A Study of the Communication Strategies of Voluntary Organisations in Pursuit of Development

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by

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Samuel W. Meshack
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INDIAN REALITY AND VOLUNTARY ACTION

The term 'Development' has aroused considerable debate in recent years, and a diversity of programmes have been instituted, because more than 60 per cent of the world's population suffer from the vicious circle of poverty in terms of low income, malnutrition, poor health, poor housing, illiteracy, lower life expectancy, which ultimately pursue towards inequality, discrimination, oppression and exploitation and forfeit human dignity and human value. Peter Donaldson argues that international economic inequalities are the basic cause of this problem. He substantiates his argument by saying that:

... 74 per cent of the world's population had an income of less than $1,650 per annum in 1982. The fact is that the poorer half of the world's population had an income per head of less than $410 per annum. The fact is that 47 per cent of the world's population in the poorest countries earn only five per cent of the world's income, while the top 25 per cent of the world's population earn 79 per cent of world's income (Donaldson, 1986:14).

The efforts of the World Bank, United Nation Agencies, and the various donor agencies who have contributed their resources towards poverty alleviation have done little in solving this problem. This poses concern among researchers, policy makers of national development and non-governmental developmental agencies about the nature of development. The question is - What is Development? Is it concerned with only economic growth or is it concerned with the total development of human beings? What then is total development? This dissatisfaction has become a deep global concern and has enabled many scholars to reorient their interest discovering alternative answers to this problem. Yet, while the debate is continuing calling for alternative approaches, the problem remains unsolved.
Is the situation in India any way different from the other Third World countries? The problem confronted by India at the time of independence in 1947 was mass poverty, a low standard of living, disease, illiteracy, and mass unemployment, a set of circumstances common to many underdeveloped countries. According to the observations of Amartya Sen (1986), "... it [India] was poor, obviously, but more strikingly, almost completely stagnant" (Sen A, 1986:28). In this chapter there will be an attempt to highlight the social, cultural, political and economic problems which hinder the progress of the country and the government's effort towards solving these problems as well as the hindrances in its implementation, which calls for the urgent need of the voluntary organisations' involvement in the development of the poor and the weaker sections of Indian society in order to set the agenda for the present study.

Development: An Indian Reality

Dilip Basu and Richard Sission (1986) observe that anyone who has examined the dimensions of human conditions in India (whether through its literature, films, popular portrayals or field research and scholarly investigations) cannot but be awed by the enormity of its forms and attendant complexities (Basu, 1986:12). In order to solve the economic and social problems and to speed up the process of change, the Government of India established the Five Year Plans and set her priorities for national development. The development programmes as well as the communication infrastructure of India are said to be mobilized towards this priority. Yet India is still facing mass poverty, exploitation and oppression from all sides, which, although it is under constant challenge, means that India remains an underdeveloped nation.

The Social and Political Realities

The problem of social inequality and discrimination add to the political instability even after more than 40 years of independence in India. Panikkar (1960) comments that, while India is politically a free country, socially she is still living in bondage. Power is
concentrated in the elites who support the political parties, and powerlessness remains for the mass of the people. The feudal system, the caste system, discrimination against women, the problems of the scheduled tribes and the traditional social structures rooted in the religious beliefs contribute to many of the social inequalities and constitute a greater threat to national growth and to people's progress towards a just and egalitarian society, that is the socialistic pattern of society which is envisioned.

The Caste System

It is a well-known fact that Indian society is highly stratified into a structure based on the caste system, in which economic and political inequalities and discriminations are channelled through hereditary caste divisions. It is the caste system that brought with it many of the inequalities and oppressions among the people and forms the core of all social, economic and political problems in India.

Although Mahatma Gandhi wanted the caste system in principle to be preserved for strengthening community identification and harmony in terms of sharing labour, he denounced the many social practices brought about by the caste system. A graphic picture of the enormity of discrimination suffered by the scheduled castes can be seen in Gandhi's words, where he says:

Socially they (scheduled castes) are lepers, economically they are worse than slaves, religiously they are denied entrance to places we miscall 'houses of God'. They are denied the use on the same terms as the caste Hindus of public roads, public taps, public wells, public parks and the like. In some cases their approach within the measured distance is a social crime, and in

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1Caste System: According to the Scriptures of Hinduism (Vedas), four castes were divinely ordained from the very beginning. They originated from God himself. The Brahmins came from the mouth of God, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from thighs and the Sudras from his feet. Other castes were the result of associations between different caste groups who were regarded as Untouchables. Manu (the religious law-giver) considers that the worst combination could be the association between a Brahmin woman and a Sudra man. These untouchables are called as scheduled castes, in other words casteless people. Gandhi named them as Harijans meaning 'children of God'. They are now popularly referred to as Dalits meaning 'oppressed' or 'broken' people.
some other rare enough cases their very sight is an offence. They are
relegated for their residence to the worst quarters of cities and villages
where they practically get no social service. Caste Hindu doctors and
lawyers will not serve them as they do other members of society.
Brahmanas (religious priests) will not officiate at their religious functions
(Gandhi, M.K. 1954:9-10).

Several pieces of legislation\(^2\) have been passed to deal with the problem of the
oppressed caste. Reservation of electoral seats both in the parliament and the state
legislatures to make possible the quantitative representation of scheduled castes in the
political process of the country proved to be ineffective. As Kananaikal (1985) points out,
this legislation has enabled the scheduled caste leaders to gain an insider's view of the
working of the government. The election manifesto of every political party carries
promises for the upliftment of scheduled castes, yet it could not increase the prestige and
self-confidence in the majority of them (Kananaikal J, 1985:96-97).

The scheduled castes, who previously accepted injustice and oppression as their
\textit{karma}, are now made aware of their oppression and discrimination through the new
awakenings brought about by the efforts of the reform movements, and latterly by
voluntary organisations and the reservation policy\(^3\) of the government, to fight against such
discrimination and oppression. Yet, the atrocities against them did not decrease. Daily
newspapers document information on the atrocities, such as gouging out the eyes of
scheduled castes in full view of assembled villagers who are terrified into silence, burning

\(^2\)The first legislation enacted to eradicate untouchability was 'The Untouchability Offences Act' which
came into force from 1-6-1955, states that, any person is free to enter any place of public worship which
is open to other persons professing the same religion. He or she may bathe in and use water of any
stream, tank or well to the extent used by others. Any person obstructing such uses may be punished.

\(^3\)Reservation policy: The provision in Articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution of India provide reserved
seats in the Lok Sabha, which is the parliament of central government and State legislatures. The Article
16 of the Constitution provide reservations of jobs in the Central and State government services. From
1947 to 1970 one-eighth of all Central Government posts recruited by competitive examination on an All-
India basis were reserved for Dalits; in 1970 this quota was raised to 15%. Articles 29 and 47 of the
Constitution provides reserved seats in educational institutions as well as financial assistance to Dalits
& 491). The system of reservations has been imperfectly implemented at best and serious obstacles to Dalit
power and mobility have been encountered in the process (Webster, 1992).
groups of scheduled castes to death, chopping off their hands or feet, raping women, destroying entire village etc. The anti-reservation groups fighting against the privileges granted through reservations to the scheduled castes is on the increase. More than 40 years of independence and several development programmes to uplift the poor, could not bring about the expected changes; instead their problems are on the increase.

The Tribal Communities and their Problems

Similar to the discrimination against the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes who comprise about 7.5 percent of the total population of India, and live in about 20 percent of the geographical area, face acute problems of displacement.

Viegas and Menon (1986), while discussing the problems faced by the tribals, describe their conditions as, 'the fast and unprecedented scale of deforestation over the last three decades as a result of the industry, commerce and revenue orientation of the forest department and the introduction of the contractor system, the ugly face of starvation made its appearance in the area' (Viegas & Menon., 1986:69). Viegas elsewhere points out that, apart from deforestation, thousands of forest lands had been acquired for building industrial infrastructures, irrigation dams, roads etc., which displaced the tribal communities from their lands (Viegas, 1983).

These displacements render the tribal communities powerless and thus they are exploited. Such powerlessness and subsequent indebtedness lead them to slavery in the

---

4 Anti-Reservation Groups: The Constitution of India provides reservation of seats at the higher education, jobs and promotions for the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and socially and economically backward classes of society in order to lift them up from their deprived status. The anti-reservation groups who are mainly from the Brahmin caste demand that the Constitution should be amended in order that merit and not caste should be the determining factor for higher education, jobs and promotions (Refer. Desai, 1981)

5 Tribal communities refer to the aboriginals of India, who live mostly in the hills and forests, having a traditional pattern of society with a collective ownership of resources. They have distinct social, economic, cultural and political characteristics of their own. They live in small communities, depend on the natural environment for their food and living which is being threatened by various intrusions and dislocations from their habitation in recent years. (Mukhopadhyay, D. 1989:17). Presently they constitute seven percent of the total population of India.
hands of the landlords. The legislation designed to protect the tribal population has rarely been fully implemented. Funds that have been allotted for the tribal beneficiaries, profited non-tribal landowners much more than the tribal poor. Therefore the problem of the tribal communities has become a continuous process; their exploitation and distress are on the increase even in the midst of many development programmes.

Women's Position

While religiously and culturally women are venerated in Indian society, they are in reality among the most exploited and oppressed. As Madhu Kishwar (1984) argues,

while fundamental rights and civil liberties guaranteed in our constitution are being denied to most sections of the population throughout the country, the most oppressed group is that of the women of India because within each oppressed group they are doubly oppressed (Kishwar M. 1984:230).

Especially, while considering the status of women from the rural areas, the most basic struggle revolves around the basic minimum need, particularly enough to eat. A study conducted in Karnataka (a neighboring state of Tamil Nadu) revealed that women consumed one third fewer calories than men, while their labour contribution was more than double that of men (Ibid). This discrimination is one of the contributory factors to the higher mortality rate among women. The heavy work-burden, several unwanted pregnancies at short intervals, still-births, miscarriages, infant deaths, and lack of sufficient food are directly and indirectly responsible for the poor health of most Indian women.

The female literacy rate is consistently low both in the rural and in the urban areas. While discussing the inequalities prevailing among women and men, Desrochers mentions that, although the women's literacy rate is growing faster, according to the 1981 census, there were still twice as many men literates as women and many states had much less than 25 percent female literacy (Desrochers, 1987). The percentages of female enrolment at various levels of education in 1980-1981 are shown in Table 1.1 to illustrate this point.
Table 1.1 Percentage of Female enrolment in Education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Primary</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher sec.</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Desrochers, 1987:92)

Although the percentage of female enrolment at pre-primary school age is large, the percentage of women enrolment at the higher secondary and college becomes very small. The dropout percentage among women from the rural and the weaker sections of society is greater than that for urban women.

The national policy of education published in 1986 points out that:

Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women... it will play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values... Women's studies will be promoted as a part of various courses and educational institutions encouraged to take up active programmes to further women's development (NPE, 1986, No.42).

Though these are very noble attempts, the beneficiaries are more often than not upper-class women. Women from the poorer urban and rural communities are much less likely than these to remain in education beyond primary school.

A significant factor which contributes to the devaluation of women is the increasing price on dowry. In spite of continued propaganda against the dowry system by political

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6Dowry system: It is one of the ancient system practiced in several Indian communities in which bride's family pay a huge sum of money and wealth as a gift to the bridegroom at the time of marriage. This
parties, social welfare organisations, women's organisations and government legislation, the dowry system catches on increasing importance even among communities which in the past did not practice it at all. 'Dowry deaths' continue to increase in turn. It is partly because of this practice male offspring are preferred to female offspring. It is also alarming that the female population is decreasing in India. The ratio of female population to male was 930 female to 1,000 males in 1981, the infant mortality rate among females being 30 percent to 60 percent higher than among males (Kishwar, M 1984:250). The future of women is further jeopardized given the possibilities of sex selection of the offspring in the course of pregnancy through the selective abortion of female foetuses. A recent study revealed that 90 percent of the abortions in the major cities like Bombay and Madras are female foetuses because of the amniocentesis test (India Today, 1988).

As Madhu Kishwar observes,

Despite the increased awareness of women's issues in the last few years, it would be foolish to pretend that those overall economic and political forces rendering millions of women powerless and destitute are anywhere near being arrested (1984:35).

In the midst of such an unjust male-dominated and patriarchal society, very little has been achieved to raise women from being culturally dominated. As Desrochers comments, 'women still have a long road to travel to gain equality' (Desrochers 1987:92).

Cultural Constraints

Underneath the social and political problems of the country, a still stronger and greater consequence for the problems and underdevelopment of the people and the country are a series of cultural constraints.

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practice has become a demand from the bridegroom's family. Women endure severe hardship due to this social practice. Women are burnt to death by the bridegrooms' family for not being able to fulfill their material desires. Several legislations have been passed to combat this social evil but the problem seems to be on the increase because of several cultural constraints.
India is renowned for its culture and tradition which are for a greater part connected with religious traditions. Mathur (1964) from his study of Indian villages, notes that religious traditions lay down with meticulous care how a person should behave and live in order to lead a respectable life. If India faced problems arising only from economic or social or political factors alone, it may be possible to find a solution, if not immediately at least in the near future. But any strategy that overlooks cultural factors may only survive for a short time and may revert to all its inequalities, injustices and oppression. The resulting situation may even be worse than before. The antireservation movements growing in many parts of Northern India today are good example of this. Mathur argues that the religious traditions\(^7\) prescribe the caste rules for proper living in everyday life and prohibit what is traditionally considered to be improper for the caste (Mathur, 1964:5). Therefore religious culture defines the way of life to be practised in the society which is being handed down to people to be followed for what was thought to be for better living.

Stein (1953), points out that creative thinking depends on the extent to which cultural influence permits the development of both freedom between the individual and his/her environment and freedom within the individual on the extent to which the culture encourages diversity and tolerates seeming ambiguities. People belonging to the scheduled caste were in bondage for centuries and inherited a submissive, unchallenging nature because of the oppressive cultural domination of the high castes; this cannot be changed in a short period. Take, for instance, the reversal of 'sati'\(^8\). On September 4th, 1987, a 18 year old Rajput woman committed 'sati'. According to one report, this woman had, in fact, tried three times to leap out of the burning pyre but each time had been pushed back by the

\(^7\)Religious traditions are the prscriptions of the higher caste groups which conditions the lifestyle according to their norms and standards.

\(^8\)Sati - practice of immolation of women on their husband's pyres, which was abolished through a legislation in 1829 by Lord Bentinck. through a fervent struggle of Rajaram Mohan Roy of Arya Samaj (Refer Chapter 3).

**Economic Development and its Problems:**

Since independence, through her Five Year Plans, India has adopted a development-oriented policy to eradicate poverty and inequality, because as the poverty index shows, the majority of her population are in a grave poverty-stricken condition. In spite of planned economic growth for more than 45 years of independence and several Five Year Plans, an estimated 40 percent of rural households are landless and do not earn enough to provide themselves with one meal a day.

Table 1.2 illustrates the percentage of people living below the poverty line from 1960-61 to 1983, showing an increase in the percentage of people living below the poverty line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>NSS Data</th>
<th>Revised</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Greater efforts are being taken to raise the standard of living by increasing production and decreasing the growth of the population. Natural calamities like flood and drought hamper the steady growth in food production.
Although the population who live below the poverty line is stated to be 44.4 percent of the whole, yet this varies from state to state in India. The numbers living in poverty in the rural sectors is considerably higher than those living in urban sectors.

Table 1.3  State-wise Poverty line Estimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Agricul. labour.</th>
<th>Self-employed in Agri.</th>
<th>Self-employed in non-Agri.</th>
<th>Other rural house</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Punjab</td>
<td>19.15</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>12.14</td>
<td>7.87</td>
<td>9.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Haryana</td>
<td>33.39</td>
<td>10.49</td>
<td>26.53</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>24.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A. Pradesh</td>
<td>36.91</td>
<td>20.86</td>
<td>24.51</td>
<td>20.05</td>
<td>28.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rajasthan</td>
<td>38.95</td>
<td>20.22</td>
<td>22.83</td>
<td>25.78</td>
<td>22.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gujarat</td>
<td>45.87</td>
<td>22.92</td>
<td>18.38</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>28.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. U. Pradesh</td>
<td>53.77</td>
<td>28.88</td>
<td>40.49</td>
<td>24.86</td>
<td>34.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Karnataka</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>26.86</td>
<td>35.48</td>
<td>22.16</td>
<td>38.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kerala</td>
<td>54.79</td>
<td>23.10</td>
<td>35.59</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>36.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Assam</td>
<td>55.54</td>
<td>27.23</td>
<td>26.31</td>
<td>23.70</td>
<td>35.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>58.02</td>
<td>33.22</td>
<td>39.43</td>
<td>24.53</td>
<td>43.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. M. Pradesh</td>
<td>63.41</td>
<td>42.47</td>
<td>47.28</td>
<td>22.39</td>
<td>47.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Maharastra</td>
<td>64.12</td>
<td>36.05</td>
<td>43.51</td>
<td>25.06</td>
<td>47.46</td>
</tr>
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<td>13. Bihar</td>
<td>72.08</td>
<td>37.78</td>
<td>52.24</td>
<td>41.47</td>
<td>52.51</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Orissa</td>
<td>77.10</td>
<td>45.55</td>
<td>54.28</td>
<td>35.88</td>
<td>58.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. West Bengal</td>
<td>81.13</td>
<td>45.96</td>
<td>57.84</td>
<td>41.90</td>
<td>60.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. All India</td>
<td>55.90</td>
<td>28.00</td>
<td>35.71</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>37.33</td>
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</table>

Source: Basic data compiled from NSS 32nd round on Employment and Unemployment.
As Table 1.3 shows, the highest poverty incidence is among the agricultural labourer households, but there are vast variations experienced between states. The incidence of poverty among the two categories of the agricultural household (agricultural labourers and the self-employed in agriculture) constitute more than 70 percent of the poverty level households.

India's rural population, especially the landless, is significantly higher than all other countries in the world. Apart from feeding 850 million people, Indian agriculture has to feed over 600 million domestic animals. Agriculture is the backbone of the Indian economy, contributing nearly 50% to the national income. Realizing that the country's prosperity depends largely on prosperity in agriculture, the Indian planners and policy-makers gave priority to rural development in all the Five Year Plans through several rural and agricultural development programmes.

**Government Poverty Eradication Programmes**

Indian planning constantly focused on a programme for rapid economic growth-oriented development accompanied by equality and social justice and the establishment of democratic values in the social and economic spheres of life. This was intended for all sections of society, especially for the development of the weaker sections of society. V. C. Naidu points out that almost all the Five Year Plans without exception postulated the reduction in economic concentration as the only means of establishing the socialistic pattern of society, where the incidence of poverty would be low (Naidu, 1988:408).

At the initial stage of planning, it was expected that inevitably the benefits of the development programmes would at first reach the top levels of the social hierarchy, but would gradually flow down to the bottom - a trickle-down theory of development. Later it was realized that the rural development programmes had helped the land-owning groups on a large scale but, at the same time, had alienated the landless group. Following the
international debates and proposals, and emulating the Gandhian view of decentralization, the country adopted the policy of involving the participation of the weaker sections of the society in the planning and implementation of the development programmes gradually decentralizing the system, so as to go to the grassroots, who were to be the beneficiaries. Hence, the Five Year Plans, while focusing on the growth strategy, gave importance to Community Development, Co-operative Movements, Reduction in Economic Concentration, Land Reforms, Employment Generation and Target and Area Oriented Programmes to involve the poor and the weaker sections of society, and became the main weapon of attack on the massive problem of poverty. 

The Five Year Plans are designed to bring about: 'elimination of poverty and creating conditions of near full employment, the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people in terms of food, clothing and shelter, attainment of Universal Elementary Education, and access to health facilities for all' (Seventh Five Year Plan 1985-90, Vol.1, 1985:7).

Although the programme that has been formulated for the poor, the agricultural labourers, the marginal farmers, the scheduled tribes etc., is sincerely meant the barriers to the implementation of these programmes have in fact strengthened the richer classes. The governmental machinery has failed to reach the poor. Observing the nature of the implementation process of the development programmes, Rajkrishna observes that:

... leakages, corruption and sheer technical inefficiency on a vast scale have prevented these programmes from reducing poverty significantly ... the rural bureaucracy and the rural oligarchy misappropriate the major part of the resources and benefits of the anti-poverty programmes (Rajkrishna, 1985:22).

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9See Appendix 1, for the list of the development programmes initiated by the Government of India towards the development of the weaker-sections of the country through her Five Year Plans.
The participation of the target population envisaged in the Community Development, Integrated Rural Development Projects and other development programmes of the Government has become only a myth because as Diaz-Bordenave (1989) points out, participation is only a means towards achieving the goals of the officials. It is only a fringe benefit the government officials are bestowing upon the poor and weaker sections of society; it is not seen as their right. In other words, it is only a thinly veiled form of the trickle-down strategy which encourage the richer classes to grow richer.

Since independence national development has been the concern of the Indian government with the idea of developing through modernisation, successive governments have placed importance on radio and television which have seen tremendous growth in hardware development during the last decade. Currently it covers 72 percent of the population and expected to cover about 90 percent by the end of this century. Newspapers, radio, and television, with their enormous potential for reaching a large audience, have had great importance placed on them. These media have fused in a big way in the life of the people of India although 60% of the population are illiterate and 44% of them are living below the poverty line. But analyzing their contribution towards the goals of national development, it was observed that despite huge resources being spent on them, their contribution to national development has been much below from what was expected of them. The constraints on planning and implementing the plans of the government on the one hand and the social, economic, political and cultural constraints on the other, impedes their potential as development took. In every aspect, the marginalization of the poor and aggrandizement of the rich is effected by way of uneven distribution of wealth, employment and resources.

In sum, poverty in India is identified not merely as an economic issue; social, political, cultural, and economic factors also contribute to the seriousness of this
problem. The economic disadvantages and social discriminations experienced by the vast majority leads them to a state of dehumanization and marginalization, causes them to be dependent, powerless and voiceless, ultimately making them incapable of controlling their own lives and destinies. It is the greed and self-interest of one group over the other that creates and sustains this unjust situation. The weaker sections of society like the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women and the minority groups are experiencing ever greater oppression and exploitation.

The elaborate and extensive programmes of Community Development of the State which later were incorporated into the Panchayat Raj system, expecting a new target-group-oriented approach to the grassroots have not made any noticeable development in the improvement of the weaker sections. The decades of the sixties and seventies have witnessed a wide and perplexing variety of projects, programmes and schemes of development along with numerous and frequent changes in administrative arrangements. Further, it has been observed by these scholars that the traditional, state and political organisations' aim to be operative at the grassroots level, specifically working for the weaker sections was found to be futile. Anil Bhatt (1987) observes that, in the social and political context of rural India, the emphasis on decentralization, increase in the concentration of such powers, resources and participation are in the hands of few powerful people at the local level, which helps in tightening the influence of the dominant classes over the deprived sections of the society.

As a political process, the social and economic and information systems in India is dominated or dependent on the industrialists and landlords who represent the powerful caste groups. As Kananaikal suggests, it is unrealistic to expect the exploiters such as the rural landlords and money lenders to co-operate with programmes which would remove the source of cheap labour and profit for them. Shingi and Mody (1976) argue that:
In developing countries like India, most development benefits have tended to accrue to better-off segments rather than to the down-trodden for whom they may ostensibly have been intended. A much discussed case in point is the so called Green Revolution that benefited the larger farmers and widened existing socio-economic gaps. Given their higher levels of knowledge, capital and social contact, it is not surprising that the 'haves' achieve greater effects from exposure to most interpersonal and mass media information sources (Shingi & Mody, 1976:83).

On this account whatever good policies and programmes the government may propose, there are constraints on its implementation because it is these people who are the source of information for the village people. Looking at the nature of the implementation of the developmental programmes, several scholars such as Adiseshiaiah (1985) and Rajkrishna (1985) claim that the poverty alleviation programmes and plans are paper tigers that do not reach the poor to reduce their poverty, but rather worsen their conditions.

The Exigency for Voluntary Organisations in Development

Dissatisfied with the existing developmental programmes and their implementation which helped the rich to grow richer, middle class and educated youths rose up to find an alternative means of alleviating the suffering of the poor and call for an effective micro-level action. This has given birth to several small, grassroot initiatives such as the voluntary organisations with their humanitarian concern who could be effective in the implementation of development programmes and provide alternative strategies in development and communication in reaching the poor and the marginalized sections of society in the process of developing them.

Voluntary action, an organized collective action for social welfare and social reform has a very long history in India. Traditionally people in India believed voluntary action as a religious sanction to help the weaker sections and the handicapped of the community

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10 Green Revolution: This term was used by the Government of India in the year 1969 to highlight the rise in food production in the country since the implementation of the new Agricultural strategy introducing new technology in agriculture.
through various charitable and philanthropic services. And at times, especially from the
nineteenth century, there were social reform activities to combat certain practices prevalent
in Indian society. Paul Chowdry (1987) points out that,

... in the earlier days social work was in the nature of social reform against
social evils like child marriage, widowhood, sati, etc. With the social,
economic and political changes a challenging charity through organized
community effort was realized (Chowdhry, 1987:1).

Voluntary movements such as the 'Brahmo Samaj' of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the
'Arya Samaj' of Dayanand Saraswathi, the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' of Mahatma Jotirao
Phule, 'Mahar' and 'Dalit' movements in Maharastra, the 'Self-respect Movement' in Tamil
Nadu and various bhakti movements, especially, that grew to replace the Brahminic
domination in various parts of South India have become fore-runners for the present day
voluntary reform and transformative movements who championed the cause of the poor
and the weaker sections of society during the pre-independent era in India. As Rao (1984)
oberves:

(the reform movement) is an attempt on the part of a section of society to
change the social order either as a whole or in parts, ... through collective
mobilization, through leadership, ideology and change orientation' (Rao M.

Although voluntary action is an age-old phenomenon in India, which was practised
as a charity and philanthropic activity as part of the traditional religious commitment, and
the first social legislation, 'The Societies Legislation Act of 1860', adds to the fact that
organised voluntary efforts for social action and reform in India have been in existence for
more than a century, and the last three or four decades have seen an increase in the
voluntary movements paying more attention to the development of weaker sections of
society.
Studies, particularly by Alliband (1983), Pandey (1984), Jain (1985), Rahmad (1984) and Anil Bhatt (1987), point out that, the State has ventured forth and attempted to implement several development programmes with many different structures, institutions and designs, but it has failed to make any noticeable impact on the eradication of poverty, inequality and injustice. These studies have indicated that the rise in voluntary action is because of the failure of the State development machinery to reduce poverty, inequality, oppression and injustices and the increase in such problems among the rural communities. They have also pointed out that the official programmes have hardly touched the poor, the weaker sections and the marginalized of society, let alone change the social order.

Seth (1984) observes that these grassroots organisations and movements struggle to redefine politics, as beyond electoral and legislative politics so that its content is to include such areas as health, rights over forests and community resources, ecological, cultural and educational issues. These organisations are principally non-party-political, pro-people and particularly pro-poor and are development-oriented. They are believed to have greater capacity for providing alternatives to the government institutions for development and for effectively communicating the message to the people.

Terry Alliband (1983) and Shashi Pandey (1984) also share the same viewpoint and argue that these grassroots initiatives have pioneered new and untried approaches to development and contributed to the knowledge of development. They argue that because these organisations are local, specific, small and committed to the cause of lifting up the poor and the weaker sections of society, their efforts are fruitful in establishing social change.

It has also been remarked by scholars such as Walter Fernandez & Geeta Menon (1987) and Ravi J. Mathai (1985) that the emphasis of the grassroots organisations is based on the principle that the poor must be conscientized, mobilized and organized to become
more powerful to receive the benefits of development as their right. Further, Terry Alliband (1983), Claude Alvares (1983), Shasi Pandey (1984) are of the opinion that these grassroots organisations and movements can provide alternatives to the strategies, approaches and activities of the macro and state organisations. They have pioneered new and untried approaches to development with creativity in planning and implementing, and involving the weaker sections of society in the planning and implementation process. Fernandez and Geeta Menon (1987) cite the example of the voluntary organisations working among the tribal communities and those conversant with ecology, mobilizing people through meetings, rallies, workshops etc., to protest against the "Forest Bill of 1980" proposed by the Government of India. They are of the opinion that such organisations have the potential to blossom into macro-movements for providing alternative paths to development.

The Government of India also seem to have recognized the work of the voluntary organisations as it could be seen in the document on the Seventh Five Year Plan, considered to be a historic document for the voluntary organisations, which states that:

There is a good deal of voluntary effort in India, especially in the field of social welfare. The tendency so far has been to equate the work of voluntary agencies with only welfare activities and charity work... There has been inadequate recognition of their role in accelerating the process of social and economic development. These agencies have been known to play an important role by providing a basis for innovation with new models and approaches, ensuring feedback and securing the involvement of families living below the poverty line. Therefore, during the Seventh Plan, serious efforts will be made to involve voluntary agencies in various development programmes particularly in the planning and implementation of programmes of rural development. Voluntary agencies have developed expertise and competence in many non-traditional areas to plan their own schemes instead of expecting Government to do so (Seventh Five Year Plan 1985-90, pp.66-68).

