricity installation).

The economic development of this farmer village focused on improving the agricultural productivity by introducing improved techniques and seeds, expanding irrigation in what is essentially dry land farming, and providing a mechanism to cooperatively secure less expensive agricultural inputs and share expensive equipment. The initiation of light industry, particularly food processing, would

both expand income possibilities and retain more of the value of the crops grown for the village. The expansion of commercial activities was thus necessary both to finance new agricultural and industrial ventures, and to make available in the village necessary products.

Out of the experience of initiating consultations in nearly 20 villages, patterns began to emerge relative to the arenas within which development programs were likely to be designed. A Program Chart (Plate 6) organized this pattern into 36 programs in nine program arenas within three sectors: social, economic, and community(human) development. This chart was then used in the initiation of replicating village projects, not as imposed programming solutions, but as a comprehensive screen, or checklist, during the planning process. Each village experienced a similar planning process to that which launched Maliwada, and each designed programs and tactics appropriate for its situation. The nine program arenas have formed the basis for coordinated planning and research across the Maharashtra Project, and is the foundation for the curriculum of the Human Development Training School for Nava Gram Prayas.

Catalytic assistance was provided to the village by the auxiliary staff in three primary arenas. The first was in offering the possibility of self-development. Epstein's studies showed that villagers were quite ready to respond to opportunities presented by new economic factors(irrigation and industrialization) provided by the government. Now the village was offered the opportunity to create their own opportunities. Securing the technical consultation to embody this

possibility in plans of the residents' own devising was the first catalytic step. The second was in the implementation of the plans after the experts had returned to their own situations. This involved organizing the villagers for common planning and action on the specific plans adopted. A tremendous amount of this catalysis involved training in skills and methods and demonstration of new possibilities of productivity and healthful living practices. The third essential catalytic action involved bridging the gap between villagers and the bureaucratic service of officials. Early failures in the Community Development Program and the inheritance of British colonial bureaucratic procedures(Mellor, 1968) had encrusted the relationships of the villagers and the government officials. Further, relationships with regional industrial, business, and banking interests were crucial to the expansion of the village economy. Many of these relationships were both psychologically and sociologically impossible for villagers to forge alone. The auxiliary assisted in creating them.

III. Demonstration Village Success

Long before quantifiable indicators of development were available, the signs of progress in development and modernization were evident to visitors to Maliwada. It was after visits to the village that the village leaders of Kendur, Vaviharsh, and Kolambi invited the first phase of replication to each of the divisions of the state to take place in their towns. Further, as Myrdal(1957) predicted and Vicos(Holmberg, 1960 and Vazquez, 1965) and the villages of Epstein's

studies showed, the I.C.A. also found that success breeds success in a spiral of cumulative causation. This was true both for expanded village participation in the implementation of programs and in the willingness of governmental and business officials to invest effort and capital in the village. Although the total results of a comprehensive evaluation, after a little less than three years of effort, are not yet available, the partial results which are available are significant.

The indications of modernization in the village are less quantifiable. However, perhaps the most important statistic of the whole report does reflect this element, particularly as an indication of the urbanizing of rural villages as an alternative to continuing rural-urban migration. The total population of Maliwada expanded from 1699 to 1898 in less than three years. The natural increase of births over deaths accounts for 105 of that number, but the other 94 represent returning former village residents in a reverse migration. Further statistics are available in Chart #1, but several significant items should be noted here. Public school attendance has quintupled from 30 to 150. In addition, 72 children are in the new pre-school, and 12 are now enrolled in university in Aurangabad. 260 have received skills training, and 70 other adults have received training in literacy--40 in English, the only language in universal use across the nation.

In addition to major reconstruction of a community center (where the Human Development Training School now trains volunteers

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MALIWADA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Chart #1
October, 1978

PREVENTIVE HEALTH*

VITAL STATISTICS	BEFORE PROJECT INITIATION	CURRENTLY
Population	1699	1898
Births per annum	not available	44
Deaths per annum	not available	9
Instances of Malnutrition	50% of children	2-3
Health Clinic Patients per day	0	40
Number of Latrines	0	16
Common Diseases	ear/eye infections scabies diahrrea	stomach disorders
Availability of Medicine	Aurangabad Medical College Hospital	Local Health Clinic
Rural Health Worker Area	10 villages	Maliwada

*Partial listing, only

FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION*

PARTICIPATION	BEFORE PROJECT INITIATION	CURRENTLY
Infant School	0	32
Pre-School	0	40
Primary School	30	150
University Attendance	2-3	11-12
Human Development Training Institute	0	50
Nutrition Classes	0	50-60
Farmer Training	0	130
Business Management Trg.	0	9
Vehicle Maintenance Trg.	0	9
Other Skills Training	0	12
Literacy Classes	0	70
English Classes	0	40
Weekly Leadership Training	0	30
Youth Programmes	0	120
Pre-School Teachers	4	8

for Nava Gram Prayas) and other village facilities to house such functions as the Health Center and the Pre-school, 19 new homes have been built, and innumerable others have been "renovated". Electricity has been brought to the village, many of the streets have been paved and drainage has been designed to eliminate much of the unsanitary standing water and muddiness during the monsoon. A major new well has been dug, providing clean water both for domestic use and for irrigation of the community garden.

The alteration of social relations is more difficult to assess objectively, though subjective evaluation indicates vast changes. Major indications of the alteration of caste relations is seen in food practices(where caste restrictions reach their most significant and symbolic expression--Cf., Srinivas, 1966 and Retzlaff, 1962:45). The community kitchen, which serves the pre-school daily and other community functions on occasion, was organized with women from four different castes(including Harijan) working together and serving food to all without regard to caste of either recipient of those cooking. Similarly, recently the village leadership assembly awarded the contract for food service to the Training School to a group of Harijan women. Caste relations are now discussed openly, even before strangers. While all vestiges of castism have not disappeared, as some of the more liberal upper-caste residents would like to think, the openness of the issue is a major step towards what Srinivas calls the necessary secularization of Hinduism. Other modernizing effects, such as alterations in the role of women and

traditional marriage practices, are not currently evaluable.

The most dramatic documentation is in the economic sector. Unfortunately the total farm data was not available at this writing, measuring farm profitability increases. It is known that, through the introduction of new hybrid varieties adapted to dry land farming, jowar yields for the last two years have tripled, on the average. Since this is the major crop in the area, the increase in farmers' income is likely to be high. At the same time, many have begun to diversify their operations into milk production, eggs, poultry, etc. (an essential developmental step according to Weitz, 1971).

The expansion of non-farm labor among non-landowners has been amazing. A virtual revolution in the occupational pattern of the village has occurred. In 1975, 104 persons earned wages totalling Rs 114,650, averaging about Rs 1100 per annum. Three years later, the work force had expanded to 344, totalling Rs 389,000 in income. Even though a portion of that number were only part-time employees, the average annual income of all wage earners rose to Rs 1130. In a land where underutilized human labor is the largest resource wastage, the tripling of earned income in the village is far more significant than the modest rise in average worker income. Still, even that figure(Rs 1130, about $141) is significant, for it approximates the national average income(see Chart #2 for a complete occupational breakdown).

Chart #2

WORK FORCE / INCOME LEVEL ALTERATIONS
VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT
MALIWADA, MAHARASHTRA, INDIA

	1975		1978	
PRIMARY SECTOR	Number	Income	Number	Income
Agricultural Laborers	75	Rs 60,000	50	Rs 40,000
SECONDARY SECTOR				
Nutri Food	0	0	140	133,000
Box Factory	0	0	8	14,000
Construction	3	7,500	15	20,000
Brick Factory	0	0	6	6,000
Carpenters	2	5,000	15	20,000
Flour Millers	2	4,000	4	10,000
Rope Makers	1	1,500	5	6,000
Clothing	1	1,500	11	11,000
TERTIARY SECTOR				
Community Paid Workers				
Health Asst.	0	0	1	1,200
Pre Sch. Teacher	0	0	1	1,200
Pre Sch. Cooks	0	0	3	2,100
Village Sweeper	0	0	1	1,200
Government Paid Workers				
Teachers	4	14,400	8	28,800
Post Office	0	0	1	1,000
Other				
Blacksmith	3	6,000	3	6,000
Baker	0	0	1	1,500
Barber	2	2,000	2	2,000
Butcher	0	0	1	2,000
Tea Stall	4	2,500	12	10,000
Kirana	2	6,250	8	27,500
Goldsmith	1	1,000	1	2,000
Water Delivery	0	0	4	4,000
Transport	2	2,000	13	13,000
Dhobi	2	1,000	8	4,000
Bicycle	0	0	1	1,000
P.A. System	0	0	1	5,000
Community Kitchen Caterers	0	0	20	15,000
TOTALS	104	Rs 114,650	344	Rs 389,000

The list of occupations is significant, as is the shift in proportions. A major shift from agricultural wage labor to manufacturing occurred. The service sector expanded 450%, though due to the large number of newly employed small industry laborers, increase in its proportion of the total work force was modest(see below, Chart #3). These firgures, while distorted by the omission of landowner-cultivators, indicate a major shift towards intermediate scale industrialization has occurred in Maliwada.

Chart #3

MALIWADA WORKFORCE SUMMARY ANALYSIS

	1975			1978			TOTALS	
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	1975	1978
Workers #	75	9	20	50	204	90	104	344
%	72%	9%	19%	15%	59%	26%	+331%	
Income Rs	60,000	19,500	35,150	40,000	220,500	128,500	114,650	389,000
%	52%	17%	31%	10%	57%	33%	+339%	

In addition to the expansion of the commercial sector indicated by the above figures and the list of occupations in Chart #2, a significant achievement was the decision of the State Bank of India to locate a branch bank in Maliwada to service the growing banking business of the farmers, the industries, and local residents. The The availability of credit was a major factor in the development of the village. A summary of the average capital investment across several of the village projects indicates that average first year total investments were just under Rs 10 lakhs(approximately $136,600). Of this figure, 10% came from outside the village in private funds, 20% from

government sources, primarily in the form of contributed services provided to encourage development either by the State or the Central government. 70% of the investments came from the local sector either in sweat-equity(contributed labor for building community facilities and roads, "turning labor into capital") or in secured loans for agricultural, industrial, or business expansion. This means that, at an average village population of 1800, the per capita investment from beyond the village, including the value of contributed governmental services, was just Rs 180(about $22). The result of that modest investment appears to be an eventual tripling of village income.

IV. Elements of External Support

Any village-level development will require extensive support from beyond its own borders. Getting that support is one of the elements of the plan itself. Some of this support is received directly from the state or national governments. Some of it comes from participation in the regional and national economic networks. Some of it comes from the interaction with social agencies and personal or family relationships across the nation. Every village not only needs this support, it has a legitimate claim upon it. The development of the village returns benefits to those who extend this support. Investment in village-level development brings both social and financial returns.

Guy Hunter(1969) describes the Indian administrative organization for development as the best in the world, with its team approach at the Block level making all of the services of government available

at one place. The support of the Zilla Parishad officials was exceedingly important for Maliwada--and for each of the villages in the Maharashtra Project. The support of the health service in setting up the Health Clinic and assigning a Rural Health Worker to it was crucial. The support of the state-run primary school resulted in the increase in teaching staff as the attendance rose. Women's work was supported by assistance of the Mahila Mendal in organizing and program guidance, with its many emphases on child nurture, diet instruction, sanitation, and other aspects of home care.

Land reform, an essential element of the First Five Year Plan, had already been carried out in Maliwada, and thus the village was already constituted as primarily a land-owning-cultivator farm peasantry, with the worst of the feudal land-tenancy patterns already removed. This could not have been accomplished at the micro level alone. Similarly, the development of new techniques in farming and the adoption of the new hybrid variety of jowar was dependent upon the research done at a nearby agricultural extension demonstration farm. The farmers of Maliwada have only minimal irrigation available to them, but are aware of the great profits available to those who land is irrigated (and who thus can switch to sugar cane, a more lucrative crop). But the water table varies between 40 and 100 feet in that part of the Deccan, and the wells often go dry before the monsoon arrives, even with only domestic use. Thus the development and support of dry land jowar varieties, and the prescription and availabilities of the appropriate agricultural inputs is a major element in Maliwada's

development.