11Forest Bill of 1980: The draft Forest Bill, 1980 proposed that the Government be authorized to declare any land as 'forest' and include a variety of new items like wild animal skins, surface soil, grass and standing agricultural crops in the category of forest produce. It also proposed to enhance the penalties for violation of the Bill (Ref: W. Fernandez & Geeta Menon, 1987). This Bill was opposed because it alienates tribal communities who were the beneficiaries of the forest produce for centuries.
From the above statement it becomes obvious that voluntary agencies' actions are acclaimed for their innovative ideas and credible planning and implementation of the welfare programmes with the involvement of the target people in the process of their development. Scholars like Dasgupta (1974) feel that the voluntary organisations have contributed more than the state, especially in the field of rural development (Dasgupta, 1974).

The scholars also have indicated that development activities of the voluntary organisations have a clear bearing on their concept of the change they aim at effecting among the poor and the weaker sections of society. The concept of change gets enlarged from social welfare such as philanthropic activities to social reform activities to combat social practices and conscientization, mobilization and organisation of the weaker sections of society in the process of struggle against unjust social structures and towards their liberation. This indicates that the context enables the organisations to set their goal and objectives accordingly and brought in changes in their role to be dynamic and catalytic agents of social change. Thus the role of voluntary organisations in the development efforts of the weaker sections of society are considered important. Hence, this study explores the dynamic role voluntary organisations play in bringing about social change and how they try to address them among the poor and weaker sections of society in India.

Voluntary organisations, as effective agents of change among the poor and the weaker sections of society accept the fact that communication is a vital instrument in the process of bringing change. Communication which supports voluntary organisations in their development activities for social change and social transformation is yet to be made clear.
While discussing the problems of underdevelopment, inequality and exploitation, the potentials of the mass media to bring faster and greater change has been recognized by many scholars. Advocates of modernization approach such as Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm, Lucian Pye considered that mass media have the power to be a 'magic multiplier'.

Looking at it from the critics of modernization theory, mass media basically remain as an one-way communication system and it is out of reach for the majority of the rural population. In an attempt to overcome these defects, developmental communicators have tried to use traditional forms of communication for conveying developmental messages as alternative forms of communication to reach the poor and the illiterate masses. Eventually, communication is considered as an integral part of any development activity, enabling people to be educated, to be mobilized, to be aware, etc.

What is the relationship between voluntary action and development and their relationship to communication from the perspectives of ideal approaches to development communication such as modernization approach, culturalist approach and participatory approach to development communication? Under what conditions, if any, do voluntary organisations provide alternative communication approaches in the process of bringing social change? Does such an approach require a radical break with cultural and traditional practices that are regarded as hindrance for development by the 'modernization' scholars or require a radical break from the suggestions given by modernization scholars and follow the 'culturalist' and 'participatory' approaches as suggested by the scholars of 'another development' in the alternative strategies of communication suggested by the proponents of the newly emerging approaches in the voluntary organisations? What approach is commonly in practice among the voluntary organisations in India that enable them to be effective change agents?
Thus, the interest and attention of this research is directed primarily to the strategies employed in community-based programmes of voluntary organisations involving popular participation and collective action by the weaker sections of the target population with direction and leadership coming from both within and outside of the target population.

The present research study intends to focus mainly on the following questions related to:

1) The understanding of social change and how it is related to the range of communication activities within selected voluntary organisations. The question is, is communication also shaped by the understanding of the concept of development as it was said that the development model shapes the model of voluntary action? Therefore, this study will analyze this perspective within the concerned organisations: Do the approaches to communication vary according to the models of voluntary action and models of development? What is the function of communication in pursuing social change among the people? Accordingly, how is the idea of social change conceived by these different organisations?

2) 'Community Participation' is of major concern in the present decade. This has become a classic word leading to vagueness and confusion. It is acclaimed by many proponents of 'participatory approach' that participation of the weaker sections of society in their own development programmes will raise the skill, confidence, competence, self-dignity and lead towards self-reliance. The modernisation approach is being discarded by these scholars considering that this approach alienate the weaker sections of society from their own development and support only the rich to grow richer. However, this study will explore the nature of the communication approach as practised among the voluntary organisations by looking at it carefully: Does the alternative communication strategies provided by the voluntary organisations require a radical break from the modernization approach and adopt the 'participatory approach' and vice versa or locate a synthesis of
various approaches that could contribute to reaching the people effectively? What does the concept 'Participatory Communication' mean to voluntary organisations? How it is practised within the organisations and what is its contribution towards their attempt to bring social change in the communities? What is its role in terms of Leadership Development, Decision-Making and Self-Reliance, as mandated by the voluntary organisations? And do they accomplish these aims in their attempt to bring in sustainable development?

3) In the context of modern technological innovations in communication such as television and video, what is the effect of the organisations' 'small media'? Do they promote change? If so, what is the nature of change they promote? Does this changing communication context call for a modification in the strategies of voluntary organisations? What is the scope for such modifications within the structure of each voluntary organisation?

In general, how do their strategies of communication provide alternatives in helping to build sustainable development? The scope of this study, therefore, rests on the analysis of the communication strategies for development from the perspective of social change, participation, leadership development and decision-making within the activities of the voluntary organisations.

In order to find answers to these questions, this study has employed anthropological approach to communication research which involves participant observation - a direct observation of events, formal and informal interviews and collection of data through the study of documents of the selected voluntary organisations. A preliminary study of 25 organisations provided a general idea of the organisations working in Tamil Nadu and helped to specify which models of developmental activities were in use and what was the range of communication activities that were being used. This first phase of the research
study enabled to identify four voluntary organisations for the purpose of the in-depth case study on the basis of their identification with the critique of development efforts proceeding their arrival.

The first phase of research has demonstrated the difficulty in making a distinct compartmentalized classification of voluntary organisations as ideal types since majority of the voluntary organisations present a picture of a movement rather than a distinctly structured organisation. This identification paved the way for the selection of four organisations that are local-specific, flexible and dynamic that could give direction for a movement and are founded on the basis of a critique of various development efforts for the in-depth study. In a nutshell, a movement type of organisation which could provide scope for alternatives in their search for sustainable development.

Design of the Study

In this introductory chapter, an attempt is made to establish the basis for identifying the need for voluntary agencies in development efforts. In this attempt it was shown that the socio-economic, political and cultural factors ensure that these systems become accessible only to a few, over against the majority. In theory, as a democratic country, everything is accessible equally to every citizen of the country but in practice, the systems are inaccessible to the majority, which sets the goal and urgency for the involvement of the voluntary efforts towards national development.

The second chapter reviews some of the earlier studies in the area of development communication dealing with the question of a theoretical framework for communication and development. This chapter critically analyses the approaches such as the 'modernization approach' in development communication research and the 'dependency and underdevelopment approach' which has emerged as a criticism of the above, and the 'alternative new approaches for development' under which several other approaches like the
'culturalist approach', 'basic human needs approach' and 'participatory approach' are critically looked at to bring out an appropriate perspective for the present study. Attempts have been made to review Indian studies in the area of development communication. Although it is difficult to find any study with particular reference to voluntary organisations in the area of development communication, yet it is anticipated that some of the studies in the area of development communication in India at the micro-level may have some relevance for the present study to enable us to build up something new and appropriate for the study of the role of the voluntary organisation in development.

Chapter three presents the methodological framework within which this study is undertaken and the issues involved in the whole process of data collection. Firstly, this chapter brings out the relevant research questions indicating the area which this research tries to focus. Secondly, it outlines the methods such as the anthropological approach to communication research which involves participant observation - a direct observation of events, formal and informal interviews and collection of data through documents. Thirdly the procedures adopted in the selection of the voluntary organisations both for the preliminary study as well as the in-depth observational study and to show that the selection of the organisations are based on the critique of development efforts.

Chapter four which is titled, 'A Historical and Critical Analysis of Voluntary Action: Approaches to Development and Communication in India' tries to locate the development of voluntary action and the role it has played in the past. The voluntary action of the pre-independence period by the social and religious reform movements, who pioneered the voluntary work in setting a pattern for the present is also analyzed. This chapter also analyses the underlying perspectives for voluntary action and the 'ideal' types of the voluntary organisations set by few scholars to enable a purposeful study of communication strategies of the ideal types of voluntary organisations.
The focus of chapter five titled, 'Voluntary Organisations: Development and Communication Activities' will try to analyse the different types of voluntary organisations through their involvement in developmental activities and to understand their concepts of 'social change', the concepts 'participation' and 'participatory communication'. This analysis concentrates on the study of the aims and objectives of 25 organisations based on their documents, interviews and discussions with the directors, co-ordinators animators/social workers and the local people. It tries to find answer to the question:

'Do the models of communication vary according to the models of voluntary action and what is the function of communication in promoting social change among the people? How do these organisations perceive their activities in relation to promoting social change in the communities?'

Further, this chapter will describe how these organisations view the influence of the media in the community and examine the changes brought about by the small or low-cost and traditional media, in the wake of modern communication media.

While analyzing the development models of the voluntary organisations and discussing the communication activities practised in accordance with their voluntary action models, difficulty was encountered in making a distinct compartmentalized classification of voluntary organisations. It was found that majority of the voluntary organisations present a picture of a movement rather than a distinctly structured organisation. For this reason, it was felt that it would be more helpful to focus on organisations that are local-specific, flexible and dynamic that could give direction for a movement to accept and adopt other approaches in venturing towards bringing social change in societies, rather than confining themselves to one particular model of voluntarism. On this basis the four organisations namely, Chingleput Community Development Project (CCDP), Slum Women's Advancement Project (SWAP), Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project (IFDP) and Association of Rural Poor (ARP) that are local-specific, involved in activities that are
flexible, and look for contextually relevant social action which represent movements are chosen as cases for our study which are dealt in chapters six to nine.

The purpose of the case studies is to examine how the context determines the nature of development alternatives which shapes communication alternatives and how these organisations provide a praxiological approach to voluntary action. Chapter six discusses the development and communication activities of the Chingleput Community Development Project. This chapter analyses, how a charity, relief and rehabilitation-oriented organisation is motivated to become a socio-economic development-oriented organisation towards the self-development of the weaker sections of the people is target-oriented, achievement-oriented and employed towards attitudinal change as a primary concern rather than structural change. This also brings out the fact that their efforts are aimed at building an effective community that develops its own leadership; encourages collective leadership for collective action to tackle the economic and immediate social problems the community faces. This case study also presents that communication is used as a tool to show the issues in society, which normally end up as the predetermined developmental issues, which are seen as a hindrance to development in the activities of the socio-economic development-oriented organisations. This chapter also shows that such organisations do not aim at challenging the oppressive structures directly. However, the approaches practised have the potential to challenge the structures of oppression and work towards building an 'ideal' village community.

Chapter seven presents the second case study, detailing the activities of the Slum Women's Advancement Project (SWAP) which is primarily a slum development project working among women in particular, and the entire slum in general, through women. This chapter shows how SWAP, as an organisation concerned with social welfare activities, was trying to integrate several aspects of development and communication from the perspective of conscientization and economic development to find the most suitable approach to fulfil
its aim of reaching the people with maximum benefit. The development and communication process is discussed in order to assess how meaningful their integration of these approaches were in their effort towards social change and how effective their alternative strategies were in the field.

Chapter eight highlights the development and communication approaches of the Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project (IFDP) towards social change. This chapter indicates the initiative of IFDP for development. It has multiple goals advancing from social welfare to economic development and to community organisation within the brief span of its existence implying the growth of the voluntary action as a continuous process. This chapter also brings out the way this organisation is trying to strengthen people's participation in their own development or liberation through community organisation and the mobilization programmes towards their development. It also shows how the organisation builds up alternatives strategies for communication through experimentation.

Chapter nine analyses the voluntary action and communication strategy of the Association for Rural Poor. This chapter analyses how this organisation with its long experience in the task of empowering the weaker sections of society namely, the scheduled castes, provide alternative strategies for their development. This chapter also brings out how the organisation could create a sense of cultural identity and solidarity among the scheduled castes on the basis of their cultural background, providing a praxiological approach to voluntary action and how communication integrates to their development activities of mobilization and empowerment of the weaker sections.

Chapter ten, while summarizing the findings of the earlier chapters, also discusses the issues that are brought forth in the previous chapters. Having analyzed the development and communication strategies of the selected voluntary organisations, this chapter by way of analysis tries to offer suggestions for the formulation of alternative
communication strategies that could bring about a greater social change or social transformation and could provide alternative communication strategies for a sustainable development.
CHAPTER TWO

PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION:
A CRITICAL REVIEW

The previous chapter is an attempt to show that the socio-economic, political and cultural factors ensure that these systems become accessible only to a few, over against the majority although the state and political aim to be operative at the grassroots level, specifically working for the weaker sections, was found to be futile. In theory, as a democratic country, everything is accessible equally to every citizen of the country but in practice, the systems are inaccessible to the majority, which sets the goal and urgency for the involvement of the voluntary efforts towards national development.

Whether development communication programmes are directed toward development goals or transformation of society, the process is usually intended to bring 'change' in people's behaviour as well as changes in social system. The assumption is that development activities can be planned and implemented in order to achieve such development goals which could bring change in individuals and in society. However, the strategies employed are inevitably guided by certain theoretical assumptions about development and communication and the change process. This chapter concerns the theoretical bases underlying some of the pertinent debates and conceptions of change and a search for an appropriate framework for the study of voluntary organizations.

The significant issue in this chapter is the presentation of theoretical bases which will enable a subsequent analysis and assumption of development and communication programmes and their potentials for playing an innovative role in social or structural change efforts. The discussion on development communication in general centres on: (1) the modernisation paradigm, particularly during the 50's and 60's, in which many scholars like Lerner (1958), Schramm (1964), Pye (1963), Rogers (1962), thought that
the poverty and underdevelopment of the Third World countries is due to traditionalism, illiteracy and non-interest in their own development. The key for success in this endeavor was seen as the need to modernize the Third World countries. This paradigm is built on socio-psychological analysis where the strategies are designed to change individuals or community.

(2) The dependency and underdevelopment paradigm which stand in opposition to the modernisation paradigm. Scholars such as Frank (1967), Szentes (1971), Goulet (1971), Cohen (1973), Diaz-Bordenave (1976) etc., argued that the cause of dependency and underdevelopment of the Third World countries, is due to the neo-colonialism of the West through their imposition of technology - a system analysis or strategies designed to change the socio-cultural system that perpetuate society. This approach came out of the experiences and discussions from Latin American context. Both these paradigms still have their supporters and critics both from the First World countries as well as Third World countries. Then, several scholars challenged and modified the earlier ideas of development and opened the way for a newer understanding, placing their emphasis on self-development, self-reliance and a participatory approach to development and communication (Freire, 1968 & 71; Goulet, 1971; Golding, 1974; Rogers, 1976; Schramm & Lerner, 1976; Tehranian, 1978, Diaz-Bordenave, 1976a; Jacobson, 1985; and Servaes, 1985). Studies by these scholars tried to rectify the drawbacks of the former modernisation and dependency and underdevelopment paradigms and brought a radically new understanding to the concept of development giving emphasis to the indigenous and contextually relevant approach to development and communication.

A review of the theoretical literature in this field demonstrates a clear division along the lines of modernisation, dependency and underdevelopment and alternative or another development paradigms. Although each one is criticized, yet such a distinction
or dichotomy provides a foundation for developing a new approach. As Servaes (1985) points out, every new approach builds up rather than replaces. This process needs openness to accept and creativity to build up newer and alternative approaches to development communication. Thus these different studies may cast some light on the present subject to enable us to build up something new which may draw its insights from these approaches as well as other approaches to make it more appropriate in the study of the role of voluntary organizations in development.

The objective of this chapter is to review some of the earlier studies in the area of development such as the 'modernisation paradigm' and the 'underdevelopment and dependency paradigm' which has emerged as a criticism of the above, and the 'alternative or another development' approach for development under which several other approaches like the 'culturalist' approach, 'basic human needs' approach and 'participatory' approach dealing with the question of a theoretical framework for communication and development as it has been developing from the 1950's in order to locate a meaningful theoretical framework for the work of the voluntary action towards development communication. This concern became the focal point of this thesis in order to analyze the relationship between voluntary action and development and their relationship to communication from the perspectives of modernisation, dependency, and alternative or another development paradigms. What approach contributes to the effectiveness of the voluntary organizations in India that enable them to be effective change agents? Does such an approach require a radical break from one to the other approach or provide a multiplicity of approaches for their efficiency?
The Modernisation Paradigm

The dominant perspective that promoted the early thinking in the debate on development centred on 'modernisation'. The principle assumption of the modernisation paradigm towards development is 'growth' and 'improvement' or 'progress'. It was assumed by some scholars (eg. Lerner, 1955; Rostow, 1960; and Smelser, 1971) that traditionalism and the cultural elements of the Third World countries are great obstacles to their progress. Development conceived by the proponents of this paradigm is 'organic, direct, immanent, cumulative, goal-oriented and irreversible' (Servaes, 1986:205). Thus, they presumed that the path of westernization is the path towards progress which could redeem the developing countries from underdevelopment and set them towards the goals of development. This view affirmed that the goal of social change or social transformation should be reached through the transfer of technology and so to the increase of production and economic growth. For nearly two decades modernisation was considered as a blueprint for the development of most of the developing world. Rogers (1976) calls it 'Pro-innovation Bias' which advocates that western agriculture, medicine, techniques etc., which are considered more effective need to be transferred to the developing countries to gear them towards modernisation.

Scholars such as Rostow (1960), Smelser (1971) and Hoselitz (1969) in complimenting the modernisation process, also accepted that traditionalism is a hindrance to growth. Thus modernisation should be encouraged as it would lead to sustained economic growth - growth in quantifiable terms. They felt that traditionally static people should be changed to accept modernity and encourage mobility, and the agricultural society should be transformed to an industrial society in order to achieve progress. Thus, Rostow introduced five transitional stages from a traditional to a modern society, which he felt every society has to pass through in attaining progress; (i) the traditional society, (ii) precondition for take-off, (iii) take-off, (iv) drive to maturity,
and (v) state of high mass consumption. These are considered by several scholars as making up an evolutionary, unilinear and a slow growth model.

A second approach in the modernisation paradigm is to focus on change in psychological attitude, a change in the individual to complement the socio-economic level of change - which is defined as an attitudinal or behavioural change in the individual to accept social change. Scholars such as Hagen (1962) and McCleland (1961) stressed the need for motivation for achievement. According to these scholars, need for achievement is crucial for change. It is the motivation for doing something better than what had been done before. They identify social consciousness, collective responsibility and a feeling of superiority as important ingredients for social development. In other words according to these authors, personal achievement and social virtue are essential in bringing modernisation. Lerner (1958) points out the qualities of a modern individual as the one who possesses the quality of adjustability to new situations and acceptability of western industrialized society - a capacity to accept a new environment and keep oneself in that position. He calls this 'empathy'. According to him empathy is essential for a person to move from a traditional society to modern society.

Alex Inkeles (1966), while discussing this psychological viewpoint, brought out nine attitudes that characterize modernity, which he later called 'nine characters of a modern person' that are essential for attaining economic growth (Inkeles, 1969). They are:

1. Readiness to accept new experience and openness to innovation;
2. Disposition to form and hold an opinion;
3. Democratic orientation;
4. Planning habits;
5. Belief in human and personal efficacy;
6. Belief that the world is calculable;
7. Stress on personal and human dignity;
8. Faith in Science and Technology; and

In sum, the advocates of the modernisation approach proclaimed that the western model of modernisation is universal and could provide scope for changing the developing countries which are seen as being traditionalist, fragmented and static. Thus they need to get into the system of social, economic and political modernisation for which they should achieve the necessary psychological motivation. Eisenstadt (1976) aptly summarizes the view of the modernisation scholars as follows:

The basic model that emerged out of all the researchers assumed that the conditions for development of a viable, growth-sustaining, modern society were tantamount to continuous extension of modern components and to destruction of all traditional elements ... the more thorough the disintegration of traditional elements, the more able a society would be to 'develop' continuously. (Eisenstadt, 1976:33)

Communication Perspectives in Modernisation:

When the Pro-innovation Bias as Rogers calls it, (Rogers, 1976) was found inadequate in reaching the people of the developing countries because the problems they faced were different from those of the West, it was realized that it is not simply the transfer of technology that would help promote change, but what was required was some means of persuading people to accept new ideas, knowledge and skills. Thus, the role of communication became vital and introduced into the debates on development.
The 1950's and 1960's witnessed a greater enthusiasm among communication scholars, development planners and the national governments of the Third World countries about the promises of greater change through mass media of communication for development. The concepts of pro-media and pro-literacy bias became dominant through the publication of the most influential book, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958) by Daniel Lemer, considered as the first systematic theoretical approach to communication in development (Bernstein, 1971) and through *Mass Media and National Development* (1964) by Wilbur Schramm which became landmarks in the discussion of development communication which many Third World nations were encouraged to follow.

Daniel Lemer (1958), basing his approach on the study of six Middle Eastern countries, argued that the traditional societies could be changed through increasing urbanization that would raise literacy and provide opportunity to mass media exposure for a wider economic and political participation, which would speed up the process of modernisation. Lemer argued that empathy was an essential factor to stimulate the tradition-bound society for change. 'Empathy' was defined by Lemer as 'the capacity to see oneself in other people's situations' (Lerner, 1958:50-51). He believed that 'empathy' enabled a person to operate efficiently in modern society which was constantly undergoing change. Further, it was an indispensable skill for individuals wanting to move out of their traditional settings characterized by a feudal system.

According to Lerner's model, modernisation occurs in three phases; (i) urbanization, (ii) increase in literacy rate, and (iii) mass media exposure. Lerner's model of modernisation placed great emphasis on the mass media. As Narula (1986) points out, 'Lerner believed that mass media exposure was a key catalyst in the sequence leading towards modernisation' (1986:27). Lakshmana Rao (1963) put forward a complementary view of Lerner's model in his classic study on *Communication and*
Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages. In his experimental comparative study, Rao found a dramatic change in the behaviour of the people from the village exposed to mass media. According to him, the mass media of communication changed the lives of the people from traditional belief to modern ideas and values. Analyzing the two viewpoints of Lerner and Rao, Srinivas (1991) remarks that,

While Lerner suggested the role of communication as the harbinger of new ideas from outside, Rao felt that new communication helped to smooth out the transition from a traditional to a modern community. If only attempts were made to open up a traditional society to modernizing influences, the new information available to the people at the top and its eventual and autonomous trickle down to others in the lower reaches of the hierarchy would increase empathy, open up new opportunities, and lead to a general breakdown of the traditional society (Srinivas M. R. 1991:85).

Schramm's (1964) book, Mass Media and National Development, provided a useful ingredient for enabling the national governments of the Third World countries to expand their mass media for the purpose of modernizing their countries. Like Lerner, Schramm considered the problem of underdevelopment as a clash between 'tradition' and 'modernity'. He was of the opinion that adequate and effective means of communication could speed up the process of modernisation. He displayed a strong faith in the power of the mass media, calling it a 'magic multiplier', and this was undoubtedly accepted by many communication scholars for development in the Third World countries. They believed that the mass media would expose individuals to other people's ideas, attitudes and values and that this would accelerate the process of modernisation.

In order to modernize the industry and agricultural sectors, the developing nations need to mobilize human resources. The responsibility of this resource mobilisation was considered by these scholars to be vested in education and mass media. Schramm says that,
The task of the mass media of information and the new media of education is to speed and ease the long, slow social transformation required for economic development, and in particular, to speed and smooth the task of mobilizing human resources behind the national effort (Schramm, 1964:27).

Thus, many of the Third World countries placed their emphasis on education and development of mass media in their planning towards national development to mobilize their own national human resources to increase the ability to modernize the people and the country. As such, Schramm argued that the Third World countries do not have enough resources of time, people and finance for developing modern technology. Therefore, to speed up the process of modernisation, the countries of the West should transfer their technology to the Third World countries to enable them to keep up to their time frame for development.

Schramm placed emphasis on the national governments' involvement in mass media for development and set out three main functions for the mass media; (i) watchman function; (ii) instrumental function; and (iii) policy function. Thus, in this approach, the mass media served as agents and indices of modernisation in developing countries in which they serve the purpose of transferring new ideas and models from the West to the developing countries to establish a climate of modernisation for social change. Change in individual behaviour is expected to lead to change in the community and national social systems. As Beltran (1975) comments, the proponents of modernisation considered that mass media was an independent variable playing a significant role in bringing social change.

On the other hand, the earlier studies of Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1948) showed that the effects of mass media is minimal rather than dominant as speculated by the modernisation scholars. This new development in mass communication research brought out the significant study known as the two-step flow theory, where the family
and peer groups play vital role in the dissemination of messages and influence decisions. It was argued that the audience were divided into passive opinion followers and active opinion leaders.

Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) argued that the first step in the process of message dissemination was from the mass media to opinion leaders, and the second step was the flow from the opinion leaders to the community who are the opinion followers. The Decatur study tested and proved this hypothesis and postulated that opinion leadership was not confined to the elites of the community but was found at all levels of the community and personal influence figured both frequently and effectively than mass media. Since the introduction of the two-step flow theory, numerous studies have sought to advance the understanding of the concept. The general conclusion of the two-step flow theory is that mass communication is less effective than personal influence. Although mass media are important in the dissemination of new ideas, the intended attitudinal change in the receiver is achieved more easily through interpersonal communication.

Everett Rogers (1962), drawing inspiration from the modernisation as well as the two-step flow theories developed the idea of 'diffusion of innovation', placing emphasis on modernisation paradigm. As a rural sociologist working among the US farmers, he focused on diffusion/adoption processes, and suggested a new concept of innovation and diffusion which he explained as a special type of communication in which the messages were conceived with a new idea, and it is this newness in the message that gives diffusion its special character. Modernisation is considered as a process of diffusion where individuals are helped to adopt a new way of life from their traditional life patterns. Rogers (1983) introduced five stages under which the diffusion of innovation could take place. They are: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation and confirmation.
Rogers found that diffusion can be effective in facilitating dissemination of information that has been received through mass media of communication in the local communities through the opinion leaders, where opinion leaders and change agents could influence individuals and the social system through interpersonal communication or mass media, introducing an innovation and persuading them to adopt it. Rogers argued:

Since inventions within a closed system like a peasant village is a rare event, until there is communication of ideas from sources external to the village, little change can occur in peasant knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. Communication is therefore, central to modernisation in such circumstances (Rogers, E. 1969:48).

The process of communication is understood as a linear, top-down communication from the expert 'Source' to the inexpert 'Receiver'.

The so-called diffusion scholars who shared this view of modernisation such as Pye, (1964) and Rao, (1966) with several others, hoped that developmental messages could be diffused through the extension agents or educators, if they could make initial contact with the key persons in the community, i.e., the 'opinion leaders', who, having outside contacts and so greater access to information, could pass on the needed information to the grassroots farmers. Rogers' approach, it was speculated, would play a significant role in Third World countries because, if the opinion leaders were convinced, they could become the agents of persuasion and the modernisation effect would trickle down to the grassroots. Many national governments took this approach as a key to increase the production process. The diffusion of innovation approach of Rogers emphasized the role of communication as a facilitator of information at the local level.

In summary, modernisation paradigm of development communication which gained significance during the 50's and 60's placed greater emphasis on mass media of
communication and education for social change. Some of the advocates of the modernisation paradigm direct their blame for lack of development on the developing countries themselves. They argue that religious belief and traditionalism are incompatible with modern science and technology and the ideology of progress (Singer, 1966). Lerner and Schramm believed that their traditionalism, the immobility of society and illiteracy add to the causes of the underdevelopment of Third World countries. Modernisation for Lerner is equated with westernization and anything traditional is thought of as backwardness and underdevelopment, and thus not compatible with progress or change. These traditional societies could only be changed through the process of urbanization, a rise in literacy, and provision of opportunities for exposure to western ideas and concepts. Hence, mass media could facilitate and persuade the traditional communities to change their beliefs, attitudes and values and to participate with the developed countries.

The Underdevelopment and Dependency Paradigm

The modernisation paradigm was acclaimed, both from the Third World as well as the First World as providing great hope for Third World development. The discussions on development and underdevelopment especially during the 1970s have opened up a new understanding on poverty and underdevelopment. The dependency and underdevelopment scholars realized that the modernisation paradigm is a positivist-instrumentalist approach in which development is measured in terms of quantitative achievements and gives a universalistic prescription for development to the Third World where the context is altogether different from that in the West.

According to the dependency scholars (eg. Paul Baran, 1957; A. G. Frank, 1969; B. Warren, 1980) the modernisation paradigm fails to take into consideration the forces of colonialism and imperialism which have enslaved many of the Third World countries
for centuries. Even after the historical independence of the Third World countries, the once colonial masters are interlocking them into another form of neo-colonialism through their capitalist industrialization and modernisation, reinforcing dependency and keeping the Third World countries as underdeveloped as ever.

In contrast to modernisation theory, the dependency theorists argue that the development of one country lead to the underdevelopment of another country. As Cohen puts it, 'underdevelopment is a form of poverty imposed by the rich capitalists upon the poor countries' (Cohen, 1973:155). The dependency theorists considered that the present international system is the cause of the Third World underdevelopment.

Szentes argues that:

the socio-economic state of the developing countries is not merely economic underdevelopment, not just a sign of not having participated in development, of their having fallen behind in progress, but it is the product of a specific development, which is most closely connected with, moreover derived from the development of capitalist world economy (Szentes, 1971:132).