The availability of credit for agricultural, industrial, and business expansion was crucial. Teaching villagers how to apply for loans, interceeding with the bank on their behalf, monitoring the first loans secured to see that they are paid back on time and are invested so as to bring the anticipated returns which will allow both their repayment and profitability, these are the catalytic roles of the supporting auxiliary. But making the money available, at a rate which is not exorbitant(average interest rate, 13%) and under conditions that the villagers can meet, is the kind of external support village development requires. While the exact figures of total loans extended to Maliwada residents is not available, it must be in the vicinity of Rs 5 lakhs(a little less than $70,000). Most of this money came in small loans from the State Bank of India. All the banks of India have been nationalized and are now run by the government(the earlier attempt at credit cooperatives having proved to be ineffective). Without this support, village development would be very difficult.

Development which leads to participation in a regional economic network is also dependent upon the amount of social overhead capital the government has invested in the infrastructure of the region. Electricity was already available in the district. Getting it extended into Maliwada was one of the first accomplishments of the development program and allowed a number of industries to be initiated (Cf. Epstein, 1962). Similarly, though Maliwada is more distant from its market town(Aurangabad, 12 miles) than most of the successful

villages analyzed by Adelman and Dalton(1971), it is serviced by a major paved highway which makes bulk transportation available, and even cart and bicycle transport to market feasible(which would not be the case over 12 miles of hilly dirt track). State Transportation bus service was extended from the end of the line in a sister village into Maliwada, making commutation into Aurangabad a possibility for students, workers, small businessmen, and shoppers, thus facilitating the integration of the village into the regional market and social networks.

The nearness to a major city with a major industrial sector was an advantage to Maliwada's development. Contact with some of the industries resulted in contracts for ancillary products. The most obvious of these was the establishment of the Maliwada box factory (a workshop of 8 men with an electric circular saw) which won a contract from Auto Parts of India for boxes in which to ship auto parts across the country. This was an instance in which village development was directly assisted by the governmental decision to spread industrialization out from the largest metropolitan centers(in 1963, 63% of newly licensed industries in the state were located in Bombay; in 1972, only 25% of new licenses were for the Bombay area--Bose, 1973). Thus Maliwada participated in what Ashish Bose indicated would be a more meaningful approach to absorbing surplus labor via the "...extension of credit and modern farming techniques to the rural areas, and establishment of small and medium scale, labor-intensive, capital saving industry in the rural areas"(Bose, 1973:261f).

Finally, Maliwada benefitted from its designation as the first demonstration village in the Maharashtra Project. There is an intangible but real benefit in being in the public eye. It provides both motivational accountability by knowing people are coming to visit your village to see what you have accomplished, and a sense of pride in what has been done which liberates one from the bondage of tradition and releases him to new risk-ventures. Secondly, the village benefitted both financially and socially by the establishment of the Human Development Training School for the Nava Gram Prayas in the village. Although the average student in the school had less than Rs 50 to spend during his eight weeks in the village, the school's quarterly budget of Rs 25-40,000 did have an impact on the community. But perhaps more important was the extent of research done by the school faculty into development schemes which could be exploited, and the contacts with experts and administrators and businessmen that could make them realities. In addition, 50 Maliwada villagers have been trained in the school, forming a progressive and methodologically equipped nucleus in the village.

V. Policy Implications

The benefits of micro-development, as demonstrated in the Maharashtra Project, and particularly in the village of Maliwada, are in the form of mini-attacks upon the major issues of urbanization and industrialization. In and of themselves, they are insignificant. However, if these same results, achieved by a variety of locally

applicable implementary tactics, are replicated in the 25,000 villages of the state, or even in half of them, major effects will be discernible.

The rapid increase in wage employment heralds an approach to solving the labor surplus problem in India, which most industrialization development plans have been unable to accomplish. In addition, the income earned by women in the village seems to be altering the relations of men and women in the village, and within the family structure, in a way similar to that reported by Epstein(1962), providing women with more independence and enlarging their arenas of choices.

The increase of commercialization in the village has meant that there is much more money to be spent. Much of this money now circulates within the village before it is spent outside its borders. This increased monetary activity is what allows some of the new service occupations to take place. But it also creates markets for new industrial products. The box factory has expanded into a furniture-making shop. In addition, new products are being purchased from outside the village: agricultural inputs, tools and equipment, supplies for construction, methane gas equipment for converting human waste and animal manure into gas for cooking and organic fertilizer, bicycles, etc. Thus the cycle of rural development and industrialization begins to feed upon itself instead of breaking apart in competition.

Third, contrary to the expectations of the experts(e.g., Bose, 1973), this form of development can be accomplished with relatively

minor amounts of capital, by contrast with that expended on large scale industrialization, and results in much more direct affect upon the general population of the nation. It avoids the problem of creating a dual economy.

These, and other less specifiable benefits like the increased advantages of modernization and the advent of urban services which tend to close the gap between rural and urban residents, have resulted in potentially the most important factor for India's major cities: a reversal of the migration pattern. If India's masses remain in the villages, where housing and urban services are manageable problems, in which the effort of the local citizens can be mobilized to solve them(and if, as recent statistics seem to indicate, there is a slowing of the population growth rate) perhaps the largest cities can catch up with the explosive growth they have experienced in the last two decades.

However, rural development raises some issues also. One of the major ones is assuring that development benefits all of the residents of the village, and does not simply move the dual economy to the village level. Thus far, in Maliwada, the small scale industrial concerns have contributed many of their profits to support the social services created in the village. How this support is institutionalized for long term continuance is a problem not yet solved. Similarly, the problem of enabling local development to bear its share of the social overhead capital investments necessary for rural development is a major issue for local tax policy. Forms and levels

of taxation must be found which accumulate the necessary capital without undermining the incentives towards development.