Dependency and underdevelopment of the developing countries does not confine to economic growth and politics alone, but it does enter into the total sphere of life. Hamelink (1983) feels that even after formal independence, many of the developing countries are still under the domination of the developed countries in the form of economic loan, aid, and investments. The new form of technological domination continue to hold the periphery under dependency. This neo-colonialism is mediated through the ruling classes of the periphery, which were nurtured by the centre during their colonial rule.

Communication Perspectives in Dependency and Underdevelopment Paradigm:

The dependency scholars observe that the political imperialism of the past is being replaced by cultural imperialism in the present technologically developed world.
Scholars such as Tunstall (1977), Vans and Nordenstreng (1973), Hamelink (1982), Mattelart (1976) and Schiller (1969) point out that the cultural trends accompanying the capitalist accumulation in the dominant countries and the related processes in the dependent countries are becoming a growing concern because of the technological intrusions from developing countries. It creates loss of diversity and enforces a single world culture which Hamelink calls 'cultural synchronization' (Hamelink, 1983:5). He argues, further, that, through cultural synchronization, there is a rapid disappearance of the rich variety of techniques, symbols and social patterns developed under the conditions of full autonomy that have been evolved over centuries and this whole process of local social inventiveness and cultural creativity is thrown into greater confusion because of cultural synchronization.

The critics of dependency paradigm point out that it endeavours towards a global or a macro-economic perspective. It also stimulated the debate on New International Economic Order. On the contrary the dependency perspective did not take a deep-root in India because of its peculiar composition of caste around which centres all forms of exploitation providing a base for a macro exploitative structures. According to Rajni Kothari:

The dependencia theory is very relevant but it becomes an alibi for lack of self-development. You can always put the blame on the door of the exploiters but the exploitation that takes place in your own society is not questioned. However, unless the change takes place in the centre of the world the peripheries will continue to suffer at least culturally and intellectually, if not economically (Kothari, 1970).

This concept of Kothari places emphasis on the internal contradictions and exploitation that exist within a nation-state. This does not evade questioning the dependency created by the west in the form of neo-colonialism which is enforced upon the Third World countries by the West through their technology which enforces
the western culture upon the Third World countries. The critics also point out that such strategies concentrate on the capital but ignore the people at the grassroots. This awakening brought a new phase for rethinking the nature of development as self-development to place its emphasis on people for whom development is meant and assisted in the emergence of new approaches to development in the 80's especially from the Third World giving emphasis to culture and participatory approach to development and communication.

**Alternative Development Approach: Emerging New Approaches**

**Introduction:**

The changing needs of the developing countries in the recent years make it necessary to focus on reducing dependence on the developed nations. The definition of development changed considerably from economic growth and increase in GNP to 'quality of life', which includes physical, mental, social, political, economic, cultural and spiritual dimensions of life in an atmosphere of freedom and self-dignity. Within the last few decades, many developmentalists, especially those from developing countries, argued that development is a process of transformation and liberation from the structures of domination.

Dennis Goulet, defining development expresses that it is freeing people from nature's servitude, from economic backwardness and oppressive technological institutions, from unjust class structures and political exploiters, from cultural and psychic alienation - in short from all of life's inhuman agencies (Goulet, 1971:xx). Gutierrez (1988) mentions 'liberation' as another term for 'development'. Many of the Marxist and neo-Marxist scholars have attributed the cause of underdevelopment and dependency of the Third World to the capitalist system of the First World countries (Balogh, T. 1974; Frank, 1966; Rehnema, 1976). Further scholars like Paulo Freire (1968 & 71), Dennis Goulet (1971), Golding (1974), Rogers (1976), Schramm &
Lerner (1976), Tehranian (1979), Diaz-Bordenave (1980), Berrigan (1981), Hamelink (1983) Wang and Dissanayake (1984) and Jacobson (1985) suggest that the old approaches to development need an alternative that should challenge the unjust and dominant structures that does not explain the genuine cause of underdevelopment. This emerging new thinking in the field of development during the 70's and 80's brought out new and alternate approaches to development and communication.

The new thinking emerged mainly from the Third World countries who considered that the modernisation approach was a top-down, authoritarian model, with the recipients of development benefits being only objects. The emphasis was shifted towards a basic needs approach, with concern for nature, the importance of culture, self-reliance and participatory development rather than the one-way thrust from the developed to the less developed world. Communication attained a new role from mere disseminator of information to the sharer of knowledge - a sender and user-oriented emphasis. The role of communication was to act as a catalyst rather than a direct and independent force for change. After a decade or two of enthusiasm for big media (e.g. television, radio etc.), other forms of low-cost media of communication channels and cultural or traditional media gained significance among the developing countries, which facilitated the discussion of an alternative communication approach for development, giving emphasis to participation and self-reliance.

The new ideas which radicalized the thinking in the field of development communication and became more popular among the grassroots developmentalists grew out of the new emphasis placed on education by Paulo Freire (1968). His book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* set an agenda for much critical thinking on development with the key focus on people's participation. The Third World scholars placed their emphasis on 'local culture' which emerged as an outcome of the strong criticism in the modernisation approach of tradition and culture, which the Third World considered
important for the development efforts of the poor. This part of the chapter will analyze the significance of the alternate or new development approach and the alternate development could it provide a theoretical base for the discussion of development communication in general and how it could provide a theoretical frame for the present study in particular.

**The Culturalist Approach:**

The criticisms of modernity in development studies aroused a more explicit interest in what was hidden behind 'tradition'. S.C. Dube (1980) points out that tradition is a vast reservoir. This brings us to the fact that tradition can be used to support the maintenance of status quo, at the same time it can also offer sustenance to a radical reconstruction of society. Although scholars like Herbert Schiller and Cees Hamelink spoke forcefully on cultural imperialism and cultural autonomy, even more powerful voices emerged from the African and Asian countries to defend the value of their culture for enduring change on people. They expressed their belief that the key to development in the developing countries lies in the traditional cultures in which the life of the people has taken a deep root (Sonaike, 1988:100). Scholars like Frank Ugbojah (1980), Wang and Dissanayake (1984), Sonaike (1988), and Paul V. Ansa (1989) are notable among them.

These scholars claimed that social change stands the best chance of becoming permanent if it is in consonance with the accepted ways and values of the people. Further, general participation in the process of effecting change enhances its internalization which in turn ensures permanence (Sonaike, 1988). They also consider that the success of the culturalists' approach derives its strength from its effectiveness on persuasion and attitudinal change.
Wang and Dissanayake (1984) and Sonaike (1988) argue that a cultural system will enhance change to internalization and will sustain people and will provide continuity. There is reference to the example of Mahatma Gandhi, who used the cultural system which was part of the people to propagate his new ideas and brought several social reforms and attracted millions of people to follow him. Gandhi was considered as a symbol of indigenization of development efforts and communication. Kusum Singh (1988), admiring Gandhi's way of life, points out that in the present era of electronic media even the ardent followers of Gandhi could not understand how Gandhi could build a mass movement without the support of mass media. The Sarvodaya movement which was founded on the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi has taken a deep root in Sri Lanka through the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, which places emphasis on local culture and proclaims that local culture is the facilitator of development rather than a hindrance to social change.

Dissanayake (1984) acclaiming the work of Sarvodhaya movement in Sri Lanka remarks that:

Rather than blindly following the developmental scenarios that have been written in the West ... the architects of the Sri Lanka Sarvodhaya Movement are engaged in a timely and arduous endeavor to formulate and put into practice a development strategy springing from the deepest currents of the culture that permeates society (Dissanayake, 1984:39).

Within this perspective, the model of counter-culture is emerging in India with the onslaught of the Dalits in India, through the consciousness generated among the Dalits by the Dalit Progressive Movements, challenging the supremacy of the dominant oppressive culture (Brahminic culture) and encouraging the search for an identity appropriate to the indigenous culture of the Dalits. This search creates and enhances the solidarity of the Dalits and generates a consciousness of a new community among them. These culturalist approaches challenge the modernisation paradigm which criticises the
traditional culture as an hindrance to development, countering it with the claim that
culture is not a static but a dynamic instrument of change which can provide powerful
alternatives to the modernisation paradigm and can generate enduring effects at the
grassroots, using people's own cultural or traditional media and opposing the forces that
sets their culture as alien. This brings a new awakening to rediscover what is hidden in
the culture of the people and to identify its power for bringing about social change.

The New Development Approach

Rogers (1971), one of the contributors to the modernisation paradigm, in
response to many of the criticisms laid on his earlier postulates on the diffusion of
innovation, brought a new dimension to development and communication in which he
defines development as 'self-development' leading towards greater participation, equality
and self-dignity. The place of communication in this process as he points out, has a
facilitating role. A new shift in the use of 'big media' to the utilization of 'little media',
and where possible a combination of both, was visualized by Rogers. Above all, this
approach is envisaged as local-specific and emphasizes participation by the local people
in planning and implementation of the programmes. Rogers (1978) says that:

The key elements in self-development approaches are participation, mass
mobilisation and group efficacy with the main responsibility for
development planning and execution being at the local level (Rogers,
1978:69)

Rogers (1989) later summarizing the new paradigm brings out the key elements
as follows:

1. Greater equality in the distribution of development investment, information and consequent socio-economic benefits of focusing on such weaker-sections of the population as the poor, women and racial and ethnic minorities.

2. Popular participation, knowledge-sharing and empowerment to facilitate self-development efforts by individuals, groups and communities.
3. Self-reliance and independence in development, emphasizing the potential of local resources. Self-reliance became a key concept at both the national and local levels, implying that every nation and perhaps every village, could develop in its own way.

4. Integration of traditional and modern communication systems, and the use of 'little media' along with the 'big media' of television and film; in order to facilitate development (Singhal, and Everett Rogers, 1989:22)

Narula & Pearce (1986) observe that the new paradigm proposed by Rogers identifies two elements which are different from his earlier thinking: i) diffusion occurs through dialogue with the masses in which they identify their needs; and ii) the masses engage in a self-reliant problem-solving activity using local resources and innovations (Narula & Pearce, 1986:40). In a similar manner, Stevenson (1988) points out that Rogers gave a new definition for development which he calls 'New Development' where development should emphasize the idea of control - people getting control of their own lives, nations getting control over their own destinies' (Stevenson, 1988:32).

On these assumptions various new emphases towards development emerged, such as the Basic Needs Approach (as noted earlier), which has drawn support from the UN agencies. Paul Streeten (1979), summarizes the primary contents of the Basic Needs Approach as,

1. Adequate food and clean drinking water
2. Decent shelter;
3. Education;
4. Security for livelihood;
5. Adequate transport;
6. People's participation in decision-making, and

These factors have indicated that development is a basic human necessity and also involves the basic human rights of people. On these lines other approaches to development such as Integrated Rural Development, a proposal given by Robert McNamara (World Bank, 1973), came up as a forceful mandate which has been in practice since then in many of the Third World countries as a programme of rural development. These approaches demand a participatory process to bring in change both in the social and economic sphere for a majority of people and to facilitate development according to the local needs through people's participation in their own self-development. This calls for a deeper analysis of the participatory and self-reliant approach.

The Participatory Approach

The term 'participation' has complex meanings still difficult to find an appropriate definition. Ascroft and Masilela (1989) point out that this concept has been very poorly defined as well as very much inconsistent, abstract and ambiguous. The interpretations of what is participation ranges from people taking passive or active roles in project implementation, decision-making to empowering people to the extent of political participation.

Uma Lele (1975) points out that participation in the broader sense could mean to sensitize people to increase their receptivity and ability to respond to development programmes, as well as to encourage local initiatives. In a similar manner, Lisk (1981) also claims that participation includes people's involvement in decision-making processes, in implementing programmes, their sharing in the benefits of development programmes and their involvement in evaluating such programmes. According to these
definitions, people's participation is identified with their involvement in planning, self-expression, decision-making, sharing the resources and evaluating the programmes.

Nair and White (1987), Ascroft and Masilela (1989) and Diaz-Bordenave (1989) are of the opinion that if people are involved only superficially in the development programmes that are meant for them, in identifying their problems and designing programmes for their use and are used only at the implementation stage, then participation of the people is very superficial and shallow, it is reduced to a process whereby they are manipulated to be only beneficiaries, to serve the ends of the authorities in charge of such programmes. Such an approach assumes that participation of the people is passive.

Diaz-Bordenave (1976) identifies the goals of activities like the formation of cooperatives, self-help activities to increase production, better education etc., as a development programme-oriented approach which are directed by external change-agents, where people are induced to participate - which he calls 'directed participation' - which limits the scope of participation. Ascroft and Masilela (1989) argue that these are thinly veiled incarnations of the dominant approach which they call the 'Participation-as-a-means-approach'.

A second approach, which is in contrast to the first, suggests that participation is an end in itself. According to advocates of this position, participation is not a fringe benefit that is given to the people as a concession, but is a basic human right just as the basic human needs like food, water, clothing, air etc (Kothari, 1984; Diaz-Bordenave, 1989). As Diaz-Bordenave (1989) expresses it:

Participation is not a fringe benefit that authorities may grant as a concession but every human being's birthright that no authority may deny or prevent (Diaz-Bordenave, 1989:3).
Participation is further viewed as a process of empowering people even to go to the level of political action (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989). The aim of this approach should be to build awareness, consciousness, facilitate conscientization and mobilisation of people for collective action. These scholars call this approach 'Participation-as-an-end-approach'. Although this approach is politically risky, challenging the political and social structures, they argue that this approach will encourage authentic participation of the people where they actually participate in the whole process of identifying their problems, asserting their autonomy, participating in decision-making and fighting to attain their basic human right, since development in the broader sense should aim at bringing social transformation in changing the structures of exploitation and oppression.

In summary then, although scholars differ in explaining the meaning of participation, yet all the discussions can be brought under the two approaches outlined by Ascroft and Masilela (1989): (i) Participation-as-a-means-approach; and (ii) Participation-as-an-end-approach. The operationalization may depend upon its context, and vary from one community to another, one project to another. As Bamberger (1988) points out, the concept of participation need to be examined only in terms of the overall objectives of the project or the communities concerned as economic-growth and development projects or social justice and human rights issues.

Participatory approach had greater significance in enabling community build-up and development activities of the community such as people to empower them. Ascroft and Masilela (1989) point out that the operationalization of this term ranges from those which are thinly-veiled reincarnations of the dominant approach - 'participation-as-a-means approach' to those which genuinely represent the case for the basic needs approach - 'participation-as-an-end approach' (Ascroft & Masilela, 1989:12).
Communication Perspectives in the Participatory Approach

Communication in this alternative approach to development suggested a new role for the media based on people's accessibility and on the role of people themselves. The function of communication in the participatory approach is to facilitate development as a vehicle for social change and liberation. The role of communication is to challenge and empower people to get involved in the whole process of development, identifying the problem, the need, setting up the goals, to plan and to implement the plans according to the goals. However, a significant part of the population from the developing countries fall into the category of illiterates. Frequently it is assumed that they may not be able to judge for themselves. Hence, an external body envisions and plans for them. In such a situation, participation could be brought about through discussion and dialogue. Communication channels could facilitate dialogue. In this process as Srinivas identifies, communication can function as a vehicle for 'liberation' (Srinivas, 1991:247).

Several authors have suggested that the function of the traditional or the cultural forms of communication are very important in the participatory approach. Ranganath (1975), defining folk media, says that the folk media are the living expressions of the life-style and culture of a people, evolved through years. The traditional channels are primarily used in religious and social festival occasions to reinforce the religious and community norms and for entertainment in the rural areas especially in the Third World countries. Wang (1984) and Ranganath (1980) argue that the traditional media command greater respect among the rural masses because they are part of the rural social environment, promote people's participation through dialogue between the actors or performers and the audience. It is very flexible, can incorporate any message, and is relatively inexpensive. Therefore the traditional or cultural media could present an invaluable alternative to the modern mass media of communication to encourage Third World rural grassroots participation. The notion of transmitting cultural values through...
traditional media and of promoting horizontal communication secures an important place in the participatory approach.

Diaz-Bordenave (1980) and Silberman (1979) introduced the concepts of 'vertical' and 'horizontal' communication in this context. According to them horizontal communication promotes crosswise communication among classes or groups of people, builds relationships and mutual trust. O'Sullivan-Ryan & M. Kaplun (1979), in their study on *Communication Methods to Promote Grassroots Participation for Endogenous Development*, observed the relationship between social change, cultural values and the participatory approach. They argue that,

*Participatory communication must operate from a praxis: first a reflection about the reality of the communication process as it exists today, its ideological, cultural, socio-economic aspects, as a starting point for trying to resist the current process of cultural penetration, and secondly, a series of actions forming part of a popular pedagogy that will help promote group solidarity and concerted action for social change (O'Sullivan-Ryan & Kaplun, 1981:11-12).*

These aspects have greater relevance for grassroots initiatives, who try to build their approach from an analysis of the socio-economic, political and cultural realities and try to promote group solidarity through awareness-raising, and mobilizing people for concerted action towards social change. Srinivas (1991) points out, that the success of the participatory approach can be examined in terms of the overall objectives of the programmes, either as social justice or economic growth and development (Srinivas, 1991:239).

Berrigan (1981) drawing inspiration from the Brazilian educator Freire calls for a horizontally layered communication process, where community groups must consider and decide priorities for development and suggest ways and means of achieving them. As she argues, the participatory approach is based on the principle that the affected
people take the key role in the whole process of development. Ascroft et. al (1987) and Ascroft and Masilela (1989) applaud this approach as a bottom-up approach in which it is not top-down one-way transmission as in the modernisation approach but knowledge sharing, through a two-way, dialogical approach as suggested by the conscientization model of Freire.

To enable the process of participation in the community, communication was viewed as one vehicle through which interaction is achieved, where people engage in discussions or dialogues or exchange of ideas take place. Diaz-Bordenave (1989) suggests some key functions for communication media in this process of community communication. They are:

1. Help in the development of a community's cultural identity;
2. Act as a vehicle for citizen self-expression;
3. Facilitate problem articulation;

Drawing inspiration from Dewey's concept of publics, who is of the opinion that individuals first must recognize the existence of a problem and then organize to do something about the problem (Dewey, 1971), Grunig built a situational communication theory sketching three independent variables such as problem recognition, constraint recognition and level of involvement (Grunig, 1983:10). This theory takes the socio-psychological factors of individuals which is the concern of modernisation theorists as well as problem recognition and involvement of the community which will enable people themselves involved in solving their problem through their participation. In both cases it is proper information seeking and information processing, where the use of different communication media is associated
with. Therefore, participatory communication becomes situation-specific which considers participation of people as primary in identifying the problem and stimulating them to participate in solving their own problem and enabling them a channel of creating greater public opinion for greater participation.

Kennamer (1990) raises a pertinent question which is appropriate for understanding the nature of public opinion in communication. Do people accurately perceive the opinions of others, and if not, what does that mean for processes of opinion formation, change and aggregation? Atwood and Major (1991) point out that the earlier concept of public opinion as 'single voice of the people' differs very much from its understanding of a small, active public from which a multitude of public opinions emerge (1991). They analyzed public opinion from the perspective of situational communicational theory of Grunig (1983) examining communication behaviour around issues and on specific publics.

Many of the 'Development Support Communication' scholars who focus on the grassroots approach to development communication, propose that communication in the participatory approach serves as an instrument for development through dialogues. It is interpersonal communication as well as 'small media' which encourage the bottom-up communication based on a need-oriented and user-oriented indigenous communication model. Further, as many of these scholars mention, participatory communication encourages two-way or multi-way communication channels, which is interactive and participatory at all levels, and this will have an enduring effect on people because it is of the people, developed by the people, and for the people according to their context.
Conclusion:

This chapter has presented some of the dominant arguments on development and has brought forth the manner in which these arguments have defined the role of communication in development. It started with a discussion on the modernisation paradigm and how the assumptions of this paradigm were reflected in the prime model of development communication. As it was noted, the modernisation paradigm emphasized economic growth and equated it with urbanization, blamed Third World underdevelopment on Third World populations. The advocates of this paradigm brought to focus the socio-psychological factors and suggested that the age-old stereo-types, tradition-bound culturalist outlook and practices of the Third World population are hindrances for the growth and development of the Third World population. The advocates of the modernisation paradigm suggested that urbanization, increase in literacy rate, and mass media exposure are vital for bringing change in the people. Mass media was a harbinger of change by educating and changing traditionalist illiterates into modern people.

As a criticism of this model, Third World scholars especially those from Latin America rethought this model, seeing it as a dependency model, and blaming the First World countries as the cause of Third World underdevelopment. For the First World is trying to impose in some form or other their monopoly on the Third World, maintaining the centre-periphery relations even after many of the Third World countries had secured their independence. Cultural theorists, especially those from Africa and Asia, brought out the value of culture in the development of 'native' people, which they argue, has an enduring effect in such native communities. It was recognized by these scholars that tradition is a vast reservoir which can offer sustenance to a radical reconstruction of society.
The new development paradigm stressed the aspects of self-reliance and self-development with the focus on a 'Basic Human Needs Approach'. The emergent new thinking on the participatory process identified two approaches to participation: (i) the participation-as-a-means approach and (ii) the participation-as-an-end approach. The first of these was identified as a passive or directed approach to participation through the initiative of change agents, with people's participation expected only at a very superficial level. This was seen to reduce people to mere objects of development, who are manipulated to serve the ends of the authorities in-charge of such programmes. A radical departure from the first, considering participation-as-an-end in itself, views participation as a basic human right. All human beings should have the freedom to think, express themselves, have the right to belong to a group etc. In this respect, participation is an attempt to mobilize and to empower the people so that they think and identify their problem, and plan and operationalize their own development process. This process may help them to sustain change as a long-term attempt for development. Therefore, people need to be conscientized to participate in their own analysis of the problems they face and be involved in changing the oppressive structures, so changing the systems through collective action. Commenting on this, Srinivas (1991) points out that, in such a situation,

The role of communication is understood in this approach as a facilitator or initiator of discussion, or sharing the knowledge, more of a dialogical and horizontal than instrumental function of passing on information through a one-way, top-down hierarchical model. The folk media and the small media, or community media, was encouraged rather than mass media to help to sustain development.

Grunig's theory of situational communication sketching three independent variables such as 'problem recognition, constraint recognition and level of involvement' (Grunig, 1983), built on the concept of publics put forth by Dewey
stresses that individuals first must recognize the existence of a problem, and then organize to do something about the problem (Dewey, 1971).

This theory takes the socio-psychological factors of individuals as well as problem recognition and involvement of the community which will enable people themselves involved in solving their problem through their participation. In both cases it is proper information seeking and information processing, where the use of different communication media is associated with. Therefore, participatory communication becomes situation-specific which considers participation of people as primary in identifying the problem and stimulating them to participate in solving their own problem and enabling them a channel of creating greater public opinion for greater participation. The situational communication theory postulates compliments with what Srinivas (1991) suggests in identifying nature of the participatory approach which he says can be examined in terms of the overall objectives of the programmes, either as social justice or economic growth and development. One should also understand the nature of communication employed in creating public opinion, educating and empowering the masses.

Becker (1992) broadening the concept of 'empathy' suggested by Lerner (1958) argues that empathy is an essential character which can enable one to think from the standpoint of another, adopting to their attitudes and symbols for meaningful interaction. Complementing the role of empathy in communication for change Becker says that, 'meaningful communication between people of different cultures can take place if there is reciprocal anticipation of the expectations and perspectives of the others' (Becker, 1992:34).
These discussions enable us to understand the integral nature of public opinion, interpersonal communication as well as the socio-psychological concepts suggested by the modernisation approach scholars and the participatory communication as an approach to building a situational communication model. However, the analysis of communication strategies from the western model stressing individualistic perspectives on change is an anomaly with regard to the Third World populations. Any consideration which negates a collectivistic or community approach cannot take deep root in the Third World communities. Therefore strategy of development communication from the perspective of the Third World should be a collectivistic strategy which will be praxiological and situational communication model. Such an approach should combine the elements from many approaches taking into consideration the nature of the problem, that is, problem recognition, constraint recognition and level of involvement as suggested by the proponents of the situational communication theorist as well as the theorists of the participatory approach who suggest that the overall objectives of the programmes, either as social justice or economic growth and development should be taken into consideration in understanding the nature of participatory communication strategies. Hence, these discussions takes into consideration the suggestion putout by Servaes that the context designs the strategies of communication for development, in other words, it is a user-oriented, praxiological situational communication strategy in bringing change among the grassroots population.

**Review of Communication Research in India**

Research related to communication in India is very much limited due to various constraints, as both Eapen (1981) and Agrawal (1985) have pointed out. Early research in Communication concentrated primarily on analyzing how religious messages were communicated in India, examining the traditional communication channels like rural
theatre, Ramlila, and Katha, the popular cultural forms of communications in India (Hein, 1959; McCormack, 1959). These studies have observed that the village scenario is changing with the influence of radio, cinema and newspapers.

Many instances of Communication Research are oriented towards 'commercial interest'. Singhal and Rogers (1989) point out that, 'Research is commonly carried out by the market research companies which gather data for TV ratings and provide audience profiles to commercial media advertisers' (1989:41). They are also of the opinion that Communication Research plays a very minor role in national development. Therefore it calls for greater attention to research in the field of development communication.

Everett Rogers (1962), in his book 'Diffusion of Innovations', brought a new dimension to the Indian Communication Research scene, especially for Agricultural Communication Researchers. Several studies were undertaken to find out the influence on rural people of mass media with their innovations. Eapen is of the opinion that information-dissemination-diffusion and adoption models, either carried out by researchers who came from abroad or who had been trained abroad, carry the ideological frame which are alien to the nation.

Many of the research studies were either sponsored by government research centres or universities to find out the influence of mass media on people. Some of the studies were conducted by the audience research units of All India Radio and Doordarshan. The Centre of Advanced Studies in Agricultural Communication (CASAC) conducted several research programmes with particular emphasis on development of communication profiles, media effectiveness and communication gap and constraint analysis following Rogers diffusion-innovation approach.
A few studies were conducted in the area of sociological and anthropological investigation into communication. The focus of a number of studies also was on the impact and effect of mass media. Some of earlier studies worth mentioning are: S. C. Dube's (1964) *Communication, Innovation and Planned Change in India*, Lakshmana Rao's (1966), *Communication and Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages*, Prodipto Roy, Fredrick and E. Rogers's (1968) *The Impact of Communication on Rural Development*, Prasad Rao and Ranga Rao's (1976), *The Village Communication Channels*.

Dube's (1964) study examined the levels awareness of information upon the village folk, taking the situation of Chinese aggression on India in 1964 as its reference point. His research focused on how information reaches people and on what sort of news people are interested in. His study indicated that interpersonal communication channels are more effective than mass media among the village folks. Village folk receive information through the elites of the villages, who have access to mass media like radio and newspapers. Dube's study also found that religious, social and political institutions which club many clusters of villages through their activities were found to be more effective in transferring information.

Lakshmana Rao's (1966) study on the role of communication in the social, economic and political development of the villages following the anthropological approach compared two villages in Andhra Pradesh called 'Kothuru' (new village) and 'Pathuru' (old village). He found that 'Kothuru' was turning towards modernisation and 'Pathuru' which was tradition-bound, was following the agrarian economy. According to Rao, mass media did help the village folk to change their way of life in raising their literacy rate, changing from their age-old traditional attitudes of accepting the hereditary leadership to achievement-oriented leadership, and on the other hand it had helped the traditional leadership to defend their leadership by raising their information level about
government-sponsored development programmes. Hartmann (1989) in his study of *Mass Media and Village Life* commended Rao's finding and said that this study still has relevance for Indian society today.

The Kivlin Joseph *et al*.'s (1968) study examined the levels of communication channels such as radio listening forum, literacy through reading forum and animator forum as an experimental approach. They observed significant changes in the village which had the radio forum club. The authors argued that literacy forum expenditure was higher but the effect was very small compared to the effect of the radio forum. Therefore they concluded that mass media had a greater impact on the village folk than the literacy classes run by the animators. On the other hand, Prasad Rao and Ranga Rao's (1976) study focusing on three village channels such as mass media, urban contacts and extension agents found that the channels are not independent of themselves but dependent on one another to accomplish and for more effective retention. Therefore they argue that a mix of these channels will have a greater effect.

The introduction of the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) opened up several communication research avenues in India beginning with Binod C. Agrawal's (1978) evaluation study. Different issues were focused on with particular reference to SITE, such as its impact on adult and school children viewers, its impact on different social classes, the latter being research conducted by Chakravarthy et al. (n.d). Agrawal's (1978) work was a pioneering study in this area of communication research and has provided new directions for anthropological research. This study provided a micro-level, in-depth, qualitative understanding of the socio-cultural changes in seven selected villages, where the SITE experiment was conducted. As an anthropological study, it was trying to be a holistic research in covering the entire life pattern of the village people to learn and share.
This study investigated the process of existing rural communication, the role of television as a medium of communication in SITE instructional areas, and the process of change brought about by television at the micro-level in the rural structures. It concluded that in rural India, the use of printed materials and mass media seems to be non-existent because of the low-level of education as well as extreme poverty. This study provided a framework for a methodology to be followed for this thesis.

Paul Hartmann et al. (1989) *Mass Media and Village Life*; and Pradip Thomas (1987) *Communication and Development in India: A Study of Two Approaches*, deserve special mention, because they open up some avenues for this present study. Hartmann et al.'s (1989) study explored the processes of village life and the part played by mass communication in promoting social change. Their main focus was on 'how does the village society work? and where does mass communication fit into this pattern'? They followed both the quantitative survey approach and qualitative intensive observation approach. As they indicate that the strength of one approach compensate the weakness of the other within a reasonably full social context. On the basis of their observation they indicate that the interpersonal channels of communication had greater impact than the mass media, especially in the development activities. Further, they were of the opinion that there is considerable scope for change to be set in motion through small-scale initiatives that involve the people themselves. They argue that, whether by way of interpersonal or mass communication, the process of communication is conditioned by the social, economic and political structures in which it occurs. This study points out that the small-scale initiatives like grassroots activities are to be commended, although the study did not probe very deeply into the subject. It did, however, provide some possibilities for future research to probe further into the subject.

The study on *Communication and Development in India: A Study of Two Approaches*, by Pradip Thomas (1987), needs special mention. This study focused on
the role of different communication media in the process of development, analyzing two approaches, one the government-sponsored Agriculture Extension Programme and another the Social Action Group's medium of popular theatre. He followed the direct observational method and argues that the Social Action Group encourages the dialogical and participatory process of communication. Further, the study demonstrates how the Social Action Group's use of popular theatre plays a significant part in the process of development, because it promotes greater participation from the people. This study has opened up the research possibilities for working with the voluntary sector exclusively, to identify the possibilities for providing the nature of alternative communication they might offer.

In summary, the early research in communication analysing the traditional communication channels in India have indicated that the village scenario is changing with the influence of mass media of communication providing the scope for research into the influence of mass media on the rural population especially in the area of development communication.

The above review also indicates that communication research in general was focused on effects of mass media on people. Research related to development communication in focuses on modernisation and innovation-diffusion approaches of Lerner and Rogers either by individual researchers or sponsored by government or research centres. Research conducted by Hartmann et al and Thomas open up the possibilities for a grassroots small scale initiatives such as voluntary organizations which have not been given an important recognition although they claimed to contribute meaningfully towards the development of the weaker sections in India. Therefore, the present study has undertaken to investigate the nature and work of voluntary action groups and correspondingly the nature of their communication activities.
CHAPTER THREE

THE NATURE OF THE STUDY:
A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The previous chapters were an attempt to highlight the nature of the problems with which this study is concerned with a review of relevant literature in the field of development and communication drawing attention to certain key concepts and offered a critical analysis of them with the intention of developing an intellectual framework for the debate on the place of communication for effecting social change through the activities of the voluntary organisations. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodological framework within which this study is undertaken.

Although the voluntary organisations have been praised for their innovative activities and for providing alternatives to the dominant approaches which have many shortcomings, we are yet to be provided with proper information on their success in stimulating social change for the benefit of the poorer sections of Indian society. In the absence of proper base line data on the working of these groups in the field it was felt necessary to design and conduct a study which would collect data on the activities and practices of voluntary organisations and their communication strategies.

The study is designed to provide a micro-level, in-depth analysis of the working of selected voluntary organisations' approaches to communication for social change. Firstly, this chapter will list the research questions which will indicate clearly the area in which this research will focus, particularly raising questions enabling us to assess the communication strategies of the voluntary organisations for development. Secondly, it will outline the procedures adopted in the selection of organisations for study and the methods used in the collection of data.
Research Questions:

This research is focused on three main areas of investigation:

1. Do the models of communication vary according to the models of voluntary action and models of development? What is the function of communication in persuading social change among people? Accordingly, what is the concept of social change? How does it differ from one model of voluntary action to another?

2. What does the concept 'Participatory Communication' mean to organisations with different models of voluntary action? How does it contribute to their attempt to establish change in people? What is its role in terms of Leadership Development, Decision-Making and Self-Reliance as mandated by the voluntary organisations and do they accomplish it in their attempt to bringing in sustainable development in people? How do they evaluate this?

3. Does the fact of the growing influence of modern technological innovations in communication, such as television, video etcetera, provide scope for change in the communication strategies of the voluntary organisations? What is the nature of the communication model adopted by the voluntary organisations, and do these models provide enough scope for bringing in sustainable development? If so, how?

The scope of this study, therefore, rests on the analysis of the communication strategies for development from the perspective of social change through economic growth, participation, leadership development and decision-making within the activities of the voluntary organisations. Accordingly, the broad objectives of the present investigation could be stated as follows:

1. to analyze the concept of social change and the models of communication in relation to their models of development among the different types of voluntary organisations;

2. to critically examine the participatory process in relation to communication practised within the different models of voluntary organisations in the community and to analyse the nature of leadership development and the decision-making process practised in the organisations and their attempt to establish change in people.
3. to comprehend how the voluntary organisations conceive the influence of modern communication technology among the people and how it affects/contributes towards providing alternatives and the nature of communication strategies for social change?

Within this broad objective, the study will focus on the following specific objectives:

1. an analysis of the developmental activities of the voluntary organisations to understand their concept of social change or social transformation; and to find out whether they could be brought under the ideal models of development of voluntary action;

2. an analysis of the communication strategies of the voluntary organisations and the manner in which they are operated and integrated into their developmental models;

3. to analyse the extent to which the community media is being utilized by the voluntary organisations and to what extent it provides alternatives;

4. to assess the participatory process practised in development and communication activities and its effects on people;

5. to examine the function of communication in enabling people to attain self-expression, self-reliance, leadership and decision-making etc.,

6. to examine the range of alternative models of development and communication that are local-specific and praxiological for effecting change in people and society.

Keeping these specific objectives in mind, the study will examine the models of development that are in practice within the concerned organisations through the range of activities they are engaged in. We will ask what is the role of communication in this process and how effective the concerned organisations are in enabling the change to become permanent in the lives of the people. On this basis, the investigation will cover the following areas of concern: - origin of the organisation, identification of problems, and
accordingly activities and programme designs, entry points, types and methods of training, types and levels of participation, leadership and decision-making, the criteria used in measuring their achievements and performances, and monitoring and evaluation.

After having understood these factors in the developmental process, the study will examine the communication activities practised among the organisations and the extent to which they are integrated into their development programmes. It will then analyse the extent to which the target people participate in the planning and implementation process.

This study also will try to comprehend how the voluntary organisations conceive the influence of modern communication technology in the communities, whether they provide any scope to change their strategies and to attract people. How people react to these alternatives, and how effective they are in bringing change.

**The Methods of Data Collection:**

Several micro-level investigations such as Cole (1976), Spradley (1979), Phillip Elliott (1972), Atkinson (1983), Hammersley (1983), Miles & Huberman (1984), Agrawal (1985), Strauss (1987), Fetterman (1989) and Hartmann et al. (1989) have indicated the importance of the anthropological research method as an appropriate method for studying micro-level communities or organisations. Presenting the principles for anthropological investigations, they indicate that the field of study requires long-term observation of the day to day activities within a community, village or an organisation, where the researcher himself/herself becomes the key inquirer.

As McCall and Simmons (1969) remark, the anthropological investigation is not one single approach but a combination of several methods and techniques utilized in the process of collecting data on a complex social setting. Further, they indicate that this involves participant observation - a direct observation of events, formal and informal interviews and collection of data through documents. As can be seen, the anthropological
holistic approach encourages participant observation as a key approach in the investigation, participating in the day to day life of the people in the field area being studied by living with the community over a period of time. As Marvin Harries points out, this method 'allows the researcher to participate, observe and study' the community more meaningfully (Harries 1969:416-418).

Becker and Geer (1957) define participant observation as:

... that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time (Becker H.S. and Geer, B. 1957:28).

This definition emphasizes the fact that the primary purpose of participant observation is to observe and describe various events, situations and actions that happen in a particular community or an organisation etc. The major advantage of this approach is that the researcher gets a first-hand experience from acquaintance as a member of the community/organisation in which he/she can build up a rapport with other participants which will enrich the information he/she collects and provide insights into the feelings and reactions of members the community or organisation he or she is studying.

Some of the problems considered to be disadvantages by the scholars mentioned earlier include the difficulty of recording the data while observing the participants, which could distort the behaviour of those under study. As Elliott (1972) points out that the participant observer needs to keep careful records of what is observed without allowing any note-taking or recording to infringe into ongoing activities. Further, he also argues that, all that one observes and hears needs to be given careful attention and nothing should be considered irrelevant. Therefore everything should be recorded.
The major criticism of anthropological research is its subjectivity and potential for over-simplification. Sanday (1983) suggests that to check the relevance and validity of the data, multiple data collection or what are called 'Triangulation' methods should be employed. Denzin (1970) explains Triangulation as follows:

Triangulation or the use of multiple methods, is a plan of action that will raise sociologists above the personalistic biases that stem from single methodologies (Denzin, N.K, 1970:27).

Multiple methods were used in the present study along with participant observation. These methods included formal and informal interviews, indirect observation, and the study and analysis of relevant documents which include annual reports, pamphlets, newsletters etc.

**In-Depth Personal Interviews**

The in-depth interview is a form of interpersonal communication which helps to build rapport, which is an essential factor in any organisation or community to get appropriate information, as has been expressed by several scholars. In anthropological research interviews become an integral part of the research. The important advantage of the personal interview is that it enables the researcher to develop a rapport with the respondent so as to encourage the respondent to disclose relevant information that would not otherwise be available. However, one has to say that, in eliciting answers the interviewer may influence the respondent with his/her thoughts and ideology. In which case, the answers may not be accurate and may lead to invalid results and undesirable effects. The researcher should be cautious in not pushing his ideas or thinking on to the respondent.

**Selection of the Area of Study:**

After choosing the field of study and the method applicable to such a study, the step followed in the process of data collection is the selection of the area of location for the
study. One of the prerequisites for an anthropological observational study is the familiarity of the language and culture of the people of the field area in order to understand their way of life and to have interaction with them. Tamil Nadu\(^1\) was chosen as the field area for the study firstly because the region is known to the researcher. Various other factors which influenced the selection of Tamil Nadu are, it is considered as the centre of the Dravidian\(^2\) population, which comprises the entire South India namely, the four southern states - Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. Many of the voluntary organisations have roots in Tamil Nadu, either working in Tamil Nadu or have their base at Madras and work in other areas.

1) The Selection of the Voluntary Organisations

There are several hundred voluntary organisations in Tamil Nadu. In order to identify the organisations, this study undertook a preliminary survey of collecting the names and addresses of the voluntary organisations that are functioning in Tamil Nadu with the help of other known organisations, as there are no book or list of organisations available in any printed form or with any one institution. This search made it possible to identify nearly 130 addresses of those working in the three districts of Tamil Nadu, namely, Chingleput District, North Arcot District, South Arcot District. In order to narrow down the range of organisations to be included for study the following selection criteria were adopted:

a) The organisation selected should be a registered body under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 or under the umbrella of a Registered organisation of a Religious Trust or Society.

b) The organisations selected should represent different development models identified earlier.

\(^1\) Refer Appendix 2 for a detailed description on Tamil Nadu: its social, economic, political and cultural factors that enable Tamil Nadu a unique place for this study.

\(^2\) Dravidians are historically considered as ancient settlers of India, who were moved to the South, during the invasion of the Aryans to the North. The Scheduled Caste people are also called 'Adi Dravidas' - 'ancient Dravidians'.

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c) The organisations selected should be working with groups who are considered to be marginalised sections of society.

Initially, a list of 40 organisations fulfilling these criteria was drawn up. A preliminary study of the organisations provided a general idea of the organisations working in Tamil Nadu and helped to specify which models of developmental activities were in use and what was the range of communication activities that were being used. From these, four organisations were identified for the purpose of the in-depth study.

Letters were sent to the forty organisations informing them of the objectives of the study and to obtain their permission to include their organisation for the preliminary study as well as to visit their organisations to collect the data required. Some of the organisations were suspicious of the study, thinking that their work was being evaluated to present a report to outside agency or to the government. Initially, only fourteen organisations responded positively. Eleven other organisations responded after further requests for cooperation to get a workable number to 25 organisation which provided relevant data for the preliminary study, the list of which is contained in Appendix 3.

First Phase of Data Collection:

The study was carried out in two phases. The objective of the first phase of data collection was: 1) to study the aims and objectives of a sample of organisations through their records and through interviews in order to discover their working concept of social change; 2) the nature of their work/activities; and the central issue that the organisation is trying to address in order to effect the anticipated changes; 3) importance given to communication in their developmental activities and the role it plays; 4) the place given to 'participatory approach' and 'leadership development' in the decision-making process. These factors would help to identify the organisations in the set of classifications described by scholars (refer chapter 4). Or it may be that some other type of classification is possible. Again this classification is not to put them under different categories but to understand the
nature of their activities, their concept of social change, and how this differs from one ideological perspective to another, which also helps in identifying the nature of communication activities such ideological perspectives produce.

Based on the research questions mentioned earlier, the exercise for data collection was undertaken. As much written or printed documents as possible from the organisations had been identified. To substantiate these data, personal interviews with the Directors and the Co-ordinators brought out several additional types of information on the nature of their work. Apart from the Directors and the Co-ordinators, information was sought from at least two social/field workers from every organisation, whose names were primarily given by the Co-ordinators and introduced to the researcher by them. The information gathered from the social/field workers gave new insights into the functioning of the organisations.

Although the interviews concentrated primarily on the areas covered by the research questions, whenever new ideas crept in during the discussion, the matter was pursued at depth or probed for. With some organisations longer time was spent, up to four or five days; in some it was only one day. On average two to three days was spent with each organisation. Usually the time spent with the Director or the Co-ordinator was less compared to the field/social workers, who provided more detailed and basic information for the study.

After an analysis of the data collected during the first phase several new lines of enquiry presented themselves for the in-depth study. It was found that there is a difficulty in strictly demarcating the organisations on the basis of the earlier models of voluntary organisations. As an organisation experiences different situations it will change the nature of their involvement in a group of community and this forces them to change their perspective. Therefore, in many cases it was difficult to perceive a single perspective or
ideology from their activities, but a combination of ideologies which has enabled them to change from their previous activities and led them to work more efficiently. Therefore, one could see a process in the voluntary movement rather than a rigid model as it was shown in chapter five. This prompted caution in selecting the organisations for the indepth case studies so as to seek organisations which showed clear signs of progression and had the perspective of a movement. On this basis the four organisations were selected for the indepth study, which constituted the second phase of this research.

Second Phase of Data Collection:
Selection of Organisations for Case Study:

After this preliminary study and analysis, four organisations from among the 25 organisations were selected for an in-depth observational study, keeping in view the different models of voluntary organisations to see the progress of their activities which also founded on the basis of a critique of development efforts preceding their arrival. Since many of the organisations were from the church background, which is also a general notion substantiated by Rajini Kothari (1985), who says that 80 percent of these organisations either belong to the church directly or are indirectly supported by them. Thus, it was decided to undertake the church related organisations for the present study. Secondly, to take up the organisations within one district, namely Chingleput district, where many organisations are working with different approaches, addressing different issues and different groups. No other district has such variety and concentrations and, further, has such easy access enabling coordination of the study. With this focus the following organisations were selected for the in-depth study:

i) Chingleput Community Development Project - CCDP;
ii) Slum Women Advancement Project - SWAP;
iii) Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project - IFDP;
iv) Association for the Rural Poor - ARP.
i) Chingleput Community Development Project:

The Chingleput Community Development Project has been running for more than one hundred years. It was started in the year 1857, with the support of the Church of South India, formerly the Church of Scotland Mission. It was started as a charity/social welfare and relief organisation and now it is more a development-oriented organisation than a charity/social welfare organisation following the developments in the critiques of popular development concepts and practices. This organisation has a very powerful communication unit. This unit is often utilised by the government-owned Doordarshan for village development programmes. It is therefore an organisation which illustrates the concerns of the archetypal church-related organisations moving from charity/social welfare perspective to community development perspective following the pattern of the missionary approach as well as the Gandhian approach to village development. It was chosen for study because it could show how voluntary organisations can cooperate with the existing government-owned media and function as an agent of change.

The Chingleput Community Development Project, works among the weaker sections of the district, especially the scheduled castes, popularly called Dalits, considering the urgency of the need to develop their economic and social conditions.

ii) Slum Women's Advancement Project:

The Slum Women's Advancement Project (SWAP) is one of the several projects run by the Lutheran Churches in India. It was started in the year 1985 as a Relief and Development project for women, but as the organisation has become more deeply involved in its work its perspective has shifted considerably, moving into the area of empowering women to get their rightful place in the society and at home. The project is unique, because it takes into consideration the critiques of the various models of development as it progresses in its activities of development of women and empowering them for their
rightful place in society. In its venture of empowering women, the organisation is not only involved in educating women, but also simultaneously men and young people on the issues of women to enable men to accept the role of women and cooperate with the organisation in contributing to women's empowerment. This project was thought to be particularly important to study because as a development organisation it gave importance to participatory approach following the 'directed participatory' approach or 'participation-as-a-means approach', like many other development organisations in India. As the work progressed the organisation felt the need to change its strategy to give importance to Freirian model of education and approached 'participation-as-an-end approach' providing adequate scope for a praxiological and situational communication model.

iii) The Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project:

The Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project is another project under the support of the Lutheran Churches in India. It began as a development project of the Centre for Research on New International Economic Order providing scope for a growth-oriented development approach. Later it was motivated into the direction of empowering people to fight for their rights and seek social justice realizing the need for changing its strategy from 'participation-as-a-means approach' to 'participation-as-an-end approach'. The communication unit of the organisation presents an integrated approach to development and communication involving people in their development activities and presenting the problems of the fisherfolk providing scope for a situational communication model and towards a more praxiological approach to development communication.

iv) The Association for the Rural Poor:

The Association for the Rural Poor is an organisation which was initiated by a minister of the Church of South India, working among the Scheduled Caste people, to which more than 80 percent of the Christian population in India belong. The organisation is also concentrating its work among the fisherfolk. It is a revolutionary organisation and
has been since its very inception, taking its methodology from the Liberation Theology and conscientization model of Paulo Freire. However, it is involved in development activities that have their base in the village to get people's cooperation and enabling the poor to be trained to be self-reliant following the 'participation-as-an-end approach' towards empowerment of the poor towards social justice. This organisation also places its emphasis on communication as vital for bringing in change and develops a situational communication model. It is working with the Christian conviction of the need to be on the side of the poor and the oppressed people.

Thus, two of the selected voluntary organisations are supported by the Church of South India and two are supported by the Lutheran Churches in India have been chosen for this study which are providing scope for understanding the critiques of development and communication efforts. These four organisations are classic types of voluntary organisations of the two churches which are playing a crucial role in establishing social change among the poor and the weaker sections of Indian society through social welfare and development activities, as well as increasingly supporting the people's movements in India.

Data Collection:

The questions which guided the in-depth observation and interview schedule are contained in Appendix 4. Letters were sent to the organisations explaining the research and seeking their cooperation. Since these organisations were already introduced to the research in the first phase of the data collection, the difficulty of introduction did not arise. After obtaining permission from the Directors of the organisations, the study time table was framed, convenient to their own preference of dates. The following was the time frame set for each of the organisations and modified only during the course of the field research on account of a clash which affected the first two organisations' schedule.
Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project: Jan. 5th - Feb 13th, '89 &
April 20th to May 10th, '89.


Association for Rural Poor: July 18th to Sept. 15th, 1989

While data collection was in progress in the Integrated Fisherfolk Development
Project (the researcher had been working for 38 days in the area), a serious communal clash
broke out, in which several people were killed. Because of this a curfew was introduced
and this interrupted the progress of the data collection. With the help of the Director of the
Slum Women's Advancement Project, data collection began in this project, to save time.
Later, in April and May, the rest of the field work was carried out in the Integrated
Fisherfolk Development Project area for another twenty days. Other than this interruption
all the other programmes went on as programmed with the full cooperation of the staff of
the organisations.

The researcher entered the field making sure that fieldworkers were well informed
of the purpose of the visits, assuring them that his stay was as a researcher and not as an
evaluator of the project. Therefore there was no problem for people to accept the
researcher, and this also enabled him to get access for free interaction with the field
workers. The researcher visited the field areas with the field workers and observed their
day to day work. All the four organisations had their planned work for every week and
carried on their regular routine, which was not obstructed by the visit of the researcher.

Spending 60 days in each of the project areas, observing the day to day happenings
in the organisations and their involvement in the community, was a unique experience.
Normally, the work began at around 8:30 in the morning and went on till 5:00 in the
evening. But as field staff who are working among the poor live in the villages with the
people, there is no set timing for their work, calling their attention even in the late hours of

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the day. These instances brings forth the kind of rapport people have with the organisation staff. On some occasions they were called to give medical attention to children; on other occasions to mediate in family disputes, where, say a husband was abusing his wife and children after consuming alcohol; and on one particular occasion, when there was a fight between two fisherfolk communities, in which policemen entered the area searching for a culprit but caught an innocent person, people came to the Co-ordinator for help to go to the police station to rescue the innocent person. Although such instances inspire one to get involved in such events, the researcher was cautious not to get personally involved in such events for fear of losing his sense of detachment.

The researcher participated in the weekly meetings of the field staff and the monthly meetings of the entire organisations. He observed the functioning of the organisations, for example how the information flowed from the head of the organisation to the other workers. This also gave an indication of the rapport that is prevailing in the organisational set-up and how communication takes place with the workers and the heads of the organisations and how it is being communicated in the community.

The researcher also participated in the meetings organized by the organisation with the people they worked with as an observer and in the informal get-togethers and chats, but maintained a distance, to avoid getting immersed in their work and thus disturbing the process of data collection. Note-taking was strictly avoided in front of the people or during the discussion. The caution given by Elliott was very useful, to avoid note-taking in front of field workers or community members as well as to try not to omit anything as irrelevant or useless. Normally it was carried out during nights before going to bed, reflecting on the daily events and the conversations. The cultural programmes were held usually during the evening hours. The researcher participated in these programmes observing the people and the event. While people were watching, the researcher observed them as a silent observer sitting with the people and after the programmes conversing with them to get their views
about the programme. This would be followed up during the day when observing daytime activities. Events and discussions were recorded as accurately as possible so that during analysis and interpretation, the feelings and the force with which community members expressed themselves could be brought forth with the same mood and feeling.

During this period of research, there was a unique opportunity for observing a rally and protest march organised by the Fisherfolk Federation of India, in which several organisations participated and expressed their concern over ecological degradation. This gave a new insight into the functioning of the organisations who used varied cultural communication forms to emphasize the messages of protest.

The interviews with the project Directors, designed to share information and clarify the points of confusion were conducted every Saturday during each period of study. When Directors were busy or out of station, the interviews were held on the day before (Friday evenings) or Monday evening, otherwise, it would be arranged with the Co-ordinator, who is next in command running the day-to-day affairs of the projects. In one organisation it is the Co-ordinator who is the key person in the project area. Therefore, it was only with him that the weekly interviews were held. Apart from the Director and Co-ordinator, the field workers in each project became the key informants, for they provided most information during the informal discussions.

Informal interviews were held with some key persons in the project villages, who were introduced by the field staff, to get some information about the organisations from the communities themselves. The reactions received from community members were both positive and negative. Usually, informants were contacted alone without the field/social workers, although, on certain occasions when the field/social workers joined the discussions, people were generally not uneasy by their presence. They were frequently very open in commenting about the organisations even in front of the organisations' staff. The
names of the persons interviewed and the Directors and Co-ordinators of the organisations are given in Appendix 5.

The interviews were recorded using a mini-cassette recorder, which helped to avoid disturbing the progression of the discussion. These recordings were transcribed after each interview which assisted in recollecting the discussion and to fill in the gaps with the moods and expressions of the interviewee. These interviews created a very good rapport between the researcher and the informants and incidentally helped the social/field workers to get feedback from their own work from the people and also about the organisations.

The organisations' written documents were also studied in order to get a balanced view of their perception of their work and what was actually happening in practice. Apart from personal files which contained their correspondence with the donor agencies and financial records, files pertaining to their activities, annual reports, their publications etc., were made available for study by the organisations. Reports were studied to understand how they perceived their activities and then to analyse how they practised in their field with the people. The resulting data has also provided insights into the history of each organisation and their aspirations for the future.
CHAPTER FOUR

A HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF VOLUNTARY ACTION APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATION IN INDIA

The voluntary organisations share the burden of national development to a large extent and the burden of the poor and the marginalized sections of the society. It is even elt by some scholars that the voluntary organisations have contributed more than the state, especially in the field of rural development (Dasgupta, 1974). The document on the Seventh Five Year Plan, considered to be a historic document for the voluntary organisations, states that:

There is a good deal of voluntary effort in India, especially in the field of social welfare. The tendency so far has been to equate the work of voluntary agencies with only welfare activities and charity work... There has been inadequate recognition of their role in accelerating the process of social and economic development. These agencies have been known to play an important role by providing a basis for innovation with new models and approaches, ensuring feedback and securing the involvement of families living below the poverty line. Therefore, during the Seventh Plan, serious efforts will be made to involve voluntary agencies in various development programmes particularly in the planning and implementation of programmes of rural development. Voluntary agencies have developed expertise and competence in many non-traditional areas to plan their own schemes instead of expecting Government to do so (Seventh Five Year Plan 1985-90, pp.66-68).

From the above statement it becomes obvious that voluntary agencies' actions are acclaimed for their innovative ideas and credible planning and implementation of the welfare programmes with the involvement of the target people in the process of their development, and is evidently seen as an indispensable part of the national development scene. The question is, what makes the voluntary organisations more effective in accelerating change? In order to understand this question, we need to go a little further in asking the question, what is their understanding of social change? This understanding
shapes their method of operation and their models of development and in turn communication.

In order to understand these questions one needs to look at the organisations from the perspective of action from their historical background. Scholars such as Sethi (1978), George Mathew (1984) and Rajni Kothari (1985) argue that the voluntary organisations do not fall into one camp. They work under various ideological backgrounds and vary in their activities. Hence, we need to look at the background from which they have been developed. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to draw attention to the historical development of voluntary organisations and the role they have played in the past and what it is today in general; secondly, to develop a broader classification of voluntary action which are considered 'ideal types'; thirdly, to broadly examine the various dominant ideological frameworks under which these ideal types draw their inspiration for their work which will contribute to a meaningful study of the communication strategies that are used in their attempt to implement development activities.

Voluntary Action: Historical Development

As pointed out earlier, voluntary action is not a new phenomenon in India. Although it was formalized through the formation of the Societies Registration Act in 1860, it had its beginning several centuries before, predominantly in philanthropic activities and later on in the social reform concerns. The ancient Tamil literatures such as Thirukkural, Silapathigaram, Manimekalai etc., which date back to the third century before Christ, show that the poor are to be taken care of by the rich. According to this view, the rich and the business communities should set apart a portion of their income for charitable purposes such as building hospitals, common resthouses for the poor, schools, hostels, temples etc., as part of their religious precept to earn merit for their future life. One can trace the development of the volunteer movement from the pre-independence voluntary efforts which form the foundation for today's voluntary action. There were
several reform movements which championed the cause of the poor and marginalized sections of society, who were the victims of various forms of social, economic and political oppression prior to independence.

**Voluntary Action during Pre-independent Period**

Several social and religious movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be considered as the fore-runners of the modern voluntary action in India today. These movements predominantly focused on philanthropic activities and social welfare services. The institutionalised form of welfarism could be seen in the activities of religious institutions like the Christian missionary movements, and the Ramakrishna mission, who founded educational institutions, hospitals, and orphanages. At the same time they were working for social and religious reforms, mindful of the inhuman and marginalized conditions of the poor. These reform movements also eventually became movements of revolt against the dominant caste and class groups in the society to bring about social change.

The foundation for many forms of voluntary action was humanitarianism. A few key movements can be cited here: the 'Brahmo Samaj' of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the 'Arya Samaj' of Dayanand Saraswathi, the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' of Mahatma Jotirao Phule, 'Mahar' and 'Dalit' movements in Maharastra, the 'Self-respect Movement' in Tamil Nadu and various bhakti movements. In Tamil Nadu these movements, that grew to replace the brahminic domination in various parts of South India, became the forerunners of the present day reform and transformative movements who championed the cause of the poor and the weaker sections of society. As Rao (1984) observes:

'(the reform movement) is an attempt on the part of a section of society to change the social order either as a whole or in parts, ... through collective mobilisation, through leadership, ideology and change orientation' (Rao 1984:291-292).
We shall have a brief look at the contributions of some of these movements to understand the nature of their reform and social activities in order to effect social change and the manner in which they gave a basic foundation for the present voluntary action in India.

**Brahmo Samaj**, started by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, opposed the practices of child marriage and the Sati. Although the situation was alarming and the missionaries were greatly stirred up by such practices, no action was taken because of the British Government's policy of non-interference. However, as Biswanath Ghosh (1988) points out, the British Government did consult the orthodox Brahmin pandits, who were considered to be the custodians of the Hindu law, and who replied that only in certain circumstances, such as, the widow having very young children or where she herself was of a very tender age, the sastras are against such performances of sati, otherwise it had to be followed strictly. Therefore the British government adhered to the policy of non-interference in religious matters (1988:158).

However, Ram Mohan Roy, through his Brahm Samaj, counter-acted these dehumanising practices. He sought to alter public opinion against the cruel and dehumanizing practices through pamphlets. The untiring initiatives of the movement against such practices brought an end to them through legislation in 1829. He also propagated widow re-marriage and educational reforms through the introduction of English education in India.