The requirements upon the national and state governments to sustain a policy of rural development must also be calculated. Hunter (1969) briefly outlines four arenas of national effort: administration must be flexible and focused towards local decision-making and national support, rather than centrally directed uniform programming; while suggesting that the administration must be kept as a non-political system, he asserts that development requires a vast amount of political will, for it will catalyze opposition from those who have benefitted from the former status; an extensive educational investment is required both as a (modernizing) socializing agent, and as a dispenser of specific skills for adults; and an integrated economic development strategy must be maintained which will continue to support agricultural increases by assuring the availability of tools, inputs, and infrastructure extension. Out of the Israeli experience, Weitz(1971) also proposes extensive regional organization and planning for development, with the establishment of "quiet centers" of technology agglomerations throughout the countryside. In the less technological societies of most of the developing world, perhaps demonstration villages which are constantly replicating themselves in a multiplication pattern such as that represented by the Maharashtra Project may be the means to implement his idea.

However, some specific requirements are obviously being put upon the state and national systems to support village development in

the form of the Maharashtra Project. One obvious one is capital availability. Even at only Rs 140($22) per capita of outside investment, that represents Rs 8,000 crores($10 billion) worth of private investment and governmental services. Since two-thirds of that figure represents services that the government is, theoretically, already structured to provide, this does not seem inordinate. In addition, capital which may be borrowed for local investment must also be available--primarily through the nationalized banks. In the limited needs of the first 100 village projects, this has not proven problematical. However, at the stage of 25,000 villages of the state, that represents Rs 17,500 crores($22 billion) of capital availability. It is true that much of this money is short-term investment at about 13% interest, so that it is both quickly recovered and available for reinvestment, and is constantly expanding, but that is still a formidable sum for a developing nation to set aside. Simultaneous extension to all 500,000 villages of India would require 20 times that amount. Obviously some staggered approach to village development is required by capital constraints, as well as staffing ones.

The national development strategy must continue with the development of the infrastructures which are beyond the capacity of local villages. Extending the rural electrification network is essential to small industry development. The extension of paved roads, with the attendant bridge construction, is crucial as more and more remote villages are added to the scheme. Both major and micro irrigation projects must continue to be developed, for much of the

value of added use of inorganic fertilizers and other inputs depends upon more extensive use of water. In other parts of the country, drainage plays a corresponding role. The increased use of agricultural inputs will also place strains on the production and distribution systems for these items. All of these requirements place demands upon the resources of the nation.

Finally, as the Maharashtra Project moves beyond the taluka level(232 villages) an integration with the state and national extension and development staffs seems inevitable. How a volunteer movement such as Nava Gram Prayas can integrate with an institutionalized government bureaucracy(or several of them) without diluting its effectiveness, is the next major issue to be solved in the planning of the Maharashtra Project.

Maliwada
Human Development Project

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OPERATING VISION CHART

A Summary of the Existing Operational Vision of the Maliwada People

December/January 1975-76
Consult

Plate 1

B-toward ENABLING VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION basic structures			A-toward ASSURING COMMUNITY SUSTENANCE economic independence					C-towards RELEASING SOCIAL COMPETENCE fundamental care		
POLITICAL FORMS	PHYSICAL REHABILITATION		LOCAL AGRICULTURE		COMMUNITY HEALTH	LOCAL BUSINESS		FUNCTIONAL TRAINING		COMMUNAL FORMS
I	PUBLIC UTILITIES II	GENERAL CONSTRUCTION III	FARM PRODUCTION IV	WATER SUPPLY V	VI	SMALL INDUSTRY VII	COMMERCIAL SERVICES VIII	BASIC EDUCATION IX	EMPLOYABLE SKILLS X	XI
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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UNDERLYING CONTRADICTIONS CHART