**Arya Samaj** is another social reform movement started by Dayanand Saraswathi, which fought against child marriage, idol worship and caste discrimination. Dayanand viewed the original 'Vedas' as pivotal for all his reform. He denounced idol worship and also dismissed the theory of 'Avatar' (incarnation) which is strongly believed by the Hindus. Dayanand denounced the supremacy of the Brahmins in claiming education as their right.
He advocated education for all, both men and women. Pushpa (1977) calls Dayanand the emancipator of women because he allowed women to read the Vedas which was a very radical initiative among the Hindus. By giving this right, Dayanand elevated women to become equals with men, who in turn were all made equal, even low caste men. She remarks that,

by giving this right to a woman he gave her everything, the courage and the stamina to fight for her rights and to hold her own against all kinds of opposition (Pushpa, S 1977:223).

After independence the visions for change in the Arya Samaj were incorporated into political activities with more fanatic religious group. The movement, as Pushpa observes became the 'imprint of a reactionary, conservative and fanatic organisation' (ibid:214).

Mahatma Jotirao Phule, who started the Satya Shodhak Movement was 'concerned about eradicating untouchability and illiteracy, exploitation of the non-brahmins by the Brahmins, the inferior status of women and other unjust social customs and superstitions' (Pathan Y.M. 1977:241). Unlike many other reformers, Phule does not belong to the high caste Brahmin community, but hailed from a Shudra community, which is the fourth in the caste hierarchy. Phule, not only advocated reform, but practised it, as the one who had experienced humiliation from the Brahmins. Pathan (1977) observes that, 'Phule practised whatever he preached which makes him stand head and shoulder above all other reformers albeit, paying the price for the cause of the upliftment of common man' (ibid:241). The movement called Satya Shodhak Samaj (Truth Seeking Society) was started through several years of his conscious struggle and experiences even while he was a school boy.

The strategy of active proselytising by this society reflected indirect borrowing from Christian missionary strategy. They used pamphlets, lectures and personal advisory methods, and in meeting people of the lower caste, strongly denounced the supremacy of
the Brahmins, thus bringing people to believe that the Brahmins were the cause for all inhuman practices and the misery of humanity. In combating these inhuman activities, the Samaj was intensely implicated in promoting education and reform among all non-brahmin groups. The selfless service and dedication of Phule for the cause of the underprivileged earned him the title 'Mahatma' (the great man). His contribution is still remembered throughout the country, especially in the state of Maharastra. This is clear from the way they were celebrating the Birth Centenary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, along with Phule who championed the cause of Scheduled Castes in the year 1992.

Phule's 'Satya Shodhak' movement paved the way for many such anti-Brahmin protest movements in India. It also became the foundation for the scheduled caste movements such as 'Mahar' and 'Dalit' all over India. In Tamil Nadu, this has become a Self-Respect Movement started by E.V. Ramasamy Naicker as a movement of non-brahmins. Later it became a political party with a strong regional consciousness under the name 'Dravida Kazhagam', which attacked the Brahmin supremacy both in the social and religious spheres.

The Dravida Kazhagam used dramatic troupes to conscientize people about what the movement considered to be wrong beliefs and emphasised Tamil ethnicity, even 'nationality'. Hardgrave points out that,

The Dravidian movement has been instrumental in bringing the people of Tamil Nadu to an awareness of itself as a community ... through its organisational units in every district and taluk in Madras brought the message of Tamil nationality to the masses. Through plays presented even in the most isolated village communities, through voluminous literature and its inflammatory speeches, the movement was able to effect a self-conscious awareness of the nature of the group as a community through an expression of primordial identification (Hardgrave, 1965:34).

Later, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Movement), an off-shoot of Dravida Kazhagam, popularly known as DMK, with popular leaders like
C. N. Annadurai, and EVK Sampath etc., became a catalyst for social mobilisation through the media of cinema which Hardgrave suggests was the cheapest and most effective instrument of communication for social mobilisation in India (ibid:35).

These movements arose as a protest against the dominance of the powerful and against the value systems which perpetuated the dominance of the higher caste groups over the powerless low caste people. They created a conscious awareness in society and became rooted within society and served as a powerful catalyst for social change. As the consciousness for freedom grew, some of these movements became crystallised into the national independence movements of Mahatma Gandhi and became a political force.

The Gandhian Movement for national independence and Gandhi's efforts to create a 'Swaraj' (self rule) within the Indian nation cannot be overlooked. Gandhi's programmes of Village Industries, Khadi and Basic Education became instruments of social reform. Gandhi urged his followers to dismantle the Congress Party soon after independence and turn it into a movement for social reform to address the urgent tasks of human emancipation (Baxi U, 1986:37). His institutions like 'Harijan Sevak Sangh' (Harijan Welfare Association), 'All India Women's Conference' and 'All India Village Industries Association' gave an important focus for voluntary action in India. Gandhiji emphasised the participation of the people. He believed in people's power. The role of mass mobilisation through satyagraha, protest marches, noncooperation movements etc., gives a critical base for voluntary approaches which is becoming more popular among many of the voluntary organisations today.

In summary, the philanthropic efforts of the past and the relief and charity institutions of the religious organisations, especially the missionary societies and the social and religious reform movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gave a basic foundation for voluntary action in India. The reformers were distressed by the social evils
and the superstitious beliefs practised unquestionably in the name of religion during their period, forced them to rise against such evil practices and fight against them. The orientation merely to charity and relief was changed to a movement for social and religious reform later.

The social reformers raised the awareness of the people through the medium of education, using print media, lectures and interpersonal contacts and cultural media to raise people's consciousness. They brought to focus many evils of the superstitious beliefs and traditions practised unquestioningly by people. The Dravidian movement became especially powerful because of their communication strategies. As Hardgrave points out, they used a well-structured and decentralised organisation to reach the grass-roots. Organising drama troupes created among the local people was one way of using their own cultural media. Later there was use of cinema, which is considered the cheapest and most effective instrument of mobilisation. Their use of print media, and emphatic inflammatory speeches and language attracted the masses and become instruments of social and political change in Tamil Nadu. But it was Gandhi who had given the basic foundation for many of the voluntary actions in India today through his various forms of mass mobilisation, protest marches, various development movements for uplifting the poor and the weaker sections of the society such as scheduled castes, women, tribals etc.

The pre-independence voluntary action was centred on the initiatives of individual reformers who gained support from the like-minded people in society and later became powerful movements of change. These movements functioned as voluntary efforts of the people and became champions of social and religious change, creating awareness among the marginalized and oppressed people, and bringing changes through protest and legislations. They could be called the fore-runners of today's voluntary actions, giving models of social change and social reform as well as models for communication activities to work with people at the grassroots, reflecting the concerns of the powerless marginalized...
people. These were initially experiments by these reformers and their organisations, involving consciousness raising, community building, mass mobilisation as the bases around which the present voluntary actions are taking their pattern and strength.

**Voluntary Action during the Post Independent Period**

During the early years of independence, voluntary efforts were seen mainly in charity and rehabilitation activities. The religious organisations concentrated in developing educational institutions, health care centres and hospitals, relief and rehabilitation centres at the time of flood and drought and other natural calamities. As many of the social and religious reform movements became involved in the independence struggle, people expected that the Indian government and the political parties would take up the concerns of social reform. Therefore the voluntary action of the early independent India observed that the charity and relief work and building schools, rehabilitation centres and hospitals are important areas of concern. Fernandes (1986) is of the opinion that, until 1960, over 80 percent of the voluntary organisations were either Gandhian or church-related, and were concentrating on economic welfare, giving support to the government efforts towards economic development/upliftment.

The major part of the 1960's up to the middle of the 70's witnessed the efforts of government, through the Community Development and Rural Development schemes, to bring about development in India. The voluntary organisations like the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) at Marthandam in Tamil Nadu, and a few other institutions like 'Sriniketan' and 'Hindustani Talimi Sangh' in the north are a few pioneering organisations which undertook the Gandhian approach to rural development, even before the government could launch such programmes (Dasgupta S., 1975:123). They advocated rural development as a movement to promote better living for the entire community, with their active participation and if possible based on the initiatives of the community itself.
The community development programmes became popular with many of the voluntary organisations as they were encouraged by the rural development projects of the government. The voluntary organisations initiated an integrated approach to development. As Sethi (1978) and Dasgupta S (1975) have observed, the development programmes initiated by the voluntary organisations are far more innovative and flexible, providing a new scope for experimentation in the field of development and welfare. 'Due to their increased flexibility and innovativeness, these (voluntary) groups continue to attract motivated middle class professionals in their ranks' (Sethi 1978:51), who were dismayed and disturbed by the failure of the government and other organised political parties, trade unions etc., in alleviating the poverty and suffering of the poor and marginalized people.

The drought and famine during the late sixties and the failure of the government to combat the situation brought a new dimension to voluntary action. Middle class professional youths, witnessing the growing disparities between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' on the one side and the dominance of the powerful over the powerless low-caste people despite several legislations on the other side, revolted against such conditions. As Arora observes,

the young people who experienced the ill-effects ... began to question the very system and the pattern of development and began to ask whether economic inputs alone could overcome poverty. They analysed that poverty was the result of the oppressive social structures that marginalized the weaker sections (Arora, 1979:27-35).

The social contexts the young people have experienced and the university education which provided the opportunity for societal analysis provoked many of these sensitized youths to enter into the rural areas to work with the marginalized sections of the society. These groups are popularly known as 'Social Action Groups' or 'Social Activists'.

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The Social Action Groups were convinced that the sufferings of the poor and marginalized people were due to the existing social structure, which exploited and oppressed the people, thus, they committed themselves to the cause of liberating them. Tandon points out that 'these groups were the result of rising frustration with the ineffectiveness of the existing approaches and models of development in solving the pressing problems of poverty, deprivation, hunger, unemployment etc.' (Tandon, 1989:16).

Fernandes (1986) is of the opinion that the Social Activists have emerged from the Naxalite group. But they moved away from the revolutionary strategy and the type of violence practised by them, and were able to politicise issues that were so far considered non-political and used them as a rallying point (Fernandes 1986:4). On this account, although they have the motivation or ideology of the Naxalites, these groups work towards the empowerment of people through an analysis of the existing social, economic and political situations through consciousness-raising and organising the oppressed and exploited people to demand their rights collectively. Their long term objective is aimed at organising people and enhancing their collective empowerment to demand their rights and privileges and procure resources for their development. In this process of mobilising people, and advancing their journey towards structural transformation, the short-term goals are considered important steps towards their ultimate objective.

A recent phenomenon in the voluntary sector is the growth of net-working and bringing the other organisations together on issues of common concern. Tandon (1989) remarks that this linkage and coming together by the voluntary organisations have been demonstrated in cases relating to forestry, tribal relations, women, dalits, fisherfolk, the environment, work, health and safety issues like the Bhopal gas disaster, nuclear power plant, the implementation of minimum wages and land rights. The role of net-working and

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1 The Naxalite Movement is a radical activist group whose intention is to capture power through violent armed struggle, if necessary, following the principles of Mao.
bringing grassroot activists and groups together on issues of common concern has gained considerable importance in the urban areas, since these professional groups are mostly urban-based, but they are also spreading to the rural organisations.

These multifarious activities indicate that a variety of voluntary organisations with varied functions and ideologies have evolved to help and support the poor and the marginalized. Many of them have started with charity, relief and rehabilitation with an emphasis on economic development, and later, becoming conscious of the contradictions of these forms, they have launched into Social Action Groups with the emphasis on empowering and mobilising people for action. Nayak (1985) points out that:

Voluntary sectors begin with economic or welfare programmes and the growing contradiction of such an approach raises many questions in their mind. Thus they develop their own critique and launch into the activity of organising the people. Others may originate in the context of a political debate and slowly enter areas where the parties do not go and eventually link the grassroots with the main political streams (quoted in Fernandes, 1986:5).

We shall examine few of the scholars who ventured forth in developing a classification of voluntary organisations which can be called as 'ideal types'.

Classification of Voluntary Organisations

Several scholars have indicated that development activities of the voluntary organisations have a clear bearing on their concept of the change they aim at effecting among the poor. On that basis, these scholars try to identify the voluntary organisations with the development models the organisations practice. Scholars like Sugata Dasgupta (1974), George Mathew (1984), Upendr Baxi (1986) and Paul De la Gueriviere (1988) indicate that the models of voluntary action and the models of development are so interwoven that it is often difficult to discuss one without reference to the other.
Sugata Dasgupta (1974) identifies two broad categories of voluntary action as 'External Catalyst Bodies' and the 'Indigenous Community Institutions of the people'. According to Dasgupta, the External Catalyst Bodies consist of experts, well-wishers, technicians and those who are concerned with the development of the area, although they do not belong to the region (Dasgupta, 1974:128). He further classifies this group into the macro and micro institutions; with the macro institutions functioning over a wide area and the micro institutions within a single area or village. The macro is sub-divided into direct service organisations, which are directly involved and offer services to people, whereas the coordinating agencies provide some sort of forum, or federation to the direct service agencies.

The Indigenous Community institutions are also classified as single and multi-village organisations; communal versus secular organisations; organised and managed by democratic representatives, or run by self-appointed groups. This classification is oriented towards the organisational system and gives a traditional picture of a village set-up.

George Mathew (1984) classifies voluntary organisations into four distinct types: 1) Relief and Charity approach; 2) New models of development, mobilisation and organisation perspective; 3) Political education and intervention in the political process with the aim of social transformation, and 4) Support structures for those working in the above three categories. He is of the opinion that the classification (2) and (3) can be easily grouped under the title 'social action groups who emphasise class and caste conflicts. Therefore, their programmes work against not only economic exploitation of the poor but also against other forms of social and cultural exploitation' (Mathew, 1984:44). These groups consider authentic rural development programmes to include not merely a conventional development programme but the struggle for social and economic rights of the poor. The fourth group is a support group for the other three groups, who have no self-identity with the people, but only through the other organisations.
Upendra Baxi (1986) suggests a very concise typology as 'Voluntarism' and 'Activism' or traditional vs contemporary social and community action. He considers voluntarism as service-oriented agencies for the victims, based on the philosophy that 'every society would have victims who need to be cared for'. Therefore they never radically question the condition of people, or the structure which victimises the poor and marginalises them. Baxi comments, 'compassion and charity constitute the ethical foundation for voluntarism' (1986:36). Although voluntarism tends to create community solidarity, their aim is not to bring political emancipation or participation. 'The work of Mother Teresa (the Noble Prize winner), as a dedicated service of this kind and the Christian missionary activities, Harijan Sevak Samaj, tribal uplift association, Women's Welfare Societies etc., represent to an extent the same blood group of voluntarism' (ibid:37).

On the other hand, 'Activism' as Baxi calls it, is an attempt to bring concrete societal alternatives in justice, health, education, participation and protest to the disadvantaged. The activists work towards empowering the people (the victims). They aim at achieving a just and participatory society. The emphasis of the activists as Baxi argues is on 'the rights of the people which the State is duty bound to respect; and at least minimally the rights are those whose effective exercise for the masses as well as classes is assured by the constitution' (Ibid:39). He classifies activism, further as, either 'moderate activism' and 'militant activism'. Moderate activism has the potential to confront State power, politicise the issues, conscientize people to use nonviolent methods to achieve their goal. But militant voluntarism is forearmed to provoke and involve in violence to oppose the unjust structures.

In summary, the reform programmes belong to the Voluntarism model which try to remove the social barriers against the unfortunate 'victims of society through a long process
of persuasion and legislation. It is a gradual process model. To some extent the economic upliftment model is also a voluntarism model. It promises economic stability and prosperity but gradually and eventually. At the other extreme to the voluntarism model is the activist or revolutionary model. The latter believes in the urgency of action and in overthrowing the existing power-structure that is responsible for the perpetuation of social inequalities. The revolutionary model promises a clean break, a strong contrast between the image of the present and that of the future.

Paul De la Gueriviere (1988), brings out three models on the basis of his societal analysis in terms of understanding poverty and suggests corresponding models of voluntary action. According to him, poverty can be understood as: 1) the result of fate; 2) the result of backwardness; and 3) an historically created condition. In discussing the state of poverty as the result of fate, Gueriviere shows how people look at poverty as a punishment and riches as a blessing or 'karma' - a theory which is inherent in the Hindu religious belief. As he says, 'In those perspectives the remedy to poverty will be charity and relief work, to alleviate the sufferings caused by poverty ... The poor have to cultivate patience and resignation waiting for a better life after death' (1988:110). Citing the work of Mother Teresa as an example, he argues that this 'charity work or relief does not challenge the true cause of poverty. It does not question the existing social order' (ibid), but accepts the status quo and is on the side of the rich and powerful rather than on the side of the poor.

The analysis of poverty as a result of backwardness, suggests that because people are illiterate and traditional, they lack modern technological innovation for growth. The remedy for this backwardness is modernizing them through education, industry and agriculture. In other words development is conceived as 'catching up with the elites' and in the process it will 'trickle down' to the poor following the modernization theory for development proposed by the West has become the focus of many of the Government as well as the voluntary organisations.
The third approach to analysing poverty discussed by Gueriviere examines the organisations of the society at the grassroots and suggests that the root cause of poverty and underdevelopment '... is injustice, and an unjust social order' (Gueriviere, 1988:110-111). Poverty is conceived as the result of a process created by the powerful in previous history. It is an artificial and 'system-generated poverty' (ibid). In sum, Gueriviere identifies three models of voluntary action as Charity, Relief and Rehabilitation Approach, Economic Development Approach and the People's Organisation Approach.

From these studies it is obvious that development has two important characteristics. They are: i) it is purposive, which means that its goal is either growth/progress or emancipation; and (ii) it believes in intervention. Intervention is considered essential to achieve the goals of progress or emancipation. It is here that the voluntary action comes to play a major and significant role, since it is collective intervention for bringing in social change.

Intervention could be either positive or negative. Positive intervention is a collective interest in favour of emancipation and progress of people - emancipation or liberation from structural oppressions and progress that assures basic needs and better conditions of life to all. Though there is no unanimity in their understanding of intervention and the ideological framework alters their activities, yet their sustained efforts in providing better conditions of life for the poor are uninterrupted. Oxaal (1975) pointing out the working of the New World Group who are committed for the grassroots development in the Caribbean situation expresses the view that whatever may be their ideological position whether it is socialism or liberalism, communism or radicalism, they have the conviction that it should be interpreted as a sustained application of thought to the matter that
concerns them deeply. He also points out that although there is no unanimity in many aspects, they believe that intervention should foster a broadly based, non-sectarian radicalism (Oxaal, 1975:34). This positive intervention involves strategies for action which refers to the models of voluntary action.

In summary, voluntary action in the post-independent era had its beginning in the Charity and Relief organisations with the emphasis on starting schools, hostels, boarding homes, orphanages, but withdrawing themselves from reform activities considering this to be the business of the state. As the problem of exploitation and oppression became more apparent, a few sensitised and radicalised youth(s) got involved in uplifting them through conscientizing and mobilizing them to fight against the forces which were oppressing them. These groups drew their inspiration from various social reform movements and individual reformers and built up their activities upon certain dominant ideological perspectives. In the next section of this chapter we shall analyse some of the dominant approaches which have shaped voluntary action in India today.

Development and Communication Models of Voluntary Organisation

The earlier part of this chapter described the historical development of the voluntary movement. It was stated that the earlier social welfare activities were modified as the people become conscious of the sufferings of the poor and the weaker sections of society. On the basis of their understanding and analysis of the nature of the problems, the goals were set for action. Thus, voluntary action and the models of development are intertwined. This section will therefore analyse the various models of voluntary action that have been developed over the years and those that are popular. In order to do that, we shall analyse the thinking on which the activities are based. This will enable us to enter into a proper analysis of voluntary action and their models of communication for development.
Dominant Ideological Perspectives for Voluntary Action

It could be perceived that the models of development emerge from the ideological perspectives of voluntary action. Prominent among them are the Charity and Relief Approach or Missionary Approach, the Gandhian Approach, the Freirean Approach of Conscientization and the Liberation Theology Approach. Freire's conscientization and the Liberation Theology approaches draw insights from the Marxian Approach. The ideological perspectives of these approaches will be discussed. These perspectives are important to understand because they shape these groups' models of development, and in turn shape their communication strategies.

The Charity, Relief and Rehabilitation Approach:

As discussed in previous chapters, the magnitude of social, economic and political problems calls for necessary and at times immediate action to meet these challenges. Many agencies, both national as well as international have contributed in sharing their responsibilities in the human suffering alleviation programmes. This approach to poverty alleviation is not new or strange to any one country.

Organisations which are involved in this kind of work function under some form of religious inspiration and with human concern, without any material reward for their action. As Sethi observes, these organisations have been traditionally the most established and cover nearly 80 percent of the voluntary organisations (Sethi, 1982).

In analyzing such social welfare activities intended to help the underprivileged people, they suggest a variety of services which include charity, relief and rehabilitation in emergency situations and some measure of social security for widows, orphans, the old, handicapped and traditionally underprivileged groups, such as the members of backward class community and women. As Baxi (1986) comments, compassion and charity constitute the ethical foundation for voluntarism. This perspective considers helping the
suffering to be important rather than creating awareness or political action for emancipating the suffering people. Baxi (1986) and Gueriviere (1988) identify as prominent the work of Mother Teresa and the Christian Missionary activities, the Rama Krishna Movement, some of the Gandhian movements like Harijan Sevak Samaj, Tribal Uplift Association, Women’s Welfare Societies etc., as built upon this ideology. In some cases, social welfare activities are built on the ideology that poverty and suffering are ‘fate’, a concept based on the Hindu theory of ‘karma’ or ‘predestination’. Therefore, the only help for the people affected, is charity and relief to alleviate poverty and other natural and human-made calamities. These suffering masses have to cultivate patience and wait for a better life after death.

Gandhian Approach:

Mahatma Gandhi’s life and commitment to the development of the rural villages played a significant role especially during the 1920s and 30s and later after independence by the Gandhians who followed his principles. Tandon remarks that Gandhi’s philosophy strengthened the voluntary movements in the 1920s and 30s, and thus became evident as thousands of young women and men who were inspired by his call took the constructive step of going to the rural areas ‘to work among the poor, scheduled castes and those deprived of education, health, employment and income generation’ (Tandon, 1988:15). Gandhi believed that the growth and development of India depended on its development of villages. Gandhi argued that:

Our cities are not India. India lives in her seven hundred and fifty thousand villages. The cities live upon the villages ... It is my belief, based on experience that because of this India is daily growing poorer. The circulation about her feet and legs has almost stopped. And if we do not take care, she will collapse altogether (quoted in Khanna S., 1988).

To enhance economic equality and to overcome the growing malaise among the villagers and village economy, Gandhi designed a comprehensive rural development programme which he claimed could lead India to prosperity. The constituents of his rural
development programme were 'village and cottage industry, spinning, khadi, swadeshi, panchayat' and basic education' (Khanna S, 1988:382). His sarvodaya movement was aimed at a just and egalitarian society. By practising the rural reconstruction programmes, which included the use of Khadi, the promotion of village industries, the provision of basic and adult education and self-rule, Gandhi felt that the country could be led to self-reliance, which is his principle of sarvodhaya. He expressed the view that,

The economic constitution of India... should be such that no one should suffer from want of food and clothing ... every body should get work to ... make the two ends meet ... the elementary necessities of life ... should be freely available to all as God's air and water are ... (Young India, 15th November, 1928 quoted in Khanna, Ibid:381).

Through his rural reconstruction programme, Gandhi aimed at establishing a sarvodhaya which was based on 'Satya' (truth), 'Ahimsa' (non-violence), 'Satyagraha' (soul-force), 'Swadeshi' (self-reliance), bread labour and equality were the basic foundation of Gandhian praxis (Rajaratnam, 1982).

Gandhi strongly believed in 'satya' (truth) and 'non-violence'. His commitment to the cause of the underprivileged, eradication of untouchability, and women's upliftment has captured the attention of millions of poor and marginalized people and the committed volunteers because he practised what he preached. Maheshwari observes that, 'Sevagram and Wardha' where he was translating these ideas into action, became household words in

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2 *Khadi* is home-made cloth. Gandhi considers that 'khadi' is a universal subsidiary industry on which the semi-starved and semi-employed peasants can depend to eke out their scanty income. *Swadeshi* is the use of all home-made articles to the exclusion of foreign things ... to protect home industry. *Panchayat* is a village republic in which the village should manage their own internal affairs.

3 *Satyagraha*: Gandhi interpreted satyagraha as a non-violent direct action. The literal meaning of satyagraha is 'hold on to truth' or 'insistence on truth'. The principle offshoots of satyagraha are non-co-operation and civil disobedience. Satyagraha is a method of meeting aggression, settling conflicts and bringing about social and political change (Dhawan, 1946).

4 *Sevagram and Wardha* are the two centres which Gandhi established as the centres of rural reconstruction programmes.
India for upholding a vision of the future. Gandhi raised a nationwide army of voluntary workers engaged in rural reconstruction all over the country' (Maheshwari, 1985:24-25).

Gandhi wanted to preserve the Indian values and way of life rather than replacing them with the modern western values of life. He believed that every member of the community should be engaged in the production and create a healthy, sustainable and self-reliant society. Narula observes that the Gandhian concept of 'sarvodaya' focused on the democratic and socialistic patterns of economics suited to the conditions, realities and needs of the Indian society (Narula, 1986:65-68).

Gandhi's proposal for a decentralised village republic called, 'Panchayat Raj' aimed at a more constructive, democratic and participatory process of village development, which encourages the good of the community over against the welfare of the individuals. In his opinion, an ideal village can be a self-reliant republic:

the village life ... is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet inter-dependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth ... the village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall ... There will be no caste ... nonviolence will be the sanction of the village community (quoted in Jha, 1970:107).

The call for a people's movement and the development of the participatory process was initiated by Gandhi who said:

True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village (Gandhi in Harijan, 18th Jan, 1948 quoted in Khanna, 1988:382).

Gandhi's approach to development has had an enduring impact on many voluntary organisations. His life-style and leadership proved to be of significance for many of his followers. He identified himself with the poor and the marginalized, even going to the
extent of discarding his normal clothes and taking a half-clad loincloth, identifying himself with the majority of the Indian people. As Khanna remarks, 'his spartan way of life reflects that of the destitute Indian' (Khanna, 1988:371).

Although the Gandhian approach was criticised for its impracticability at the national level, it has given enormous scope for voluntary action whose focus is at the micro-level - in village communities. Moreover, the simple and practicable life-style of Gandhi can be a symbol of life for many voluntary workers. As Maheshwari says, 'In Gandhi's vision, rural development was to be non-government in its sponsorship and implementation and was to be undertaken by voluntary efforts' (Maheshwari, 1985:221). In fact, today, many of the rural development programmes like Community Development, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Panchayat Raj, Participatory and Self-reliance schemes have their foundation in Gandhian ideology. Gandhi had greater belief in voluntary efforts, which he felt, had the potency and commitment for action and development of the rural poor.

Gandhi's methods of non-violence to attain freedom and justice had great appeal during his lifetime and many believe it still has enormous potential. His mass protest marches and non-cooperation approach are widely believed to have awakened the masses. Jawaharlal Nehru observed that:

A demoralised, backward and broken up people suddenly straightened their backs and lifted their heads and took part in disciplined joint action on a country wide scale. This action itself, we felt, would give irresistible power to the masses ... (Jawaharlal Nehru, 1947:76).

In sum, Gandhi's philosophy of social action provided a different ideology for voluntary action as well as communication. The community development programme with a self-reliant approach, creating a commune of its own in each village, decentralized planning, a participatory communication approach in the process of taking decisions,
consciousness-raising, mass mobilisation, protest marches, satyagraha, all these programmes brought millions of people from all walks of life to follow Mahatma Gandhi even without the support of any mass media. His approach as seen in the above discussion plays a unique role in integrating several ideological factors that can be classified as different models of development, models of voluntary action. In Gandhi's approach, not a single model, but a synthesis or integration of several models can be identified.

The charisma of Gandhi attracted many nationalists and even the rural masses to follow him. His philosophy and his life style became a powerful weapon for many of the voluntary organisations in achieving their goals.

**Paulo Freire's Conscientization Approach:**

Freire, a Brazilian educator offered a humanistic response to the liberation of people. He believed that education should focus on human liberation. In his opinion, literacy and education programmes which serve to domesticate people are an enemy of them. The primary concern of literacy programmes should aim at promoting revolutionary social transformation. Freire's literacy programme aims at transforming the culture of silence through consciousness-raising. He argues:

> acquiring literacy does not involve memorising sentences, words and syllables - lifeless objects unconnected to an existential universe but rather an attitude of creation and recreation, a self transformation producing a stance of intervention in one's context (Freire, 1976:48).

Freire suggests that the transformation of society and its social structure must be based upon the reflection and action of individuals who opt for humanisation of people. The animator or a change agent, therefore must be aware of the social reality. Freire's literacy programme was aimed at enabling people to learn to perceive social, economic and political situations through critical reflection and action, which in his opinion is 'conscientizao' or conscientization [political and personal consciousness] (Kozol, 1981:xii in
Mackie Robert, 1981). People must be made of aware of their social reality, reflect on it and criticize it to work for changing the social structures that dehumanises people.