Plate 2

I THE DETERIORAT. STRUCTURES OF ESSENTIAL CORPORATENESS IN MALIWADA	II THE LIMITED DEVELOPMENT OF FUNCTIONAL ABILITIES IN MALIWADA	III THE UNDERDEVELOPED SOURCES OF INCOME EXPANSION IN MALIWADA	IV THE OPPRESSIVE EFFECT OF PREVALENT IMAGES IN MALIWADA	V THE PARALYSING PATTERNS OF ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONS IN MALIWADA	VI THE UNDEVELOPED SKILLS OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT IN MALIWADA	VII THE OUTDATED FORMS OF COMMUNITY HEALTH IN MALIWADA	VIII THE RIGID ENTRENCHMENT OF SOCIAL TRADITIONS IN MALIWADA	IX THE SEVERE LIMITATION OF CULTURAL EXPOSURE IN MALIWADA
Individual water projects	Date oriented education	Limited cash crops	Water scarcity image	Ignorance of procedures	Unanticipated market variance	Sanitation expertise lacking	Family limited responsibility	Agricultural research access
[illegible] building	Illiteracy stops leadership	Landsize limits diversity	Inhibited decision-making	Administrative methods unknown	Instability blocks risks	[illegible] sanitation [illegible]	Family knowledge access	Inexperienced business practice
Underdeveloped firm marketing	Less formally educated	Prohibitive drilling cost	Economic victim image	Ignorance of administration	Calamity fear [illegible]	Limited health consciousness	Family youth restricted	Industrial [illegible] absence
Unseen improvement incentives	Limited methods transference	Drought animal loss	Change impossible image	Landownership unclarity	Fertiliser loss risk	Unsolved water quality	Women decision exclusion	Outside exposure lacking
Unrecognized group benefits	Lack methods training	Inadequate animal nutrition	Improved economic potential	Need economic guarantee	Limited disaster reserves	Inconsistent family clinics	Patterns curtail creativity	Blocked vision stagnates
Unshared know-how	Unused methods training	Ineffective water usage	Success examples absent	Confusing structural complexity	Insufficient product markets	First aid unavailable	School unneeded tradition	Unresourceful time use
[illegible] group initiation	English training required	Inadequate crop varieties	Setbacks undermine morale	Ignorance of protocol	Loan default history	Lack emergency facility	Women's education unneeded	Lack school recreation
Uncontrollable water run-off	Limited training programme	Open irrigation wastage	Static farming image	Bureaucracy blocks appeals	Restrictive loan procedures	Limited drugs access	Inhibiting shyness pattern	Piecemeal construction plans
Group successes unknown	Unused training opportunities	Uncontrolled water pumping	Resignation towards bribery	Paralysing political impotence	Capital investment fear	Emergency magical medicine	Compartmental [illegible]	Immediacy forces obsolescence
Unenvisioned methods training	Minimal English availability	Traditional land distribution	Defence against corruption	Accustomed to refusal	Unskilled market practices	Customs hinder sanitation	[illegible] marriage pattern	Unsystematic services plan
Co-ops under suspicion	Vocational education void	Wealth not invested	Unresolved local polarization	Sense of powerlessness	Business experience lacking	Habits impede nutrition	Subsistence limits role	Unenvisioned building goals
Poorly managed co-ops	Inadequate husbandry training	Limited employment capital	Village unimportance story	Illiteracy victim image	Unskilled business promotion	Family-planning education lack	Wealthy retain methods	Architectural alternative [illegible]
Undefined village unity	Seasonal opportunity training	Ungenerated working capital	Unseen business opportunities	Lack political leverage	Social pattern immobility	Sporadic family planning	Fear vocational change	Potential sub-culture base
Unifying symbols unseen	Child labour necessity	[illegible] capital shortage	Market potential unbelieved	Large farm favoritism	Export product unawareness	Limited health personnel	Taboos against poultry	
Infrequent unifying events	Staid teacher training	Immediacy prevents saving	Training creativity negated	Lack structural accountability	Unused market channels	Dietary care unavailable		
[illegible]	Unrecognized education values	Inadequate credit monies	Franchise exercise overlooked	Well electrification unviable	Unrecognized product markets	Inadequate [illegible] diet		
Festivals [illegible] division	Craft skills unnecessary	Limited marketing times	Debilitating poverty image	Limited teacher facility	Unplanned family needs			
Uncompetitive prices accepted	Established process discredited	Locally unmarketable products	Individual ability unrewarded	Fertiliser price [illegible]	No savings structures			
Individual [illegible] response	Unrealized marketable skills	Local resources unexplored	Unrealized local leadership	Infrequent bus service	Uncomprehensive budget methods			
Undetermined consensus procedure	Partial teacher engagement	Limit product development	Young leadership repressed	Bias dependent leadership	Erratic student attendance			
Ineffective village structure	Ineffective mixed age-levels	Subsistence struggle mindset	Leadership image absent	Inexperienced local leaders	Unbudgeted child education			
Narrow visioning leadership	School admission limitation	Nutritious food exported	Training opportunities unknown	Exploitation [illegible] ignorance	Inadequate agricultural capital			
Inadequate consensus structure	Conservation systems unknown	Subsistence nutrition style	Socially excluding education	Unrepresentative village leaders	Excessive livestock costs			
Unrepresentative formal leaders	Quality animals unused	Employment alternatives limited	Rural scope undemonstrated	Mistrust political structures				
Unemployment [illegible] study	Unavailable topographical data	Unemployed educated youth	Maliwada regionality unknown					
Government [illegible]	Building phasing unrealistic	Training costs unavailable	Ruins community inertia					
Educational data unavailable	Haphazard construction design	School expenses prohibitive						
Parent teacher separation	Defensive life stance	Short term planning						
Inequitable income subsidy	Limited poultry know-how	Subsistence [illegible] vision						
Traditional land distribution	Poor information channels	Unreliable transport system						
Ineffective land usage	Untrained local leadership							
Land locked [illegible]								
Independent subsistence style								
Tradition bound [illegible]								
Unorganized social response								

I	II	III	IV

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PRACTICAL PROPOSALS CHART

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Plate 3

I THE MALIWADA RECONSTRUCTION PROPOSALS								
II THE VILLAGE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION PROPOSALS					III THE VILLAGE SOCIAL CARE PROPOSALS			
AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION PROPOSAL B	AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION PROPOSAL C	SMALL INDUSTRY PROPOSAL D	MARKETING EXPANSION PROPOSAL E	VILLAGE REHABILITATION PROPOSAL A	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROPOSAL F	SYMBOL DESIGN PROPOSAL G	FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION PROPOSAL H	FOUNDATIONAL HEALTH PROPOSAL I
FARMER'S COOPERATIVE PROJECT 5	SMALL ANIMALS PROJECT 8	LIGHT INDUSTRY PROJECT 13	LOCAL MARKETING PROJECT 15	PRIVATE HOUSING PROJECT 1	COMMUNITY MEETINGS PROJECT 19	VILLAGE IMAGE PROJECT 23	LITERACY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT 25	MEDICAL SERVICES PROJECT 30
WATER DEVELOPMENT PROJECT 6	DAIRY FARM PROJECT 9	COTTAGE INDUSTRY PROJECT 14	EXPORT MARKET PROJECT 16	COMMUNITY SPACE PROJECT 2	INFORMATION SYSTEM PROJECT 20	COMMUNITY FESTIVAL PROJECT 24	MODEL SCHOOL PROJECT 26	NUTRITIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT 31
AGRO INDUSTRY PROJECT 7	POULTRY FARM PROJECT 10		CREDIT SYSTEM PROJECT 17	ESSENTIAL SERVICES PROJECT 3	WORK FORCE PROJECT 21		LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROJECT 27	FAMILY LIFE PROJECT 32
	FISH CULTIVATION PROJECT 11		TRANSPORT SYSTEM PROJECT 18	SANITATION SERVICES PROJECT 4	VILLAGE PROMOTION PROJECT 22		SKILLS TRAINING PROJECT 28	
	VEGETABLE GARDEN PROJECT 12						COMMUNITY EXPOSURE PROJECT 29	