Conscientization is the central concept in Freire's understanding of literacy programmes. In his opinion conscientization is a process of learning, reflecting and taking into action and again reflecting which would enable the marginalized and oppressed people to learn and perceive their social reality. In his interview with Rex (1981), Freire says that 'reflection itself (alone) is not enough for the process of the liberation of humanity, because we need action, so action itself (alone) cannot do it, precisely because humankind is not only action but is also reflection' (Rex, 1981:62). In Freire's opinion, taking action to transform a situation is as important and urgent as consciousness-raising through reflection. Freire also warns people who dichotomise these two aspects. He holds that these two 'knowing' and 'acting', are both aspects of political activity. Only when people come to the knowledge of their dehumanising situation and act on the basis of this knowledge, can they get involved in enlightened participation in the political process which in his opinion is 'conscientization'.

His methodology, popularly known as 'consciousness-raising' and 'conscientization' is primarily based on a philosophy which relies on the capabilities of the people to understand, learn and act in the manner that can bring a change in the course of their history, consequently challenging the traditional patterns of education as 'banking models'. The proper methodology, Freire suggests, is the 'dialogical approach', which 'characterizes the act of knowing'. Dialogue, according to him is 'a go between or a 'mediator' between the 'seeker' of the knowledge and the 'giver' of the knowledge. On any account it is totally opposed to banking, but it is only 'sharing' - a problem-raising rather than a problem-solving approach. The people who give education are known as co-ordinators or facilitators and not educators because the function of a co-ordinator is to dialogue with and
struggle through the people in their investigation or facilitate them in their search. It is a participatory and democratic process, unlike the banking model.

The dialogic approach stimulates thinking, creates confidence and makes people more creative. In Freire's opinion, all these discussions are critical, stimulating and highly motivating. The illiterate perceives critically that it is necessary to learn to read and write, prepare him or herself to become the agent for this learning (Freire, 1976). Freire's concept of humanisation emphasised a social goal as opposed to an individual goal. He demands fellowship and solidarity in the process of human liberation which is a shared investigation and a combined action.

In his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire raised the question, 'If the implementation of a liberating education requires political power and the oppressed have none, how then is it possible to carry out a pedagogy of the oppressed prior to the revolution?'. He answers that systematic education can be changed by political power and the educational projects, which should be organized by the oppressed, can transform political power (Freire, 1972:31). Therefore conscientization is not simply raising critical consciousness but gearing towards a radical transformation of social reality.

Freirean education aims at reforming illiterate people, enabling them to know their reality. He considered that the illiterate people were pessimistic and fatalistic or traditional which make them accept their reality unquestionably. Therefore the conscientization approach which is designed to involve people, motivate them for a meaningful participation in discussion and gain awareness of their reality, a psycho-social method, which is in line with McCleland's need for motivation for change approach.

The Freirean concept of 'conscientization' plays a dominant role in the work of voluntary organisations as a tool for action and reflection. It is the prime motivating factor for many organisations, shifting their focus from economic development activities to
people's movements and mobilisation for the liberation of the human community. This Freirean approach led many of the radical groups to adopt it to their context. One such movement which developed its ideology within a Freirean concept but with a Marxian social analysis is the Liberation Theology approach, which is becoming more popular among the Christian activist groups in India.

**The Latin American Liberation Theology Approach:**

The Theology of Liberation began with the critique of Developmentalism itself. The founders of Liberation Theology observed that the existing social order is in chaos and one cannot bring any change from within the existing social order. They attacked the Developmentalism that aimed towards reformism and modernization which they felt were the stumbling block for achieving real transformation. In their opinion, development must attack the root cause of the problems, which is the domination of the few over the many (Gutierrez, 1973:26).

The Liberation Theologian Gutierrez felt that the contradictions between the rich and the poor was the fundamental basis for any analysis of human existence. In his view, standing with the poor and taking sides with them and analysing the social structures may enable a reasonable understanding for interpreting history and the human situation because it is the poor who are exploited, oppressed and are deprived of the fruit of their own labour.

Liberation Theology has depended on Marxism for its analysis of society, which emphasises the importance of the ownership of the means of production and a search for a classless society. The liberationists identify the basic characteristics of alienation as given by Marx and their insistence on preferential treatment for the poor had close identification with the struggling masses. The main concept of alienation of the workers from their own production introduced a critical edge to theological thinking.
The advocates of Liberation Theology strongly felt that the poor are not simply to be helped, assisted along, as the chronically 'underprivileged', as in the Charity and Relief approach, but must be granted their rights to speak, to eat, to work, to think, as part of their privilege of being human beings. They are of the opinion that the Latin American Theology of Liberation illustrates the massive poverty and oppression of the Third World as a whole, as the major theological concern and identifies the Christian faith as a spirituality of evangelical poverty.

Santa Ana (1977) argues that no reform but revolution is the only answer if our option is for the poor. The advocates of Liberation Theology opt for the poor to bring awareness in them, conscientizing them, and organizing them to bring a revolutionary change in society. Gutierrez has appropriately explained it thus:

Liberation Theology is a theology which does not stop with reflecting on the world but rather tries to be part of the process through which the world is transformed. It is a theology which is open in the protest against trampled humanity - in the struggle against the plunder of the vast majority of people, in liberating love, and in the building of a new, just and fraternal society - to the gift of the Kingdom of God (Gutierrez 1973:15).

The Latin American Liberation Theology Model appealed to several Christian Social activists as a course for action. Amalados (1986) argues that the growing dissatisfaction among many of the social activists in India with the Government and other macro agencies' poverty alleviation programmes led to the formation of many activist groups. And Christian Social Activists have certainly drawn inspiration from Latin American Liberation Theology to reflect their faith in the midst of oppressive forces, so they tend to challenge not only untenable economic programmes but also the root causes of poverty. Amalados observes that:

there was a slow realization that what was needed was not just economic growth and development but socio-structural change. People are not merely poor, they are oppressed by unjust structures (Amalados M. 1986:264).
Many of the church-related organisations, getting frustrated with the approach of achieving social change through reform, searched for an appropriate model for action (Amalados, 1986). The Basic Christian Communities of Latin America, which were formed with the inspiration of Liberation Theology, functioned as a locus for religious, social and political activities in educating and conscientizing and enabling people to fully participate in the socio-political and religious spheres, and became a model for the Christian activists. The Christian activists who were searching for a model for action, found in the Liberation Theology Model a synthesis of reflection for action and a tool for social analysis as an inspiration for their action.

These studies, and their ideological framework, suggest several possibilities for classifying voluntary action under their concept of development. Each model of development has its corresponding model of voluntary action. This is because the models of voluntary organisations are strategies adopted to achieve specific goals. On this basis, the voluntary organisations could be classified into the following:

1) Charity, Relief and Rehabilitation
2) Economic Growth and Development
3) Conscientization, and Mobilisation.

These different approaches have also their variants and are used in various combinations which can be seen in our analysis of the voluntary organisations in the later chapters.

Summary and Conclusion:

Voluntarism in India has manifested itself variously with a wide spectrum of agencies working with different ideologies and involving itself in different activities. It has its foundation in the age-old traditions of charity and relief in the Indian soil although it had
its formal beginnings through the legislation of 1860 by way of the Registration of Societies Act. The pre-independence history of the voluntary action have witnessed several social reform movements like Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Satya Shodhak Samaj, Self Respect Movement and various other movements which contributed to the early social and religious reforms through the motivation and self-sacrifice of the reformers who became the backbone of such movements and activities.

These movements attacked the age-old practices of child marriage, sati, women's subordination, untouchability and the supremacy of the Brahmins in subjugating the other castes. The introduction of literacy programmes became pivotal in their reform process. The contribution of the missionaries towards the reform process cannot be overlooked. These activities became crystallised into the national independence movement through Mahatma Gandhi. The social reform movements and the missionary approaches to charity and relief and their contribution in the field of education and health have become a basic foundation and model for many of the voluntary organisations today.

These organisations have drawn their inspiration from the methodology followed by the early missionaries, Mahatma Gandhi, Paulo Freire and Latin American Liberation Theologians. These influences have been especially dominant in post-independence voluntary action. Until the 1960s, as many scholars have observed, the charity and relief-oriented organisations were predominantly at work. Their contribution to the voluntary sector is estimated as 80 percent at this time. As the situation is changing and people are becoming politically more conscious, the focus has shifted from charity and relief to development activities. The outbreak of famine and drought during the late 60s was followed by the agrarian revolts and university students from middle class background, coming out with a new vision for a social analysis, brought a new focus for work. This group committed themselves to attacking the root causes of poverty through educating,
mobilising, organising, in other words, conscientising the oppressed people for action. Most of these groups try to tackle the issues through people's organisations.

Scholars like Sugata Dasgupta, Harish Sethi, George Mathew, Upendra Baxi and Paul Gueriviere have classified voluntary action by focusing on their activities. They have shown two main realms of activities with charity and development as traditional and passive types of organisation and activism, focusing on organising and mobilising people for action to fight for their rights. The difficulties shown in their classification also brings out the heterogeneous character of the organisations. Even in the midst of confusion they are praised for their effectiveness. As Fernandes (1986) and Viegas (1985) comment, the voluntary organisations are preferred to the government agencies by the funding agencies because they assume that the voluntary sector can implement the programmes more effectively.

Voluntary organisations can be classified into one of three categories according to their basic philosophy or ideology: 1) Charity, Relief and Rehabilitation; 2) Economic Growth and Development; and 3) conscientization and Mobilisation. Some organisations are issue-oriented, focussing on issues like women's rights, human rights, and the environment. These organisations would fall into the third category, but are sometimes referred to as organisations working for 'the people's movement'.

This understanding of the developmental perspectives and ideologies of the different types of organisation will help in formulating their communication strategies. As Bamberger (1988) suggests, only a careful study and analysis of the objective of the organisation will enable one to identify the model of development being followed, whether it is oriented towards economic growth and development or social justice. This will enable us to identify voluntary action approaches with different development approaches and then enable us to identify whether the voluntary action approaches and the communication
approaches have any relationship. The next chapter will focus on studying few selected voluntary organisation to identify whether such classification exist in practice and, if exists, to what extent they are practicable classifications and what does it contribute towards developing a voluntary action model and to what extent their communication strategies provide meaningful alternatives.
CHAPTER FIVE

VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS:
DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES

The previous chapter gave an historical background to the development of voluntary action in India. It also drew attention to the dominant ideological frameworks under which the voluntary organisations are acquiring their motivation for their activities. It was observed from the reviews and theoretical framework that, in general, the voluntary organisations seem to show concern in addressing the problems of poverty and suffering through various activities, pursuing different approaches within their ideological framework.

The concept of social change is shaped according to an organisation's understanding of their work, and their developmental activities are modified accordingly. Similarly, it can be perceived that the strategies and programmes of communication of the voluntary organisations are also modified. Thus, the focus of this chapter will be to analyse the different types of voluntary organisations through their involvement in developmental activities and to understand their concept of social change, and how one model of voluntary action differs from another. Do the models of communication vary according to the models of voluntary action and what is the function of communication in promoting social change among the people?

Secondly, this chapter will examine how the concepts 'participation' and 'participatory communication' are understood by these organisations and explore the nature of participatory process that is in practice among the different models of voluntary action. How do these organisations perceive that such activities promote social change in the communities?
Thirdly, this chapter will describe how in the wake of modern communication media, these organisations view the influence of the media in the community and examine the effects of the small or low-cost and traditional media used by these organisations to support their development activities.

The analysis of the activities will concentrate on the study of the aims and objectives obtained from the 25 organisations and through the study of other documents. The interviews and discussions conducted with the directors, co-ordinators and animators/social workers from the voluntary organisations as well as the local people, conducted during the first phase of the research are used to supplement or clarify the issues pertaining to the aims and objectives.

The research questions are simplified for further clarity of the area that it would be taken for exploration within the limited scope of the data collected from the first phase. We shall look at the following:

1. The aims and objectives of the organisations and the types of development activities attempted.
2. To which model of voluntary action the activities of the organisations fit into.
3. What are the communication activities used by the organisation?
4. How is communication integrated into their development activities and how does it help in promoting change?
5. What are the commonly observed community media in the area?
6. What are the community media that could be utilized according to the voluntary organisations in their development activities?
7. Does it help in promoting alternative media? How and to what extent?
8. What is the place of participation in the organisations? How it is being understood and practised in their development activities?
9. What is the place of people's participation in programme planning and implementation? How do they practise a participatory process in their planning and implementation?

In answering these questions it is expected that this chapter would provide a basic foundation for the deeper analysis offered in the next chapter which will present case studies on the work of the four selected organisations.

**Voluntary Organisations: Models of Development and Communication**

These studies have emphasised that there is a close relationship between the development model and the voluntary action model. All these studies also focus on the dynamics of the development activities through which the grassroots organisations are undertaking and fulfilling their purpose.

Relief activities are practised as a short term relief to the victims of flood, fire, drought etc. Usually these activities are undertaken by several organisations as immediate help to the victims and as a temporary measure. A few agencies like 'PREPARE' set their goal in assisting people to take measures to meet the cyclone and flood crises in emergency situations.

Charity and rehabilitation activities involve running orphanages, homes for widows, the destitutes and senior-citizens, schools and hospitals etc. Schools are run with the aim of providing formal education for children to improve their literacy. Hospitals are supported to provide proper health care to the poor and health centres offer primary health care in the villages.

The other predominant activities fall under the scope of economic development - to help the people to help economic development - to help the people to support themselves through skill training, such as tailoring, mat-weaving, embroidery, bamboo and chair-making for women, and carpentry, motor mechanics, driving etc., for
men. There are a few organisations who offer training in radio and television repairs and
servicing, and secretarial courses for both men and women who are educated up to
secondary level.

Some organisations have tapped government resources to facilitate the programmes
like the construction of roads, getting electricity, telephones and benefits from Government
development schemes such as, Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) and
Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) etc. Besides this, many organisations
act as facilitators by helping the communities to become aware of the government schemes
and to get the benefit. The organisations help people with information about where to go
and what to do, in procuring application forms and even accompanying them to various
offices, following up their cases and if necessary resisting and confronting the local
bureaucracy on their behalf.

The other major activity of many organisations lies in the area of health and non-
formal education. Where health is concerned importance is given to primary health care
and health education. Health education is observed to have two important features; (i) The
first one includes regular health visits, nutrition and environmental sanitation and education,
and (ii) the second one aims at conscientizing people on the root causes of their problem
and to make them understand that their problem is caused by systemic exploitation and
oppression. The adult literacy programme is used as a vehicle for imparting functional
literacy as well as health education.

The perspectives of adult literacy or nonformal education is also aimed at
conscientizing people on social issues through a literacy programme, following Freire's
methodology. The main motivation of this programme is organising people towards a
people's movement. Therefore health care, non-formal education and community
organisation are carried out under two ideological perspectives; firstly, blaming the victims
(Ryan, 1976), claiming that people are to be blamed for their own backwardness. The assumption is that they are very traditional in their attitude and their illiteracy and lethargy contribute to their backwardness. Further people lack motivation and the information to understand new thinking and innovation. Hence they should be educated to accept new thinking and modern ideas to get a broader world view. Secondly, there is the view that the causes are systemic, as Fernandez, (1988); Kothari, (1985); Gueriviere, (1988), and other scholars especially* from Third World countries have expressed it. Thus it is a human-made system that keeps the people backward.

Another distinct activity is the formation of people's movements through conscientization and mobilisation. These activities are centred around particular groups and are usually issue-based, such as the cause of exploitation and oppression of scheduled castes, tribes, fisherfolks, women etc.

The list of 25 organisations that are taken up for the study is given in Table. 5.1. The classification is based on the type of activities the organisations declare themselves to be involved in in their published constitutions.

Table. 5.2 lists the type of activities the organisations are involved in. Table 5.2 shows that there are very well organised efforts towards development activities particularly in the nonformal education and health services and fairly well established charity and economic development activities. But there is very little activity towards conscientization and political involvement.
Table 5.1. CLASSIFICATION OF SELECTED VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN TAMILNADU ACCORDING TO THEIR ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL. NO</th>
<th>NAME OF THE ORGANISATION</th>
<th>CHARITY/ RELIEF</th>
<th>SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT</th>
<th>HEALTH</th>
<th>ADL. EDN.</th>
<th>CONSCIENCE/ MOBIL. POL. EDN</th>
<th>POL. INV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Asha Nivas</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>M.I.</td>
<td>N.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Asso. for Rural Poor</td>
<td>O.I.</td>
<td>M.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Centre for Rural Health &amp; Social Edu.</td>
<td>O.I.</td>
<td>M.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>M.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Inst. of Community Develop. Services</td>
<td>O.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>N.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Integ. Rural Develop. of Weaker Sec in India</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>M.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL. NO</td>
<td>NAME OF THE ORGANISATION</td>
<td>CHARITY/RELIEF</td>
<td>SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>CONSCIENCE/ MOBILISATION POL.</td>
<td>POL. INV.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Madras Social Service Society</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>N.I.</td>
<td>N.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>PREPARE</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>M.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>People's Education for Action and Liberation</td>
<td>O.I.</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Integrated Fishermen Development Project</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>M.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Slum Women Advancement Project</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>The Society of the Daughters of Mary Immaculate</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>N.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>The Swallows in India</td>
<td>V.A.I.</td>
<td>N.I.</td>
<td>A.I.</td>
<td>N.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.2: Types of Activities and the Rate of Involvement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>N.I</th>
<th>O.I</th>
<th>M.I</th>
<th>A.I</th>
<th>V.A.I</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relief</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eco. Devt.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-form. Edn.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscient.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pol. Inv.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.I.  No Involvement
O.I. Occasionally Involved (0-25%)
M.I. Moderate Involvement (26-50%)
A.I. Active Involvement (51%-75%)
V.A.I. Very Active Involvement (above 76%+)

The two tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate certain difficulties in classifying the organisations under a strict categorisation of the models presented by analysing the aims and objectives alone because the activity domain is not limited to a set framework. The organisations which are involved in relief, rehabilitation and charity are also involved in economic development activities. For example, the organisations like, 'Chingleput Community Development Project', 'PREPARE', and 'Madras Social Service Society' are involved in activities pertaining to the models 'charity, relief and rehabilitation' as well as 'economic/community development'. Similarly, the organisations such as, 'Association for Rural Poor', 'Pulicut Fisherfolks Integrated Development Project', 'People's Education for Action and Liberation' are involved in activities like 'relief and rehabilitation', 'economic growth and development' and 'conscientization and mobilisation'. However, the ideological
stance and the goal differ from one organisation to another. In some cases the situations and conditions of the people have forced the organisations to change their perspective and direction of their activities. This became apparent only after interviews, and discussions with the representatives of the organisations.

It is said that the changing contextual needs, and the flexibility of the organisations is the reason for such involvement. Yet the discussions and interviews with the organisations enable us to understand the goal towards which the organisations are setting their feet. This gives us a clue to classify the organisations under the three models of voluntary action given here. We shall look at the models of voluntary actions from the perspectives of the development objectives as it is indicated in the constitution of the organisations.

Salient Features of the Objectives of the Voluntary Organisations and the Concept of Social Change:

The objectives of the voluntary organisations as stated in their constitutional documents can be brought under the three-fold classification as shown above. Later the salient features of each model and its related concept of social change will be analysed.

The Charity, Relief and Rehabilitation Model:

The charity, relief and rehabilitation model as the name suggest fits into the category of the activities of the social welfare. The objectives of the organisations that could describe such activities are as follows:

Objectives:

- to render relief when affected by fire and flood havoc;

- to care for preschool children and their future, and to direct the drop-outs and straying children from begging, child labour etc., and provide them institutional and foster care, to arrange vocational counselling ... domestic and overseas adoption of abandoned children;
to promote social welfare activities for the general welfare of the public; family, women, children, the handicapped, the unemployed, the underemployed, the old, the sick, the disabled and other cases - either with or without the help of Government aid and with or without the help of other allied institutions in completing welfare schemes;

- Rendering relief in calamities and disasters of all kinds and taking preventive measures in disaster prone areas;

- to establish technical, vocational and educational institutions and schools.

An overview of these objectives from the twenty five organisations indicate that twenty three of the organisations are involved in relief or social welfare activities in some way or another. Their concern is to redeem the victims from misery through emergency relief work. However, it could be perceived from table 5.2 that 10 organisations have fairly structured activities like formal schooling for children, clinics, community centres, orphanages, homes for destitutes etc. Financial resources are however drawn from either the government welfare schemes or from overseas donor agencies.

Baxi (1986) and Gueriviere (1988) comment that compassion and charity constitute the ethical foundation for this type of voluntarism. These activities are built on the ideology that poverty and suffering are 'fate', a concept based on the Hindu theory of karma which is very strong in the minds of the Indian rural people whether they are Hindus or whether they have embraced Christianity. Therefore, the advocates are of the opinion that no 'change' whatsoever can bring good to them. Only relief and rehabilitation to set them free from these sufferings is possible. As these scholars point out, such organisations encourage these suffering masses to cultivate patience and wait for a better life after death. Baxi (1986) and Gueriviere (1988) place some of the prominent works such as the work of Mother Teresa and the Christian missionary activities, Rama Krishna Mission, and some of the Gandhian movements like Harijan Sevak Samaj, Tribal Uplift Association, and Women's Welfare Societies, under this ideological framework. This perspective considers that
helping the suffering is more important than creating awareness or political action for emancipating them.

Economic/Community Development Model:

This model is in line with the understanding that poverty is related to the economic conditions of the people because people have no economic resources or have no access to them. The advocates of this model feel that the charity, relief and rehabilitation model is creating for people a dependency status on the voluntary organisations forever. A better solution is to promote self-help and self-development, to increase the income of the poor and the needy by making them economically productive. Some of the objectives emphasises economic-growth, self-reliance and self-development as key concepts of social change. This is made clear in the objectives given below which were distilled from the documents of the organisations under study:

Objectives:

- to organise and to advocate the local underprivileged rural areas to attain holistic development in social, economic, educational and cultural fields.

- to look into the living conditions of the socio-economically and educationally downtrodden and suggest ways and means to raise the standard of living.

- to coordinate and cooperate with the state Government and other local bodies at various levels to facilitate the effective implementation of public undertakings and to ensure better co-operation in all development activities with local authorities and to enable the society to carry out developmental programmes on the basis of self-help.

- to educate them about the need and importance of thrift habits so as to make them agents of social change.
- to motivate the adults to realise the necessity of education and to create an awareness of themselves, the society they are living in and their role and responsibilities in it.

- to conduct vocational training programmes and set up income-generating projects such as cottage industries, handicrafts, dairy development for the neglected tribal villages.

- to render medical care and health services and impart health education on hygiene, sanitation, environment, family care, immunisation and family planning.

- to inform, educate and motivate the weaker sections of the community to be involved in their own development.

- to promote community development education of the weaker sections to create in them an awareness for social health and economic development.

- to promote community health and hygiene among rural and tribal people through health education and training of village health workers in order to achieve a system of self-support in the field of community health.

- to eradicate superstition, myths, taboos, witchcraft and illiteracy which constitute obstacles to the emancipation of the poor.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate that the organisations engaged in economic and community development activities are large in number. The activities of these groups can further be classified with three main components as economic development, health care and adult literacy activities. However, one set of activity tends to contribute to another. 15 out of the 25 organisations focus on these economic development activities, giving emphasis to skill-development leading to self-employment.

Health has been given great importance in these organisations. Out of the 25 organisations, 21 of them are involved in health programmes. Many of their activities tend to be preventive rather than curative. However, major illnesses are referred to the medical
centres in the nearby towns and cities. Many of these organisations have their own team of medical professionals consisting of a qualified medical doctor, one or two trained nurses and a few auxiliary nurses to assist the doctor. There are a few local village level health workers called maruthuvachi, who are trained by the local medical team to assist them in the villages. Health and hygiene education is given importance in many of the organisations as preventive health education.

Apart from the organisations' own resources, made available to them through donor agencies, the Government's development schemes and bank loan facilities are also tapped. They also help people in acquiring old-age pensions, backward class benefits and the benefits of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe development schemes, enabling the resources meant for such people to reach them properly, clearing the impediments to implementation and promoting Government development activities.

**Implications of Economic/Community Development Activities:**

Economic activities are pivotal for every organisation, without which they may not have any locus standi in the communities. Without them it is highly doubtful whether they will be able to undertake any social and conscientization activities. Therefore for many of the organisations it is a base on which all other activities rest.

However the challenging task before these organisations are, will these self employment schemes provide scope for the poor to rise above their subsistence level? As was observed, their land holdings and economic capabilities are at such a low level that any accident, bad monsoon, crop-theft, burning due to internal fights/bickerings (which is very common) drive them back to where they were before. This increases their dependency on the voluntary organisations. The loans given are quite limited and only basic training is given. They would need more inputs to enhance their income and to become self-reliant.
The proponents of this model and the organisations who accept this model conceive that development is 'catching up with the rich' and in the process wealth will 'trickle down' to the poor. This model seems to be a by-product of the economic growth-oriented model following the modernisation approach (or the capitalistic model) of the West, that has been the popular thinking of the modernisation scholars like Lerner (1958), Schramm (1964) and McClelland (1966).

Although the models presented by these scholars were towards the national goals of development, the grassroots organisations are inspired by these scholars for their activities. They consider that the people are poor because they lack proper income and resources. Therefore they need economic growth. To enable them to acquire some supplementary income to raise their standard of living, the people need to be educated. Since the villagers are very traditional, they tend to follow the family trade, which may not increase their production process. Hence they need motivation, which can be created by witnessing the achievement of other people, according to McClelland (1966), and by creating empathy according to Lerner (1958). The programme of economic growth starts with a few rural people being motivated. The progress achieved, could filter through to the other poor people. The activities also indicate a city-or town-based approach rather than rural-based activities. The production process is calculated to reach the city markets rather than meeting rural needs.

Mahatma Gandhi's concept of the basic village community is a reversal of this method. Keeping the strong traditional value of the rural community and attempting to establish a self-reliant community, he stressed the importance of family trade which he explained as 'the law of heredity' (Detlef Kantowsky, 1980) and sharing human resources available within the village community. This approach was heavily criticised, because it widens the gap between the rich and the poor in the community. It hinders the growth of human beings as there is no motivation for the poor and the weaker sections of the people.
to grow. Motivation alone is not sufficient to attain growth. McClelland also points out that the need for achievement is itself not sufficient, but it should encourage community responsibility. About 18 of the 25 organisations surveyed, support this argument as it is their important goal to create attitudinal and behavioural changes. In order to raise the self-image of the people and to create self-sustaining communities, better relationships and social responsibilities, the organisations are encouraging the formation of cooperatives or sangams.

Looking at it from the point of view of Inkeles's (1966) nine traits for modernity (refer chapter 2), we can quote a few which are seen in their activities: the concept of readiness and openness to accept and experience innovation, planning habits, creating belief in human and personal efficacy, stress on personal and human dignity and belief in redistributive justice become key factors in their development activities. They believe that these aspects would develop the mind to accept new thinking to move forward towards self-reliance and increase economic growth. The common ideology under which these organisations focus their concentration is on personal attitudinal change which they consider could lead to change in the community.

Under this influence, the organisations concentrate on social reform activities emphasising awareness-building programmes to educate people on the social evils, ecological problems, health and hygiene etc., at the grassroots level. 18 of these organisations are of the opinion that they are called to undertake social reform activities which calls for urgent attention in the communities rather than going into the problems at the national level. The organisations are conscious of the causes of poverty, oppression and exploitation of the poor and marginalised. But they are not inclined to address such matters because they wish to preserve the status quo, and identify with the dominant

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1Sangams are village committees or people's committees for the purpose of enabling people's participation in the day to day affairs of the community. This will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.
structures. As A'breo comments, while doing so, 'they (voluntary organisations) become agents of reform and not transformation' (A'breo D., 1987).

**Planning and Implementation:**

Participation of the beneficiaries in planning and implementation of the development projects is very crucial. This increases their involvement, efficiency and generates interest in the projects. It increases corporate community living which generates responsibility and concern for others. These are the general consensus words used by many of the directors and Co-ordinators of the projects when asked about the need of participation in the planning and implementation process of the projects. Yet who plans and who implements the project is a question which is unanswered in many of the organisations.

In many of the organisations, the choice of particular economic activities initially seems to stem from the organisations themselves, which then gets modified according to the need and interest of the target population or community. One of the organisations pointed out that usually a survey report presents the need of the community, on the basis of which a project would be initiated. Another organisation was a little sceptical about the people's participation in the planning and implementation process, and commented: 'Talking of planning by the target population is very idealistic, especially working with the rural population. How do you expect the illiterate masses to be involved in planning a project?'. Another organisation pointed out that their projects are not long-term projects. Therefore, as one of the co-ordinators said, 'we are trying to concentrate the maximum that we could do in the limited period of time. We are oriented towards our goal and we are achieving what we want. We are happy and our people are happy'. Some organisations have indicated the participation of the target people through cooperative formation or sangams to encourage them to plan their activities and take up leadership roles. Their concept of participation is that it will encourage the people to take on interest in their own development and bring greater achievement.
From these comments it becomes clear that although these organisations encourage participation by the target population in the development programmes, they are achievement-oriented towards an already targeted goal. Their objective is to attain 'quality of life', a long-term objective in a short-time span which is usually subject to operational constraints. Although the organisations give statistical figures towards their achievement, one needs to analyse their long-term effect. The activities of the organisations in nonformal education, cooperative formation as well as sangams are also oriented towards the short-term achievements.