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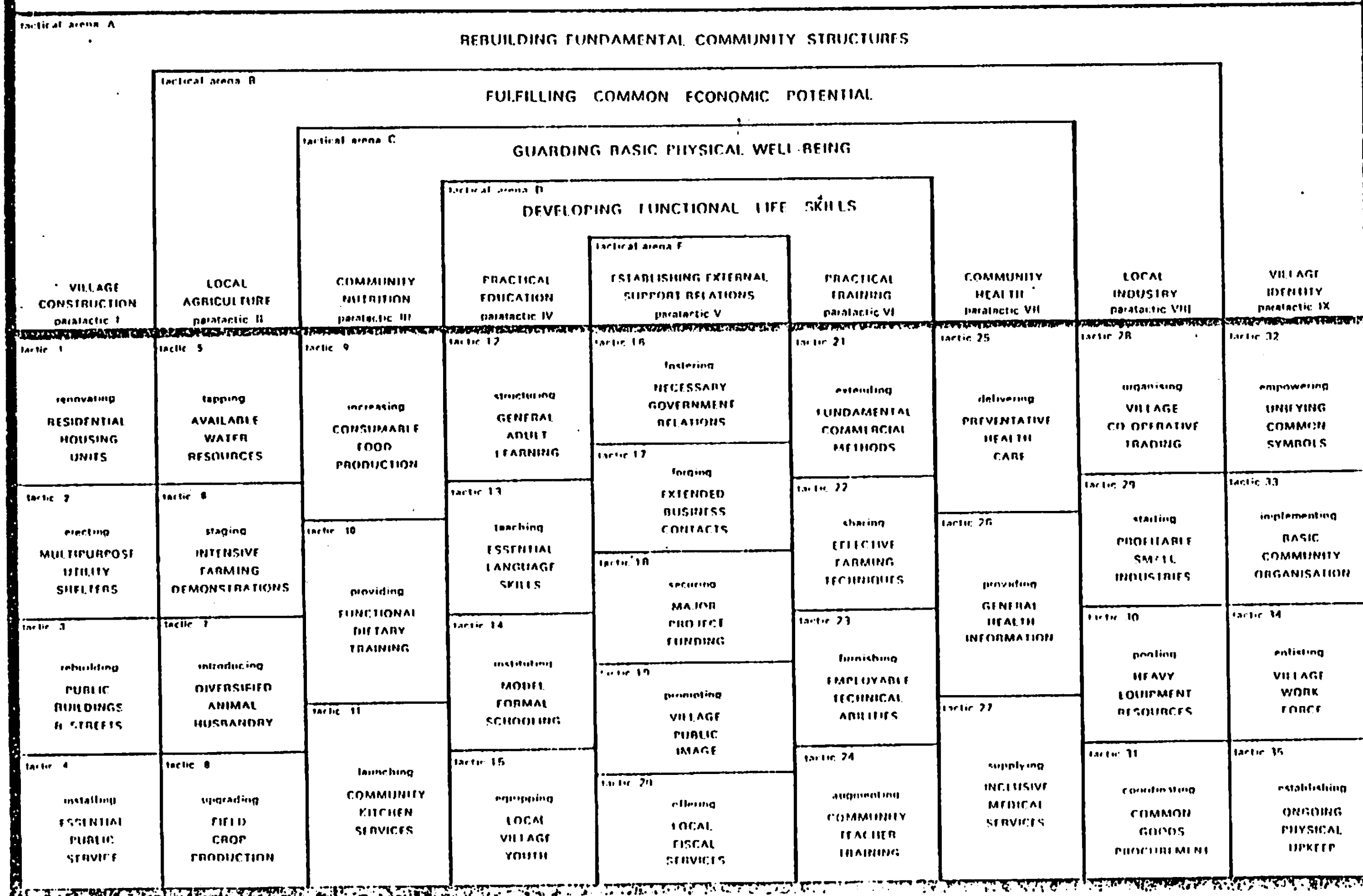
Plate 4

TACTICAL SYSTEMS CHART



Maliwada
Human Development Project

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Plate 5

THE SEVENTEEN ACTUATING PROGRAMMES

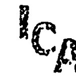
COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY REFORMULATION IN MALIWADA

ONE TOWARD THE SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF MALIWADA VILLAGE			TWO MALIWADA VILLAGE TOWARD	THREE TOWARD THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF MALIWADA VILLAGE		
COMMUNITY HEALTH A	COMMUNITY EDUCATION B	COMMUNITY TRAINING C	COMMUNITY RECONSTRUCTION D	COMMUNITY COMMERCE E	COMMUNITY INDUSTRY F	COMMUNITY AGRICULTURE G
MALIWADA HEALTH OUTPOST I	EARLY LEARNING CENTRE IV	IN SERVICE TRAINING INSTITUTE VI	RURAL HOUSING PROJECT VIII	COMMERCIAL SERVICES UNION XI	AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE ENTERPRISES XIII	MALIWADA FARMERS' CO OPERATIVE XV
VILLAGE DEMONSTRATION HOME II	MODEL VILLAGE SCHOOL V	MALIWADA COMMUNITY ACADEMY VII	MALIWADA COMMUNITY CENTRE IX	MALIWADA TRADING COMPANY XII	LOCAL INDUSTRY COMBINE XIV	CORPORATE IRRIGATION PROJECT XVI
MALIWADA COMMUNITY COMMONS III			VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION PROJECT X			MALIWADA DEMONSTRATION FARM XVII

June 1977

PROGRAMMATIC CHART

Plate 6



Toward the Actuation of Comprehensive Human Development Projects on the Local Level

thirty six programs — nine structures — three dynamics — one project

A ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT LOCAL PRODUCTIVITY · toward self sustenance	B HUMAN DEVELOPMENT LOCAL MOTIVITY toward self confidence ·	C SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT LOCAL SOCIALITY · toward self reliance
Enabling local—	Reconstructing local—	Creating local—
COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURE	LIVING ENVIRONMENT	PREVENTIVE CARE
1 expanded cultivation	13 domestic housing	25 intermediate sanitation
2 intensified production	14 public facilities	26 total nutrition
3 water delivery	15 village design	27 systematic immunization
4 equipment pool	16 essential services	28 primary treatment
Developing local—	Catalyzing local—	Establishing local—
APPROPRIATE INDUSTRY	CORPORATE PATTERNS	FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION
5 cottage production	17 total engagement	29 early learning
6 agro-business	18 community commons	30 formal schooling
7 processing plants	19 consensus assemblies	31 youth training
8 ancillary industry	20 corporate workdays	32 adult education
Initiating local—	Recovering local—	Instituting local—
COMMERCIAL SERVICES	IDENTITY SYSTEMS	COMMUNITY WELFARE
9 common marketing	21 community self-story	33 family development
10 local merchandising	22 symbol systems	34 women's advancement
11 savings & loans	23 corporate rituals	35 youth task force
12 basic transport	24 village celebrations	36 elderly engagement

Conclusion

Movemental Catalysis of Village Level Development

My thesis has been that Third World development is best done if based upon a strategy of wide-spread, comprehensive, village-level development; that such a strategy requires a catalytic force which may be inexpensively embodied by a movement of volunteers; and that this movemental force can be rapidly created and trained by an intensive, liberational educational experience using imaginal methods.