Social reforms and general awareness activities also help the communities' greater participation and involvement in the struggles. The activities of the groups enabled many of the Government schemes to reach the deserving people and made people fight for their rights and privileges. The participatory process identified in this category of voluntary action is one of harmony - the aim being to avoid problems and take up development issues that do not bring confrontation or conflict. Considering the words of Diaz-Bordenave (1980), these organisations can be identified as working towards their own goal achievement, but by collaborating with the Government and like-minded organisations to procure maximum benefit for the people. However, their participatory process serves as a guided tour towards development, with the animators of the voluntary organisation as the tour guides. One such example are the scheme - to provide loan facilities offered by some voluntary organisations.

The procurement of Government and bank loan facilities is causing problems, because of people's inability to repay on one side and unwillingness to pay on the other side. However, when the voluntary organisations find certain deserving cases, they tend to stand surety for such people to obtain loans from the banks and make sustained efforts for the recovery of loans by encouraging borrowers to take responsibility for repaying the loan.
A few organisations are trying to solve this problem of getting loans because of the difficulties people face with money lenders resulting in huge debts. In some cases they force people to mortgage the small plots of land they own and, later, forced them to become bonded labourers to them. Some organisations are trying to solve this problem by establishing a revolving low interest fund, which enables people to get loans and repay them on a regular basis. In most cases a small committee elected by the local people from the local community administers the fund. This committee is responsible for receiving and scrutinizing applications. The committee also designates a person from each locality to be responsible for recovery of the loan. In this manner the organisation is trying to build people's participation in their own affairs, building up from their own need, training them to be responsible in administering the finances and to take collective decisions. However, the decision making is not entirely left in the hands of the community, but the organisations have their representative in the committee and the revolving fund is administered jointly by the chairman of the committee and the director of the organisation.

This process is considered as a training ground for the community to learn to administer the local needs and solve their own problems by developing a management dimension in their participatory approach. Examining this from the perspective suggested by Ascroft and Masilela (1989), we can see that this participatory process can be an evolutionary process - as a means to development. The participation is considered as a directed journey which has very limited scope for people to express themselves and take responsibility. This kind of participation suggests co-opting the target people into the development activities of the organisations.

Conscientization/Mobilisation Approach:

The 'conscientization model' takes a departure from the previous models in the sense that its primary goal is not to bring economic benefits but to politicise the people. As Gueriviere, sharing the view of other scholars like Kothari (1985), Sethi (1984), and
Fernandez (1988), argues, the root cause of poverty and underdevelopment is injustice created by an unjust social order. This is also the view expressed by several exponents of dependency and underdevelopment from the other Third World countries, especially from Latin America as we have seen. Therefore, poverty should be understood as the result of a process created by the powerful in the history. It is an artificial and 'system-generated poverty' (Gueriviere, 1988:111). This has become the base for many of the voluntary organisations to work toward conscientizing and mobilising people's power towards challenging the unjust social order and bring about social transformation. In this process of bringing about social transformation, the organisations have to work towards several processes of education, mobilisation and organisation towards empowering people for taking action to change the system. This could be judged through their action. First, we shall look at the objectives which is a distillation from the objectives given in the constitutional memoranda of the organisations surveyed:

- to create awakening among the weaker sections of the society about the reality of the situation that oppresses them.

- to evolve programmes promoting the welfare of working women, the unemployed, the landless and poor peasants, the downtrodden and the economically and socially oppressed people in the rural and tribal areas.

- to encourage its members to implement appropriate programmes of action, either by themselves or in cooperation with others directed to the securing of welfare and justice for the people subjugated to any kind of social, economic, political or cultural exploitation or oppression.

- to conscientize women to recognise themselves as an integral part of society where they are accepted as people with dignity and respect.

- to organise women to fight for their rights and privileges as rightful citizens of society with equal potential and power in every sphere of the life in society.
- to organise the agricultural labourers of the backward classes to carry on struggles on economic issues based on day to day problems of bread and butter and increase solidarity, bargaining power of those who are deprived of land for cultivation.

- to politicise and organise landless, agricultural labourers - especially the Harijans, women and tribals - and to arouse awareness in them to participate in struggles which are of a class nature.

- to mobilise the unorganised into a political force for creating an alternate political force in Tamil Nadu.

- to help the unorganised to fight for their rights.

- to establish action committees in each village and build new leadership to effectively run these committees for the new benefits of the target group.

- to liberate women from economic, social and cultural oppression.

- to enable women to understand the social, political, cultural and economic situations both at local and national levels.

- to help women to participate along with men in transforming the society.

- to develop leadership from among women.

The voluntary organisations involved in 'conscientization/ mobilisation' of people for action are very few in number compared to the organisations involved in community development and social welfare. They are also popularly known as 'social action groups'. In the analysis of the 25 organisations, only five organisations were found to be concentrating on conscientization/mobilisation empowering people to struggle for justice. These organisations use phrases like 'liberation of the poor and women', 'to politicise', 'to organise', 'to increase solidarity', 'to participate in struggles', 'to fight against injustices, oppressions' etc., in describing their objectives, indicating their involvement in liberative activities of the oppressed, the poor and the marginalised sections of the society. Some statements like, 'to securing welfare and justice for people who are subjected to any kind of social, economic, political or cultural exploitation or oppression', 'raising awareness of',
'analysing the causes of ... ' etc., have an implicit character akin to conscientization and empowering people towards the formation of people's movement for action.

These organisations seem to consider that achieving power is the prerequisite for social transformation. Therefore, their goal is to make people aware of the socio-economic and political systems that are responsible for their conditions, thus motivating them to challenge and transpose those systems through political action. This model includes nonformal education as the key to raising critical awareness among people following the approaches of Freirean conscientization and Latin American Liberation Theology. Increasingly many groups are getting motivation from Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent satyagraha and non-cooperation approaches which was used as a weapon towards achieving national freedom.

The extreme form of this model tends to follow revolutionary methods for political action in which people are not only motivated but encouraged into direct political action. The method varies from militant political action to nonviolent direct action. But the goal of any of the groups is to change or transform the power structures that perpetuate injustice and oppress the poor.

Although these groups are involved in economic development activities, their major focus is on mobilising people for action. These organisations also concentrate on the formation of sangams but, again, the goal towards their formation is empowering people. In most of these organisations the initiative seems to come from the people. These organisations look at the sangam as a group of people who come together or are brought together on a common issue. Once they are brought together, a collective perception of injustice emerges, encouraging them towards collective action. As the organisations point out, in some of the villages these sangams function as a parallel structure to the existing feudal power structure of the villages. This forms an alternative structure in the villages in
support of the oppressed and exploited people. These organisations use non-formal education as the entry point.

Leadership training is given importance in the organisations' work, with particular emphasis being placed on sangam leadership. The general activities of a sangam were described by one of the organisations as follows:

1. call for meetings;
2. bring out the problem of the community;
3. initiate and reflect on the issues;
4. draw out an action plan;
5. identify the people from the community who could take up the task;
6. identify or nominate the animator from the organisation side;
7. organise public meetings;
8. attending meetings;
9. prepare petitions and meet the concerned authorities;
10. if needed, organise a mass rally or protest march or dharna etc.

(Interview, Co-ordinator, Association for Rural Poor, Madras. July, 1988).

These activities also include identification of beneficiaries to the Government-sponsored economic development schemes from the community and to organise loan facilities for deserving people. However, several organisations are of the opinion that an over emphasis on mobilising economic resources through welfare schemes reduces the potential of the people to enter into struggle.

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2 Dharna: A sit-in protest sometimes called a hunger-strike.
Implications of the Conscientization/Mobilisation Approach:

The conscientization/mobilisation groups tend to make the communities more inclusive and participatory. Factors like the leaders' own commitment, motivation and integrity are also factors that determine the participation and involvement of members of the community in the activities of these groups. Through them, the communities learn the tactics, skills and strategies of mobilising and managing social movements. With interaction between the leaders of the organisation and through nonformal education the communities begin to understand the intricacies of exploitation. It encourages the participatory process of identifying their social problems by a societal analysis which each group follows in its own activities. Some pick up the issue of economic repression, some, the issues of health, and others human rights issues etc. They adopt a problem-posing approach rather than a problem-solving approach, a Freirean concept of education. As Ascroft and Masilela (1989) point out, the goal towards this nature of participatory process is an end itself to empower people for their own liberation and transformation.

The formation of sangams is considered a powerful threat to the existing power structures of the villages but builds confidence in the exploited and oppressed people. Especially, it is being looked at from the present Dalit perspective. The usual pattern of village structure indicates the main village where the high caste people live and a separate place for the scheduled castes which is called the colony. Each village has a colony. The voluntary organisations' initiatives to work with the scheduled castes is a concrete expression of solidarity with the poor and the exploited, which is the inspiration drawn from the Latin American Liberation Theology.

Members of organisations who were interviewed indicated that the confidence and morale of the groups have almost always risen when they have setbacks or have to face a backlash from vested interests as a result of an organisation's involvement. The confidence of even ordinary people in the community rises remarkably in such events. These
experiences pave the way for people, who have known only suppression and who have accepted exploitation and oppression as the norm to realize that they do not have to be helpless and succumb to injustice and exploitation. This is especially remarkable among the scheduled caste communities, tribals and women, as the consciousness of these groups has grown because of the Dalit, Tribal and Women's movements.

The credibility and influence of leaders in these organisations is observed to be better because the interaction with members is closer and more intimate and open. The sharing is both more intimate and genuine, as they have to put up a joint front, go together to police stations, prisons and courts or rush suddenly to rescue a community member who is being intimidated or beaten up.

The Participatory Process:

Participation of the community is considered very essential and is given priority in these organisations. The practice of forming sangams and in many cases registering them as separate organisations under the Societies Registration Act, is to encourage and build up the people's morale and confidence. This also encourages people's participation in decision-making and leadership. The organisations who have registered the sangams believe that this in itself is an expression of empowerment of people, and has given confidence and courage to people. The concept of participation given by Ascroft and Masilela (1989), participation-as-an-end process, which according to Kothari is a human right, is the basis on which these organisations seem to work. People are made to identify their own needs and problems and are encouraged to be involved in collective decision-making and action.

This process encourages a dialogical approach for evolving their plans for action, which generates people's participation, to help people talk together and understand each other. This in itself is a powerful form of communication which is used as a vehicle to
liberate people from their mental and psychological shackles have that bound them for centuries.

Participation is not considered simply as one of the activities in a few of the organisations, but rather a process towards building up a genuine community, building up solidarity among people and that is empowering them as a community for their betterment or liberation.

The Role of Communication in Development

Siegelaub (1979) points out that, 'communication is one of the most unique products and producers of society's development' (1979:11). Communication is a subject as well as an object in building up a community, which is being built upon the struggles of people in their relationship with others. The struggles of the oppressed classes and castes are the living foundations upon which the communication process is built. Hence communication is a living expression as well as an aspiration of human struggle for a fuller life. What, then, is the role of communication in the work of the voluntary organisations who are working among the struggling people to enable them to engage fuller life? The aim of this section is to identify the way communication is being utilised by the organisations in this study in working towards the development of the struggling people. First we shall identify the communication activities of the voluntary organisations from the perspective of the selected 25 organisations that have been chosen for this study, and then we shall find out the role these communication media play in the struggles of the voluntary organisations in their development concerns.

The nature of communication depends upon the nature of development activities or the models of voluntary action. As it has been discussed earlier, the model of development shapes the model of voluntary action. Similarly, the model of voluntary action provides a basis for the nature of communication the organisations are undertaking. The role of
communication depends upon the development priorities and the development ideology the voluntary organisation holds. On this basis in certain organisations communication is used as an information disseminator. In some organisations it is used as a vehicle for educating and conscientizing people. The role of communication gets shifted as the organisations' understanding and focus changes, as we will see in Chapter Eight. Table 5.3 gives a general picture of the nature of communication activities that are being practised among the organisations under study.

Communication activities are broadly classified under seven categories: i) Interpersonal/group media; ii) posters/charts and drawings; (iii) audio-visuals - including cassettes and slide programmes, video cassettes, cinema (16 mm films) and documentaries etc; (iv) print media - including pamphlets, newsletters and other rural newspapers; (v) cultural media - including all forms of traditional media like dance, drama, songs etc; (vi) popular or people's theatre, also called street theatre; (vii) other forms - which include other items such as training, seminars and consultations, rallies, dharna, padayatra, public meetings etc. The underlined organisations in table 5.1, have their own communication units to support their development activities and the asterisk mark on the various items indicate the importance given to that particular medium by the corresponding organisation. This list is prepared from answers given by the organisations to questions during interviews.

Table 5.3 shows that out of 25 organisations, only 11 organisations have their own communication unit. Those who do not have a formal communication unit either use the services of other organisations or borrow or rent the programmes and equipment.

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3Padayatra means foot march. This is one of the method Gandhi and Vinoba Bhavi, another freedom fighter, were able to reach several thousands of villagers during their freedom struggle and even afterwards in their struggle with the people.
Table 5.3. SELECTED VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN TAMILNADU AND THEIR COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL. NO.</th>
<th>NAME OF THE VOLUN. ORGAN.</th>
<th>I.P.C. G. COM.</th>
<th>POSTER/CHARTS</th>
<th>PRINT</th>
<th>AUDIO VISUALS</th>
<th>CULT. MEDIA</th>
<th>STREET THEATRE</th>
<th>OTHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>A Code Land</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Rally, Training Pub. meetings Yatras etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Avadi Rural Dev Society</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Asha Nivas</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Centre for Rural Health &amp; Social Education</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chengalpattu Com. Devel. Project</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Damien Foundation</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Edu. Multi-Media Asso.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Guild of Service</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Inst. of Community Develop. Services</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Integ. Rural Develop. of Weaker Sec. in India</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL. NO.</td>
<td>NAME OF THE VOLUN. ORGAN.</td>
<td>I.P.C. G. COM.</td>
<td>POSTER/CHARTS</td>
<td>PRINT</td>
<td>AUDIO VISUALS</td>
<td>CULT. MEDIA</td>
<td>STREET THEATRE</td>
<td>OTHERS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Madras Social Service Society</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Prepare</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Try, Seminar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>People's Education for Action and Liberation</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Protestmarch Dharna, P.ME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Integrated Fishermen Development Project</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Training, Song Consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Regional Council for Adult Education</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Slum Women Advancement Project</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Training, Competition Rally, Dharna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>The Society of the Daughters of Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immaculate</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>The Swallows in India.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Tribal Welfare Agency</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rally &amp; Training</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Almost all the organisations (there is one exception) have indicated the use of interpersonal communication in their development activities. The nature of its use differs according to the nature of the development activities these organisations are involved in. Many of the charity, relief and rehabilitation-oriented organisations indicate that interpersonal communication is used as a process of counselling to build confidence in the psychologically depressed people to comfort them and help them to withstand their suffering. The economic/community development-oriented organisations place their emphasis on interpersonal communication for use as a tool to transfer information regarding development programmes available to them and to reinforce the value system to generate more income. These organisations seem to use this approach especially in their health education programmes to complement other communication forms, like cultural drama, songs or audio-visual media. The conscientization/mobilisation-oriented organisations seem to use group media for educating and conscientizing people through discussions, dialogues and problem-sharing.

Posters, charts and drawings are commonly used media in the grassroots organisations because they are relatively cheap to produce. In many of the organisations the animators themselves are encouraged to produce them. As Table 5.3 shows, 21 organisations actively use these low-cost media, even though only 10 organisations seem to produce their own posters and charts. Several health, environmental and nutritional food charts are available on the market or from other agencies, and these organisations buy them more cheaply than they could produce them for themselves.

Audio-visual materials include slide and sound programmes, television and video. The slide and sound programmes are used as a substitute to television and video shows in many organisations. Twelve organisations use this medium, although only one organisation is involved in programme production. Many of the organisations borrow or buy
programmes produced by other agencies on common issues like health, women, dalits. These organisations also indicate that this serves as an alternative medium especially for the people in the remote villages, who have no access to television or video. It is very rare for the organisations to use video. This is mainly due to the financial constraints upon the organisations, although when video is used it attracts more interest than other media.

The use of cultural media is popular among six of the organisations who have their own communication unit, are used in a variety of ways. The forms generally used in the communities for religious reinforcement and entertainment are given importance. Particularly villupattu - the story telling device using songs; therukuththu - the street drama; and the kummi - a village dance form. These forms of communication are used by both the economic/community development-oriented organisations and the conscientization/ mobilisation-oriented organisations. In either case the content is devised as per their specific goals.

Similarly, the popular theatre or people's theatre is used in many of the conscientization/mobilisation-oriented organisations. Only six organisations indicated that this form is used to conscientize and mobilise people. This is considered by other organisations as a revolutionary approach, which tends to attack the organisations of State and the status quo. Many of the community development-oriented organisations declared themselves to be afraid to use it.

The 'general' category includes a variety of communication activities such as: training programmes for leadership, seminars and consultative meetings which can be thought of as part of an educational process. Also included are more revolutionary approaches (which fall within the conscientization model), such as rallies, dharna - sit-in agitations, and padayatra, which are used to raise public opinion and mobilise public support on the issues for which the organisations are struggling along with the weaker sections of society.
Communication is considered to be an integral part of the development activities by most voluntary organisations. Even though some organisations do not have a formal communication unit, they tend to use the services of other organisations. The organisations feel that communication plays a supportive role in their activities by transmitting information, strengthening relationships, educating, persuading, building awareness, creating public opinion and mobilising people for action.

Organisations with different ideological positions use similar forms, although the content and the approach in using them differs as stated earlier. These forms of communication are utilised by several organisations and contain a variety of different themes and messages concerning several social issues. They all make use of traditional costumes and characters which are familiar to the audience.

The most popular and widely accepted form is the villupattu. Here a story is told through songs, sung by a group of singers who are linked together with a bow (a villu) with some chimes attached to it. Figure A shows a villupattu performance conducted by the Slum Women's Advancement Project to educate women on women's rights.

The villupattu presents a focus for common social issues discussed among the group members. At any point during the story-telling, performers can stop to clarify points being made or to repeat a message for reinforcement. Villupattu is both an educative and entertaining form of cultural medium and is usually performed after the evening meal in the villages. This is a clear case of a form using entertainment as a vehicle for its educative message (Rao, 1987) The Government-owned Doordarshan has in fact adopted this form.

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4 Doordarshan - It is the name given to the Government-owned Television station in India. Television entered Indian life as an experiment under the UNESCO project to study the impact of television as an educational tool in September, 1959. This project started with 20 television sets and broadcasted a service to viewers in and around Delhi. The success of the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) introduced in 1975-76, as an agricultural development programme to 2,400 villages, which succeeded in imparting information from a distant source to a widely dispersed audience, induced the government of India through its Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to make television available to a larger audience. Consequently, on the pretext of the Asian Games in India, in the year 1982, 42
to get across the message of Government-sponsored programmes.

An equally popular form of cultural media in rural areas and one which is commonly adopted by few of the organisations for their social and health messages is the street-play or therukuththu, (theru - street, kuththu - drama) which is also known as folk theatre. The organisation 'A CODE LAND' uses this approach very much for a variety of purposes. Figure B presents one of the plays conducted by the organisation.

The popular theatre which is also called People's theatre is used by the political parties like the Communist Party of India, Dravida Kazhagam and later by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam to protest against the Governments. Thomas (1987) observes that the Naxalite movement used this to mobilise and organise the rural and urban working classes against the State. Now it is being used by many organisations with emphasis on organising and mobilising people for action. In the opinion of Badal Sircar, a popular social activist and a practitioner of popular theatre, popular theatre encourages people's participation in the entire process of revolutionary action. He also says that it could be an hybrid form of the folk theatre, which is developed according to the changing needs of the time and history. As Sircar (1982) explains it:

popular theatre is a flexible, portable, free theatre as a theatre of change ... This theatre is not an experimentation in form... We nevertheless have to explore to find the best form to communicate our theme as directly, effectively and intensely as possible to our audience ... through such exploration new forms often emerge (Sircar, 1982:56).

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television transmitters were commissioned, claiming that this was to serve the social and economic development goals of the country. Kumar, K.J (1988) observes that the demand from the urban elites, the television manufacturers and the advertising industry as well as the waning popularity of Mrs. Gandhi’s Government contributed to the decision of the government to expand the medium nationwide (Kumar, K.J. 1988:128). By 1990, it was expected to have about 370 transmitters to cover 80% of the population, but due to the instability of the present political situation the expansion is rather slow. The objectives of Doordarshan is appended in Appendix 7.
Fig. A. Villupattu

Fig. B. Therukuththu
Badal Sircar argues that the popular theatre can serve only as a revolutionary theatre to lead the people to a revolutionary path. However, he is of the opinion that, when the folk theatre and the popular theatre could function together, taking up the cause of educating the rural poor and the working classes, it can serve as a transformer of change. Popular theatre or People's theatre is also becoming very popular especially among the organisations that are following the conscientization approach. Refer Figure C, as presented by the organisation called 'People's Education for Action and Liberation'.

The discussions on Popular Theatre could not end without the mention of the Padayatra, and Satyagraha, a form of protest march and Dharna, which are off-shoots of the non-violence ideology proposed and practised by Mahatma Gandhi. These were potent means by which people expressed and to communicated their message of protest, and can be identified with Gandhi's 'Quit India' movement, the non-violence ideology of national liberation that helped to unite and guide Gandhi's diverse followers from the rural as well as urban areas. This has become a powerful force moving many of the voluntary organisations towards mobilising the people for protest as a non-violent means of creating public opinion and social transformation. Pyrardal points out that,

Gandhi maintained that non-violent rebellion is not a programme of seizure of power but a programme of transformation of relationship ending in a peaceful transfer of power (1958:363).

The purpose of the protest march or Padayatra, as Gandhi utilised it was to create public opinion which he found as an effective indictment against injustice and towards enlightening public opinion (Jesudos, 1985). As Singh (1988) points out, the non-violence ideology of Gandhi became the revolutionary weapon of the weak against the strong in the battle for national freedom. This ideology brought to focus the life of Gandhi itself while involved in the freedom struggle and in his effort to mobilise mass support. Kusum Singh (1988) points out that the message of suffering followed by Gandhi sent out three aspects:
Fig. C. Street Theatre

Fig. D. Padayatra
Fig. E. Dharna
i) it awakens the individual to a sense of his/her dignity and power;

ii) it makes a direct appeal to the oppressor's sense of morality;

iii) it intensifies favourable public opinion within the nation and around the world (Kusum Singh, 1988:50)

Gandhi's non-violent ideology captures the attention of many voluntary organisations because as per Gandhi's non-violence ideology, the weak must not surrender and must not obey. Instead of inflicting suffering on the oppressors, the weak must invite suffering on themselves and put the oppressors to shame and make their weapons as useless as possible (Erickson (1969). This will help the people get a sense of their own power. People must act collectively, fearlessly, and non-violently against terror and injustice.

Rallies, padayatra and dharna are becoming an integral part of the activities of voluntary organisations aiming to mobilise public support for their work, and is becoming popular in general in India. But it differs from organisation to organisation and depends on the ideology these organisations practise. Rallies and padayatras are adopted by the community development-oriented organisations as a powerful weapon to shape public opinion and the conscientization/mobilisation-oriented organisation extend it further towards mobilising people for protest. In this venture the content of their message differs. Cultural programmes like puppet shows, kummi, group singing, street plays and public meetings performed by padayatrees and posters, placard and banners with assertive slogans indicating the purpose of the padayatra adds to the effectiveness of shaping public opinion. We can give two classic examples where two differently ideologically oriented organisations have undertaken padayatra focusing on two different issues, to explain the alternative approaches this medium can be used for.

The first case represents an organisation A Code Land with a social reform ideology which concentrates on health education programmes along with several other social development programmes. This organisation uses several cultural media for the purpose of
educating people and conscientizing them on other social evils. The foot march is one of the ways this organisation is trying to reach and attract the attention of the people. This programme will illustrate how this organisation is combining several other cultural communication media for disseminating the message to the people. It can also give us an understanding of the place of communication in the development activities of the voluntary organisations with the focus on social reform.

Case 1: A Padayatra for Immunisation

The incentive to go for padayatra was an occasion when the Government of India gave a call for immunising all children by 1990. All the health centres and hospitals were intent on reaching people through the mass media, such as newspapers, radio, television, advertisements etc., in fulfilling this goal. Despite all these efforts, the message did not reach many of the villagers. Therefore, as the Director of A Code Land said, 'The best way to reach the people and to gradually help them gain confidence in the scientific intervention is through interpersonal communication and that too by those who have the credibility and who have gained the confidence of people'. While explaining why the organisation chose this approach and what their aim was in undertaking padayatra, he gave the following three objectives of the march:

1. protecting the pregnant mother against tetanus;
2. immunizing the child against the six killer diseases\(^5\) identified by the Government;
3. creating an awareness and providing all the necessary information to the parents, especially pregnant women regarding mother and child care and protection.

As a preparation for the padayatra, the organisation conducted a field survey which

\(^5\) Six killer diseases: Polio, Measles, Rubella (German Measles) Tetanus, Whooping-cough and Dehydration.
revealed the fact that the message of immunisation had not reached many people. This prompted them to take a decision to meet and stay with people and discuss with them the problems and the remedy. Commenting on this approach, the Director of *A CODE LAND* remarked that,

Great leaders like Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave were able to achieve their goal and were able to mobilise public support by taking people along with them on foot. The freedom struggle has taught us the significance of moving into villages by foot - *padayatra*. The organisation considered that the important approach in reaching people is 'communication' (Personal interview, June 11, 1988).

The initial planning of the *padayatra* emphasised training volunteers with the focus on the content of the message and how to communicate it effectively. Thus, a three day intensive training programme was organised prior to the *padayatra*.

The *padayatra* took the form of a ten-day long walk, through several villages from 17th May, 1988 - 26th May, 1988. Groups of volunteers spent the day with the villagers, talked to them about the six killer diseases. Cultural programmes like puppet shows, *kummi*, group singing and street plays were conducted in the evening along with public meetings. Wherever they had electricity, they also used video, showing a film on the six *killer diseases* and *Cleanliness is Happiness* produced by UNICEF. After these programmes they gave time for group meetings, or house visits to meet women, to encourage them to take their children for immunisation and make use of the medical facilities available to them.

According to the report of the organisation, it could cover about 73 villages in these ten days, reaching around 17,450 people through this programme. The Director of the organisation said:

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6 A detailed programme of the *padayatra* is appended in Appendix 8.
the *padayatra* had a definite impact on the villagers. The people have realised the importance of immunisation and now they have a better idea of the immunisation schedule. This has created not only awareness but also a demand for services from the Government and from the medical authorities. Many people brought their children for immunisation. Not only that they also demand proper medical services from the Government officials because of the impact created through the *padayatra* (Personal Interview, June 11, 1988).

The approach adopted here is clearly designed to create awareness among people but avoids upsetting while not affecting the *status quo*. A second example of a *padayatra* shows, in contrast, how this method can be used as a form of protest.

**Case 2: A Padayatra for People's Awakenings**

A 100-day *padayatra* is a major event of the organisation called *People's Education for Action and Liberation*. This is an organisation motivated to mobilise people towards political action if it is warranted. It was originally called the *Samathuva Samuthaya Iyakkam* (the Movement for an Egalitarian Society) - a movement to find a political alternative in Tamil Nadu. This *padayatra* was one of several other means this organisation has undertaken to mobilise people and to create public support and public opinion on the social, economic, cultural and political situations of the State.

The *padayatra* covered around 2,400 kilometres, passing through several thousand villages in 10 districts of Tamil Nadu. It focused on the following issues facing the state which needed urgent attention from the Government:

1. The Land Question.\(^7\)

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\(^7\) Land Questions: The pattern of land ownership in Tamil Nadu allows the concentration of limitless land in the hands of a few. Out of the total cultivable land in Tamil Nadu about 70% is owned by 10% landlords. More than half this land is with 1% landowners. 18.42% of agricultural labourers in 1961, has risen to 31.45% in 1981. Even the Land-ceiling Act enacted by the Government to control land-ownership, did not bring about any satisfactory change. Because there are many loop-holes which the propertied class could use to their advantage. Out of the five lakh acres of announced as surplus land only 1.5 lakh acres were distributed which shows the inefficiency of the Government as well as the deficiencies in the Land-ceiling Act (Document of *Samathuva Samuthaya Iyakkam*, Report of People’s Education for Action and Liberation, Madras, 1988).
2. Water Problems - both for drinking & agricultural purposes;
3. Education;
4. Basic amenities in the villages;
5. The Wage Question;
6. Rural-based industries;
7. Women's Questions;
8. Maladministration;

The padayatra was started on 6th August, 1986 (coinciding with Hiroshima day) and ended on 11th November, 1986. In several towns and district headquarters the padayatrees had public meetings focusing on the issues they wanted to highlight. They carried placards with slogans of their protest, shouting slogans and singing revolutionary songs, and performing street plays highlighting the issues during the public meetings.