Contrary to the expectations of Rostow and his colleagues, traditional attempts at development, with few exceptions, have produced a dichotomy between developed and underdeveloped nations. The differences in wealth between these types of countries are increasing, rather than decreasing. "Catching up" is becoming a more and more remote possibility, and, given the limited resource pool of the earth, may be an immoral solution to the rich-poor gap. The less developed countries, by and large, are not undeveloped. The economies are not unaffected, but have been systematically skewed by participation in the capitalist world economy. Their economies have been characterized by an unbalanced sectoral development, in which some sectors have been advanced(e.g., in the imposition of monocultural plantation agriculture) while others have been ignored or vastly weakened(e.g., self-sustenance in food production as land is turned to non-food cash crops). Often the various sectors of the economy were disarticulated, with international links overriding internal links between sectors of the local economy. Such a situation can fairly be labelled dependency. The internal economy is controlled by external forces. Self-reliance has been sacrificed to growing Gross National Product. The theory was

that this growing wealth would "trickle down" to local people who would share in it through new jobs and receipts for their crops. Too often, what actually happened was the syphoning-off of surpluses by foreign owners. When world markets contracted, countries now dependent upon imports for sustenance found themselves unable to provide even the necessities for their populace. With rampant inflation, as in Brazil between 1965 and 1974, workers found themselves worse off in real terms even while the G.N.P. was rising(having to work more days to purchase constant amounts of food; and in some cases, even this was not possible as available food supplies contracted; Cf., Stavrianos, 1976:176).

World capitalist development also tended to create a compradore or landed elite, who acted as agents, both economic and political, for foreign investors. This elite had more in common with their extra-national counterparts than with the people of their own nation. Often a dual society was the result, mirroring internally the international rich-poor relations. Capital-intensive development created higher paying jobs, but also reduced the need for unskilled labor and, together with population increases, left the land incapable of supporting the populace. The result was massive rural to urban migration, shanty-towns, and a staggering overload on urban services. Still, however inadequately, urban amenities imitated those of the developed world, creating a large standard of living gap between urban and rural areas.

Third World thinkers, leaders, and activists have turned away from this traditional approach and have focused instead on a third way of development that emphasizes a rebalancing of national(or regional)

economies that will restore self-reliance. It leads towards a conscious effort to integrate the sectors of the economy and to reduce dependence upon imports, to create a more egalitarian distribution of wealth and an ending of urban priority as a way to mitigate urban migration.

Three basic strategies have emerged in the third way of development: a selective delinking from the world capitalist economy, rural development, and the negotiation of a New International Economic Order. Selective delinking may be accomplished by several means, including the alteration of the pattern of imports, the reduction of foreign financial controls, the imposition of protective tariffs, and the creation of state trading monopolies to renegotiate import-export trade terms. Essential to delinking is the establishment of self-reliance for all crucial needs of the populace. Rural development is a key strategy to this end. The New International Economic Order entails creating among Third World nations cooperative means of achieving collective self-reliance and renegotiating the terms of international economic relationships with the developed nations, which will be difficult to accomplish.

Rural development enhances balanced, self-reliant national development. Upgrading agricultural production, especially towards food self-sufficiency, removes a degree of vulnerability. It also produces surpluses which may be invested in rural industrialization to produce inputs and items essential to agricultural development, thus heightening sectoral integration. It stimulates commercial development. The enlarged rural economy enables the provision of primary health

and educational services, which in turn reinforce the agricultural and industrial development. The resulting enhancement of the rural areas, with the extension of urban amenities, enables the rural areas to both employ and support its total population, and reverse the urban migration patterns.

But village-level development does not happen automatically. The patterns of underdevelopment and/or undevelopment are well established. In some cases, constraints are externally imposed, and must be reversed by national policy action: reversing taxing and pricing patterns, altering decisions on the placement of infrastructures, changing industrial licensing and tax policies that influence the location of new plants, providing more agricultural research centers, etc. Beyond the removal of constraints are the catalytic provision of initiatives. Massive development projects, e.g., large-scale irrigation projects, have been traditional stimulants for development. However, their massive costs and delimited scope of benefits have tended to reinforce unbalanced development. An alternative, or at least complementary, approach is a massive mobilization of the populace for development at the village level. In some places(China, Cuba, Tanzania) this mobilization has been accomplished by governmental coercion involving enforced relocation and alteration of social patterns, augmented by a governmentally controlled liberational education strategy. Governmentally coerced mobilization has had some significant results, though at the cost of the loss of local autonomy to centrally imposed controls.

A second approach to mass mobilization has been embodied in the Maharashtra Project. In this case, the catalyzation is provided by a movement of volunteers, trained to call forth the vision of the masses of villagers across a state, and to enable them to create an effective tractical plan to move towards that vision. These methods involve a basic level of liberational education, what Omo-Fadaka(1975: 52) calls an effort of "mental decolonization" which the Institute of Cultural Affairs describes as releasing people from constraining victimization.

Central to a movemental approach is the creation of a corps of catalyzing volunteers. These volunteers are most effective if they share the heritage of the villagers they are working with. Thus, if villagers can be called forth, equipped, and returned to catalyze villages like their own, success is more likely. The problem of distrust of central government representatives is thus overcome. The equipping of volunteers can be accomplished by an intensive, liberatory educational training program focused on village development, transmitting cross-culturally, by imaginal methodologies, the skills, concepts, and world-view necessary for development. It is this last contention that the analysis of the Maharashtra Project supports. A volunteer movement of persons equipped to catalyze village development has been created, and the rapid socio-economic development of a village has been demonstrated.

The role of the movemental catalysts in village development is tc elicit a comprehensive, contradiction-oriented, agenda for change.

This agenda is a systematic attack on the blocks or omissions which prevent the achievement of the vision of the future of the villages. Secondly, the catalysts transmit the essential elements of the emerging Global Society which are necessary to the task of development. Too often the villagers' contacts with the Global Society have been passive or reactive. They have learned how to adjust to, or accomodate, externally initiated change, but have been denied the skills and knowledge which would foster the initiation of change. When the skills and knowledge are made available, it is easier to motivate mass-participation in systematic change, to engage the primary untapped resource of many rural areas: unemployed, or underemployed, men and women. When formerly non-productive persons are engaged in the development process, their "labor creates capital". The fourth function of these movemental catalysts is that they create the bridges between national policy with its nationally provided services and local villagers. Bringing together bureaucrats and those who need their services, businessmen and those who can provide opportunities for investment, is a task few villagers are equipped to do, and few others are inclined to do. Fifth, these catalysts assist in securing the external resources which are necessary for village development: the loans and credit, the investments, the markets for new products, the government grants for local services or program initiation.

Many materialists scoff at such a movemental strategy as ineffective "do-goodism". They suggest that only changes in the mode of production will occasion lasting change. Therefore, cultural

materialists, like Marvin Harris(1979) propound an "infrastructural determinacy"(meaning here basic production and reproduction capacity rather than the more common use of "infrastructures" in development to mean electricity, roads, water systems, etc.) and ridicule those who emphasize dealing with the images of reality people hold as a development strategy(Cf., Harris, 1979:297ff, an attack on George Foster's "Image of the Limited Good"). The advocacy of movemental catalysis does not deny the importance of changes in the productive capacity or in the institutions of exchange and distribution--in fact these are central to rural development. But practical experience has demonstrated that change happens more rapidly if all elements of a society are changing at once, creating a reinforcing cumulative change(Cf., Myrdal, 1957). And, in fact, Harris, when he considers how change can be occasioned and suspends momentarily his proselytizing for the primacy of the "infrastructure" in less self-conscious change, is forced to concede "...that functionally related changes initiated simultaneously in all three sectors(infrastructure, structure, and superstructure or ideology) will increase the probability of systemic change"(1979:72). Thus, at the point of self-conscious development, Harris is forced to surrender his infrastructural determinism for a strategy of systemic simultaneity. This is the premise advanced by Myrdal in the fifties and incorporated into the movemental catalyst approach of the Institute of Cultural Affairs.

Villagers can be trained to be these catalysts and can be welded together into a movement by an intensive liberational education

experience, such as that created by the Human Development Training School. This training shifts the cognitive behavior of the students; literally, they are taught to think differently than they did before. They learn to use Western, scientific, empirical rationality and problem-solving techniques. The villagers are equipped with a series of new skills in communication, in the use of technology, in social action and motivation which creates a cross-communal corporateness, and in discerning and enabling others to perceive a vision of the future shared across a community. Liberational training alters the affective dimension of the students(as well as the teachers, if true dialogue is happening), expanding their world-view, altering their sense of personal valuation, and opening them to new life careers.

The analysis of the Maharashtra Project of the Institute of Cultural Affairs has described the processes by which movemental catalysts have brought about village development and the processes of imaginal education which occasioned, in villagers, changes in cognition, affect, and skills. The philosophical basis upon which these processes are built have been presented. The dynamics at work in the uses of these processes have been explained. But the key evidence to support this strategy of micro-level development is that a catalytic movement of project auxiliaries who are graduates of the H.D.T.S. does exist, and that villages which are being catalyzed by that movement, such as Maliwada, are developing rapidly. Admittedly, this is an interim evaluation, after only three years of effort. Like T.S. Epstein (1962 and 1973), I would covet the opportunity to examine the project

again after 15 years. But the rapidity and scale of development in Maliwada is already significant, as is the amount of effort contributed by the volunteers of Nava Gram Prayas.

As of October, 1979, 531 Indian men and women, plus twenty extra-nationals, were under assignment by Nava Gram Prayas to villages in Maharashtra and extension projects in Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. Many of these individuals had stayed beyond their original two year volunteer term. Some others had accepted assignments to development projects in other nations(The Philippines, Kenya, Indonesia, and the U.S.A.). By December of 1979 all 232 talukas of the State of Maharashtra had a village development project with assistance from Nava Gram Prayas volunteers. These volunteers were employing problem-solving techniques to design and implement developmental tactics. They were valuable resources to those villages, bringing first-hand experience of programs and projects which had worked in other villages, making available knowledge of resources which could be employed, and being a bridge, both to government and private services and personnel and to the combined resources of Nava Gram Prayas. By their presence and their blue-shirted symbolic attire, they were a testament to the possibility of change and a spur to corporate endeavor.

Across the state, villages are rapidly developing after the fashion of Maliwada. There, village income was tripled in two years, primarily by upgrading agricultural production and engaging the labor of many persons not previously in the cash work force in a diversified rural industrialization. Urban amenities and services were made

available: electricity, paved streets, drainage, expanded water supply, substantial housing, regular bus service, a health clinic, preschool, etc. The rural-to-urban migration pattern was reversed as the village grew by 5.5% above the natural demographic growth. Other villages in the area began to imitate Maliwada's programs, and it thus became a spur to rural development locally, as well as being the hub of the state-wide replication effort.

Paul Streeten, in a speech to funders of international social science research, including the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and other governmental and intergovernmental agencies, has suggested that:

> ...new patterns have grown more out of praxis and experience than out of systematic research. Indeed, those who take a non-Keynesian view of the relation between the power of ideas and the good sense born of pracitcal experience, see evidence that solutions to social problems are worked out by men and women going about their daily work, by politicians, party officials, formers, businessmen, unionists, adminstrators, teachers and extension workers, and that the grand theories distil these experiences. It would be arrogant, as well as wrong, to believe that only research is the source of new knowledge. (Streeten, 1975:21f)

Streeten's list of characters could well have included volunteer movemental catalysts. The "proof" of developmental theory is in its capacity to guide significant developmental change. Developmental theory which is abstracted from an analysis of history can be invaluable in creating insight; but if it goes no further than that, it is not enough. Theory which adds to analysis the capacity to predict future happenings is clearly preferable; but if it only predicts, in a static mode, it is not enough. What is required in developmental theory(and perhaps in all theory dealing with social problems) is theory which is

founded on intelligent analysis, has the capacity for prediction, but preeminently, is effectively prescriptive, which tells you what to do. I believe the strategy of micro-level development by movemental catalysis has met all three of these criteria.

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