On the final day of the padayatra, when it reached the city of Madras, nearly 10,000 people participated. They wanted to submit a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu which was signed by nearly one million people during the 100 days of padayatra. But this was refused. Therefore, the yatrees went to the extent of conducting a dharna before the secretariat. As the Director of the organisation puts it:

Although we could not submit the memorandum to the Chief Minister, yet, it is a success because we could mobilise popular support for our struggle with the weaker sections. This padayatra ensured our support for the poor in their struggle at the same time a threat to those who oppress them. We

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8 The Wage Questions: Successive Minimum Wages Acts passed in Tamil Nadu in 1959, 1969, 1979 and 1984 for agricultural labourers. The wages fixed by these acts were not enough to meet the basic needs of the agricultural labourers. Even this amount is not paid to workers in the rural areas. Neither the legislature nor the executive has taken adequate steps to put these provisions into practice (Document of Samathuva Samuthaya Iyakkam, Report of People's Education for Action and Liberation, Madras, 1988).
hope to emerge as an alternative political force as against the present political process which is centred around the issues and aspirations of the propertied sections of the society. In this process the *padayatra* could shape popular opinion for the organisation that we are with them and struggle for them (Personal Interview, 27th July, 1988).

**Analysis of the Padayatra as a means of Communication**

As it was pointed out earlier, *padayatra* was a form of communication advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave during the Indian struggle for independence. The spectacle of a group of people walking along the main streets of a village with placards and banners, shouting slogans and singing songs, acts as a focus for villagers to hear the messages of protest. Several of the organisations studied are beginning to advocate the use of *padayatra* for reaching the rural masses and shaping public opinion and gathering support for social change both in rural and urban areas.

The example of *A CODE LAND* showed how an organisation of passive resistance uses *padayatra* as a means to educate and bring awareness of a common problem like health can be addressed. It aimed to bring about an attitudinal change towards immunisation and in general towards Western medicine.

Several different forms of communication were used by the organisation. It used interpersonal communication, to meet people, and to have talks. The organisation followed this up with public meetings and cultural communication forms which were familiar to the people living in rural areas. Added to these the organisation also used video shows wherever possible. These media of communication were brought together to convey one particular message, persuading people to change their attitudes. Further, the interpersonal communication, discussion and dialogues with individuals and groups enabled them to clarify their doubts and accept their messages. This organisation used the *padayatra* as a passive, non-violent means of educating and raising awareness.
The organisations with the conscientization/mobilisation approach use the *padayatra* to mobilise mass support to fight for the rights of the poor. They also use different communicative forms such as, street theatre, folk dances, public meetings, revolutionary songs, etc., to enlighten the people and to mobilise popular support.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has drawn attention to several factors with regard to the concepts of social change and participation, and shown how these concepts are understood and operationalised by the voluntary organisations within the three basic models of voluntary action. It has also discussed the role of communication in these organisations' efforts towards bringing about social change. It showed how organisations with different developmental models have different perceptions of the concept of social change, and how accordingly, their communication activities are designed to assist them in their attempts to bring about social change.

The concept of social change is understood to play a crucial role with reference to the organisations understanding of their voluntary action models. In line with the theorists of modernisation paradigm for example: (Lerner, 1958; Inkeles, 1966; and Rostow, 1960), the organisations with the economic-growth and community development-oriented organisation, who consider economic-growth and modernisation as the only way to develop the underdeveloped country and blame the people that their traditional outlook and cultural beliefs and practices are the cause of their poverty. Therefore, they consider that people's attitude and behaviour should be changed from traditional attitude to accept modern ideas.

On the other hand, in line with the dependency theorists like Frank, 1969; and Portes, 1976 who take the view that it is the socio-political structure which creates an un-equal world, the conscientization/mobilisation-oriented organisation work towards a change in the social structure. This presents the fact that there are two predominant views of social
change encountered in the voluntary organisations; one looks for attitudinal or behavioural change, and the other looks for a structural change - change in the structures that perpetuate domination.

The organisations working toward charity, relief and rehabilitation are not oriented toward social/structural change because their activities are mere help or charity or a relief from human misery. Their concept of misery is based on fate or karma or that life is predestined, and nothing can be changed by human efforts. Thus, Gueriviere and Baxi have pointed out that compassion and concern for the victims of poverty is the basic ethical foundation on which this model stands. Therefore these organisations feel that charity, relief or rehabilitation is essential to alleviate these people's sufferings. At the same time they believe, these suffering people should be encouraged to cultivate patience and wait for a better life after death.

The economic/community development model organisations are oriented towards a growth model. They hold the view that people are poor and poverty stricken because they are illiterates, locked in outmoded traditional practices, and are lethargic. Hence they should be educated. Therefore their focus is on attitudinal change to accept what is modern, and to come out of their cultural bias. As Singh (1973) says, it is the general notion in India that social change is observed to run in the direction of modernisation. People have to be changed from old values of life to modern values of life. In a similar manner Kuppuswamy (1977) argues that Indian society still continues to be tradition-oriented, hierarchical and male-dominated, therefore the society should be modernised to come out of this outdated norm. These scholars and some of the organisations studied here are in line with the modernisation scholars of the West who hold the opinion that no modification can be seen in the social norms and the personality structure of the majority of the population as long as these traditional value systems dominate.
Hence their concentration is towards self-reliance and self-development. They have a firm belief that economic development will increase family income. Training and education will alter world views so that new standards of life will be accepted. Therefore they understand that social change is to be brought about through attitudinal change of the individuals who in turn will change the community. The concept of social change is that of social reform which does not affect their relationship within the local authorities, but is to bring social reform within their own communities.

Their basic approach is the Gandhian model of establishing an ideal village through community development programmes on one hand and the modernisation concept of the West on the other hand to eradicate the factors of traditionalism and cultural practices through education.

Organisations following the conscientization/mobilisation model function with two sets of ideological factors. First, Social reform - which is an immediate goal. They tend to identify the problems within the community and try to address them locally. Reforming individuals and reforming the community becomes an immediate priority of action for them.

The conscientization/mobilisation model's ideological position considers social change, a change from the perspective of the socio-political system, not the individual or even the community, but the entire system is the ultimate goal. It considers that the entire socio-political system which is responsible for the underdevelopment and sufferings of the people. Therefore the role of the organisation is to enable people to identify the root causes for people's poverty and underdevelopment. The organisations' task should then be to conscientize, mobilise and empower people to fight against the oppressive systems that perpetuate the existing structure of society. They aim for a structural change or transforming the entire system.
Many of these organisations believe that it is the social structural system, which is based on the caste system, that is the root cause of every other problem in Indian society. This, they believe, should be subject to radical cultural, political and structural change. A new dimension of cultural awakening has been built into the conscientization process with the increasing awakening of the Dalit movements. This aims at a fundamental revolution in the values of human beings, which should look for an alternative change process.

Although we try to address this change process from our three-fold classification of the voluntary action, this study observed that it is difficult to compartmentalise the organisations and to put them into one of the three models identified. On the contrary, the models are perhaps best seen as occupying different points on a continuum. There is a distinct movement from one to the other, although they hold on strongly to one position or drastically change from one to another. The four case studies will enable us to see this progression of ideological position among the organisations.

**Participation:**

The understanding of participation also differs from one organisation to another. The understanding of participation among the organisations using the charity, relief and rehabilitation approach sees people only as receivers - a beneficiary approach. There is nothing the victims can contribute and people's participation is seen as a dead end.

Organisations adopting an economic and community development approach believe that people should be encouraged to participate in their development. But first they should be made to learn to take up leadership. These organisations, therefore provide leadership training through cooperative formations, *sangams* etc. In the economic-growth and community development approach the *sangam* formation are looked at as an evolutionary process towards change. In the words of Diaz-Bordenave (1989) it is 'directed participation' or 'participation-as-a-means' (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989) to achieve the
organisational goals of their developmental activities. Yet it could also be seen that though it is a slow process, it encourages a coequal, horizontal form of communication in their training process, which could have a stronger impact and permanent attitudinal change.

With the organisations following a conscientization/mobilisation approach, the emphasis is on conscientizing the people towards forming a people's movement. They aim at awakening and empowering the people for mass action to achieve their goal. Their conscientization process follows Paulo Freire's educational approach through dialogue and problem-posing which encourages people's participation at every stage. This approach encourages education and action to take place simultaneously. The formation of *sangam* encourages people to have a decentralised decision-making system at the village level. It also encourages people to gain confidence and courage to face the village feudal lords and the caste hierarchy. Their concept of participation is closer to the understanding of what Ascroft and Masilela (1989) differentiated as 'participation-as-an-end approach'.

**Communication:**

It was observed that for many of the organisations studied, communication plays a supportive role in their development process. Some use communication for disseminating information while others use it as a vehicle for educating and conscientizing people. The role of communication also gets shifted as the focus of organisations is altered by circumstances.

A variety of communication forms are utilised by the organisations and these were classified under seven categories as discussed earlier. We can observe that different ideological groups, although using similar forms differ in their content and approach.

It could be observed that the more the organisations tend to be involved in traditional nature of work, the more they tend to be away from the cultural and popular theatres because they consider that they may create problems in attacking the *status quo*.
Interpersonal communication is still dominant in the organisations' views and is accepted as a key to their success. At the same time it is also considered that if it could be used in combination with other media of communication it will be more effective. It is used as a process of counselling to build confidence in psychologically depressed people, to comfort them to withstand their suffering. It is used in other organisations as a tool to transfer information and persuade people to accept the development process provided and to reinforce the value system. The audio-visual media, especially slide and sound, is used as an alternative medium in the remote villages to television and video communication media.

Cultural media are used in a variety of ways in many of the organisations. These forms are generally used in the communities for religious reinforcement and entertainment. Popular among them are villupattu - story-telling through songs, therukuththu - a street drama, and kummi - a village dance form which are utilised by the organisations with social themes. Traditional costumes and characters are retained and the content of the messages conveyed is related to the specific goals of the organisations concerned. These cultural communication forms generally increase people's participation by allowing them to participate through dialogue and to raise questions.

The leadership training programmes as well as the skill training programmes conducted at the grassroots level are designed to build a greater confidence in the weaker sections of society through expanding personal contacts, fostering horizontal communication and encouraging coequal participation.

Rallies, padayatra and dharna are becoming an integral part of the work of voluntary organisations whether they follow economic-growth/community development approach or conscientization/mobilisation approach. Although the method is the same, the content of the messages conveyed vary widely. It serves to create attitudinal change or utilised to
encourage resistance against the social system. If properly utilised and coordinated with several other cultural and group media, can function as a powerful alternative medium.

This chapter has considered social change from the perspectives of the voluntary organisations in rather general terms. The next chapter will deal with these issues at a deeper level, via an in-depth observational study of four voluntary organisations.
CHAPTER SIX

DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATION MODELS OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS: CASE STUDIES

Introduction:

The previous chapter analysed the development models of the voluntary organisations and broadly discussed the communication activities practised in accordance with their voluntary action models. It has shown the difficulty in making a distinct compartmentalised classification of voluntary organisations within the three categories given earlier. For the majority of the voluntary organisations present a picture of a movement rather than a distinctly structured organisation. For this reason when planning the in-depth study it was considered inappropriate to search for organisations which could represent the three models of voluntary action. It was felt that it would be more helpful to focus on organisations that are local-specific, flexible and dynamic that could give direction for a movement. 'Movement' here refers to an organisation which has dynamism and the flexibility to accept and adopt other approaches in venturing towards bringing social change in societies, rather than confining itself to one particular model of voluntarism. In a nutshell, a movement type of organisation is one which is flexible, dynamic and contextually relevant, providing scope for alternatives in their search for sustainable development. On this basis, the four organisations which represent movements are involved in activities that are flexible, open and look for contextually relevant action are chosen as cases for our study.

The previous chapter also brought out the fact that communication plays a supportive role in developmental activities of these organisations. Some of the models are capable of providing alternative communication for reaching people effectively. The media of communication used by several of these organisations, either folk forms or audio-visual media, present the same mode, but the content and presentation differ from the more
traditional to the radically-oriented organisations. Some of the organisations focus on information dissemination and some, on bringing about either attitudinal or structural change. The participatory approach adopted seems to depend on the basic ideology of the organisations. The traditional organisations which focus on community development activities tend to have a participation-as-a-means-approach. On the other hand, the organisations which are inclined towards conscientisation/mobilisation tend to have a participation-as-an-end-approach. These factors are examined further in the case studies which are presented in the following chapters.

We shall study the organisations on their development and communication activities as separate chapters and finally we shall discuss the over-all perspectives of their development and communication strategies as we analyse them. Before taking the case studies, we shall look at the significance of the place of study.

The Place of Study:

Having outlined the significance of considering Tamil Nadu for the present study, which has nearly 14,124 villages in its 20 districts, it is considered appropriate to study organisations working in the same district for clarity and to understand the socio-economic and cultural factors that may have influence on the activities of the organisations.

Why Chingleput?

Chingleput district, which was recently renamed as Chengai-Anna District, is one of the 20 districts of Tamil Nadu. This particular district covers both urban and rural areas (both the coastal and agricultural areas). This makes the district unique in that it contains communities exhibiting many of the social problems that a large number of voluntary organisations are trying to address. This district alone has nearly 1778 villages surrounding the city of Madras, the capital of the State. Chandrasekar (1957) observed during the 1950s although the villagers in this district displayed some of the sophistication of an urban
attitude, it was only a thin coating of the urban style and behaviour that could be observed in the style of the people. This comment seems to be still valid today in this district, even after 35 years. Sivasubramanyam (1987), studying the socio-economic conditions of the fisherfolks of the district, argues that only superficial infrastructural changes can be observed rather than any real change, that people may profess to have attained. Similarly Aiyappan et al. (1988) also comment that although greater changes can be noticed in political, economic and cultural factors, no radical or systemic changes have taken place in the villages of Chingleput district. As they say, 'Even now the old feudal lords of the villages continue to be the most wealthy and influential and are the most respected and feared men' (1988:20).

This district has the largest population of scheduled castes, - 26.2 percent of the total population, much above the state average of 18.4 percent - and a lower literacy rate of 38.7 percent - less than the State average of 46.8 percent (Government of Tamil Nadu: Evaluation & Applied Research Department, 1988).

Life in the Village Community:

Chingleput Community Development Project CCDP has its headquarters at Kannikulam in Chingleput district situated about 15 km from Chingleput, the district headquarters and about 68 kms from Madras, the state capital. The geographical area of activity of the project covers twelve neighbouring villages under the domain of three clusters within the following three panchayat divisions: (i) Perunthandalam; (ii) Manambathy and (iii) Mallipakkam, located in the Sriperumbudur taluk of Chingleput district. The social, economic and cultural life are interwoven in these villages in such a way one is contributing to the other in shaping the life of the people in these villages, which is typical of many other villages in Tamil Nadu.
This area is typical of many villages in Tamil Nadu, a conglomeration of different caste groups. The Brahmins, who are the performers of 'puja' (worship) in the temple, constitute a very small proportion of the population. The Vellalas (Mudaliars) and the Vanniers (Naickers), who are sub-castes of the Sudra caste group, are considered to be high castes and form the major caste group. The scheduled castes form the next major group having over 25 per cent of its population. The other minor caste groups in these villages are observed to be Blacksmith (karuman), Carpenters (tacchan), Barber (ambattan), Cobbler (chakkili), who subjugate the poor and the marginalised landless labourers belonging to the low-caste groups. For example, the scheduled caste men serve as coolies (servants) in the landlords' fields and their wives and children serve in the landlords' households as domestic servants for which they will be paid very low wages and their leftover food. The scheduled castes are not fully accepted into temple worship or to perform puja alongside higher caste groups nor are they allowed to take part in religious processions along with high-castes.

Sriperumpudur taluk, according to the Government election census is a reserved area, which means that only a scheduled caste man/woman can contest in the election from this constituency because a greater number of the population in this area belong to scheduled caste origin. This privilege did not change the status of the scheduled castes. As it was pointed out earlier in chapter one, the scheduled caste representatives do not truly represent the problems of their own people in the parliament or state assemblies, rather they serve only the political aspirations of the high caste people and of their own.

The typical oldest style of demarcation between the high-caste settlement and low-caste settlement can be observed in these villages. The caste Hindu¹ localities being called aharam and the scheduled caste hamlets being called cheri. Most of the houses in the

¹Caste Hindu usually refer to the Brahmin community. But in this place it refers to the so-called high castes who are the Vellalas and Vanniers.
cheries are mud-walled, low with thatched roofs. They are very small compared to the caste Hindu houses which are large tile-roofed houses. Frequently the front portion of cheri houses which face the road are kept clean, but backyards are cluttered with cow-dung and garbage. The scheduled caste\(^2\) hamlets are much more crowded than the caste Hindu localities.

Apart from their services as farm labourers and watch and ward men, the scheduled castes\(^2\) function as drummers on funerals and marriages of the caste Hindus. The practice of following the drummer tradition is getting minimised especially among the youth. It is also observed among the youth of these villages that more than the psychological distance in the scheduled castes and the caste Hindus is not ritual considerations but the master-servant relationship between the employer and employee. One of the caste Hindu leaders in the community said: 'How can the master and servant so unequal in status most of the time be considered equal on some other occasions'? The scheduled castes are mostly insecure and feel the need for change in their social and economic relations.

In the midst of all these problems, the scheduled castes themselves are not united. A study conducted by Dietrich (1977) on the organisation of the scheduled castes in a Tamil Nadu village expresses this concern, pointing out that the scheduled caste population were less organised than others in the villages. These conditions clarify the intensity of the problem of exploitation as well as people's attitude to change. Although the nearness to the city and urban centres could contribute to a radical change among people, the culturally conditioned attitude and the enormity of exploitation keep these people under continued oppression and misery. This brings the need for voluntary organisations to get involved in economic development, as well as in organising these poor and the weaker sections of the people in order that they may acquire their rightful place and privileges in society.

\(^2\)Scheduled castes are called as 'Paraiyar' in most of the Tamil villages. Parai means 'drum'. Paraiyar - drummer.
Attention in this chapter is focused on the organisation's activities directed at the weaker sections of the population and designed to foster a more equitable distribution of individual and collective power through income-generation and decision-making. Thus, observation and analysis will be directed primarily to the strategies employed in community-based programmes involving popular participation and collective action by the lower socio-economic strata with direction and leadership coming from both within and outside the target population.
CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY I

THE CHINGLEPUT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The Chingleput Community Development Project (CCDP)\(^3\) is a voluntary organisation operating within the framework of the Church of South India. It began as a project to provide medical service through primary health care centres to the villagers around Chingleput by Mary Hughes, a missionary from the Church of Scotland Mission, in the year 1857. After the church union in the year 1947, the project was transferred to the Church of South India Social Welfare Department which continued its work by providing medical services and a primary education. Realizing the need and urgency for holistic development, expressed by the Director of the Project, its work was extended to community development programmes only during the late seventies.

Aims and Objectives of the Project

Administratively this project is under the management of the 'Church of South India', but financially it is supported by the 'World Vision of India', a wing of the International organisation called the 'World Vision International' which administers several projects throughout India. Representatives of the 'World Vision' frequently visit the project to offer their suggestions for its improvement and to give periodic training to project animators. The organisation is working within the ideological framework of the 'World Vision International'. The primary aim of the World Vision International as stated in its project report is, 'doing social work to respond to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to reach the poor and the down-trodden with God-given potential within the social and cultural contexts of the people' (Annual Report of CCDP, 1986). In accommodating the aims of World Vision

\(^3\)The Chingleput Community Development Project will be referred to as CCDP. Wherever the term organisation appears in this section could also refer to CCDP unless otherwise stated.
International and the goals the Church of South India, along with the concerns of the target people, the organisation states its aim thus:

To reach the poor and the down-trodden people enabling them to be self-reliant and share the God-given resources and potentials to build their own communities responding to the Gospel of Jesus Christ within their own cultural context (Annual Report of CCDP, 1986).

Elaborating their aim the organisation states thus:

The scheduled and backward caste people in 12 hamlets in Chingleput District live in total poverty due to neglect from the Government and disunity among themselves. Thus the Project aims at organising the scheduled caste people to bring unity among them and open up development avenues, tapping Government resources and other available resources to develop and to liberate them from their bondage from all servitude. It also helps the people to avail bank loans on collateral security, provide preventive health care, education, creating opportunities for value change and present the Gospel of Christ through the personal life, witness and service of the project staff (Annual Report of CCDP, 1986).

The following objectives are enumerated in order to fulfil the CCDP aims:

i) to provide self-help and income-generating small scale industries, village industries, tapping resources through various Government development schemes, bank loans and other resources from donor agencies;

ii) to provide community health services through preventive as well as curative medical services;

iii) to encourage and develop leadership by forming Girama Samudhaya Munnetra Sangam (Village Development Clubs), Vallibar Sangam (Youth clubs) and Mathar Sangams (Women's Clubs) to bring unity among themselves and work for the betterment of the community;

iv) to provide educational services, both adult education programmes of the three 'R's' and support formal education programmes for students, to enhance literacy among weaker sections and to encourage their leadership development;
v) Finally, to communicate the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the surrounding villages and to strengthen the commitment, service and witness of the local church to serve the poor and the weaker sections of the society (Project Proposal of CCDP, 1976).

The aims and objectives suggest several areas of activities. Accordingly the CCDP concentrates on self-help economic development programmes to help the weaker sections to earn their own living. Secondly, the organisation is involved in health care, providing both preventive and curative medical services. Thirdly, it provides educational programmes to help school going children procure books and travel passes etc. Although the organisation does not indicate awareness education as part of non-formal education, the formation of sangams, skill-training and health education programmes are part of the non-formal education programmes which are aimed at bringing awareness of the problems of disunity and attitudinal change and to enhance leadership roles among the community.

**Concept of Social Change:**

The aims and objectives stated above point out that the CCDP focuses on a value change from dependency to self-development, to free the community from their attitude of servitude to self-hood and self-reliance, to build unity and community fellowship. It therefore focuses on an attitudinal change in people which can help them better to come out of their poverty. Broadly speaking, their view is that social change can be brought about by organising them to work towards unity and to work for the common good of the community.

Therefore the goal of CCDP is to foster self-reliance and to encourage community members to learn to share resources in common, to live among the scheduled caste people and to live with self-dignity. An increase in income and sharing of resources are considered as the key to social change.
In order to reach their goal the organisation developed several social welfare, economic development and social development programmes as their methodology to bring about a social change. We shall now examine the nature of these programmes and their influences on the community.

Social Welfare and Economic Development Activities:

As a century-old organisation with its roots in missionary activities, the CCDP began with social welfare programmes of charity, rehabilitation, formal schooling and medical services as part of its organisational activities. A primary school and specialised medical services to poor and needy people are part of these activities.

As the problems of the weaker sections of the community were growing and the role played by social welfare schemes was found to be making people more dependent on the organisation, the organisation ventured to find ways of enabling them stand on their own feet instead of creating an ever dependent status. Therefore, in 1978, CCDP modified its strategy to include economic and community development activities.

Economic Development Programme:

The major economic activity undertaken by CCDP concentrated in providing resources for small-scale industries and cottage industries, and training people to undertake such small-scale or cottage industries. The programmes undertaken are brick-making, weaving, tailoring, and cow and sheep-rearing. These activities were initiated by tapping the resources from the World Vision, the sponsoring organisation, bank loans, and Government sponsored development schemes.

After a period of training when the animators find that the trainees could do their own work independently and efficiently, the organisation helps the trainees to procure machines through bank loans or through Government development schemes.
The evaluation report of CCDP (1986) states that between 1980 and 1985 the organisation could assist in raising the income for about 40 families, who have developed a sustained income through cottage industries; 25 families have been trained in rearing cows, forming cooperatives and selling milk. They were provided with loans to purchase milch cows, and 60 families were helped to get bank loans\(^4\) amounting to Rs.40,000/- from the Indian Overseas Bank to set up small shops and other businesses to maintain their families.

Apart from bank loan facilities, the organisation has set a revolving fund\(^5\) to help the very poor people who have mortgaged their land to landlords and are unable to get them redeemed. Such people were given loans from the revolving fund without interest to help them pay back their loans and help them set-up small shops for their living. This loan is also repayable periodically as set by the Village Development Committee (VDC) (this is dealt with under community participation below). The report of the organisation mentions that such help has been received by about 80 people during this period.

Besides such direct economic development activities the organisation is also involved in helping people to receive benefits from Government development schemes. Such assistance was obtained through the IRDP and TRYSEM for setting-up small scale industries. The report indicates that 60 families had received benefits through these schemes during the past 5 years. Schemes such as free housing plots, subsidized loans for constructing houses, laying approach roads to villages, and bringing electricity to the

\(^{4}\) Bank loans: As part of development schemes of the government the nationalised banks provide loans to the poor with a very low percentage of interest in order to raise their income and encourage self-reliance. The recipients of these loans are encouraged to pay back their loans in either weekly or monthly instalments. To receive these loans they should be recommended by a responsible person who has a good standing and financial stability in the community, who will also provide security for the loans. On the whole this system did not function very well because of the fear of repayment either on the part of people who give security for loan or people who want to receive loans. Some cases have indicated that materials bought through these schemes were taken away by banks because of repayment problems. Several voluntary organisations are involved in getting loans giving security to several people whom they consider deserving.

\(^{5}\) Revolving fund: The organisation keeps a capital fund for the purpose of giving loan to poor and deserving people without interest. Those who get the loan have to return the loan periodically, to help others get similar loans from this fund.
villages through various Government schemes also have become part of the programme of the organisation. The report also lists the number of beneficiaries in each of these programmes indicating that they were the achievements of the organisation.

Community Health Programme:

Though the villages are only around 15 km from district headquarters, these villages are still like remote areas, for need of proper medical care to reach the poor and needy. In spite of a Government medical, maternity and child health care centre in Manambathy Panchayat, medical services are poorly organised. Coupled with this, the traditional attitude among the poor is to avoid medical centres when they are sick. Sickness is believed to be a result of possession by the devil or God's wrath and only amenable to natural cure. Only in emergencies do these people look to the medical services, and often they seek help when it is too late to save the patient. More than medical treatment, therefore, basic health education is essential in these areas. The Government medical services never provide this. It is primarily this need which catches the attention of several voluntary organisations along with some curative medical services. The medical mission has therefore become the focus of CCDP from the beginning.

The major area for CCDP's activities is therefore health with more emphasis on primary health care than medical treatment. CCDP has established four mini health centres to cover all twelve villages which are under the supervision of trained nurses, who are the key persons in the health care system. They are each assisted by a nurse with minimum nursing training. The health team are also assisted by Village Health Workers, selected from the local communities to serve their own community. They are trained by the nurses in the primary health care system. Apart from attending regular clinic operations in the mornings, the nurses are expected to visit the target villages on a regular schedule, giving personal care to every family.
The nurses are also expected to conduct health education programmes for women, teaching them health care, sanitation and nutrition. The nurses are also expected to give immunisation against polio, diptheria, tetanus, whooping cough, for children under five years of age and educate women on family planning to promote Government schemes as part of their programme. They maintain a demographic record of the villages under their jurisdiction. In addition to these nurses, a medical team consisting of a medical doctor and a community health nurse and a pharmacist visit health centres once a week to provide ante-natal and other general health care services.

**Education:**

CCDP continues to run a nursery and primary school as part of their educational programme. It also has a limited role to play in supportive measures for formal educational programmes for children such as providing transportation facilities, books and other educational materials. The CCDP's report show that every year the organisation provides bus passes to 50 poor children identified by the Village Development Committee, 200 poor children receive books and notebooks, and 24 children have received cycles with loans from the revolving fund.

The beneficiaries as indicated in the report were mainly scheduled caste people who were identified as poor and marginalised sections of the community. It could also be perceived that the CCDP's activities are a time-honoured and goal-oriented strategy towards economic growth, which brings out the role the organisation plays in the community development programme.

**Implications of Social Welfare and Economic Development Activities - Self-help Skill Development Training Programmes:**

Under the economic development scheme, the organisation provides training in tailoring, weaving and brick-making. These training programmes are conducted by qualified trainers who were also called *animators*. They stay in the community since they come from
other towns and cities. This helps people to go to them at their own leisure times and learn
the skills. Many of the beneficiaries have indicated their loyalty to the organisation. The
trainees consider this as a great relief as it sets them free from their misery by enhancing
their family income.

Although social welfare measures are criticised, supportive measures for education,
health and charity are a necessity. Although education for scheduled caste children is free,
providing books and travel passes are not within the reach of the parents. For them, money
spent on education is money lost for providing food for children. They encourage their
children to supplement family income by working in fields or looking after younger children
while their parents go for work. In these cases support rendered by CCDP is considered
helpful by many students who have a desire to study. Some of the students clarified to the
researcher that if such help had not been given by the organisation, they would not have
had the opportunity to continue their studies.

It was reported by the Director of the organisation that the organisation had
conducted non-formal education programmes in previous years but now this had been
handed over to the Tamil Nadu Board of Continuing Education because of the increased
importance given to non-formal education programmes by the Government. Before it was
handed over to the Continuing Education Department, the organisation trained nearly 225
people through its adult education programme.

The organisation considered imparting literacy or the 'Three R's' as the only adult
education programme. The entire work in imparting skill-training programmes, health
education and leadership development through 'sangam' formation of CCDP could be seen
as part of the educational process under the non-formal education programmes. The
organisation avoids taking risks on any awareness education programme, which they feel
may challenge the Government or the status quo.
Community Participation and Leadership Development:
Concept of Community Participation:

The concept of community participation or people's participation is increasingly being emphasised by several scholars, as seen in earlier chapters. Although they differ in their own interpretation of people's participation, they agree that community participation is based on the expectation that programmes can be better, more acceptable and successful where the people who are to be the beneficiaries of development projects have some influence in the policies that govern their development.

The Chingleput Community Development Project considers participation of the beneficiaries of its work an important component in the development process. The success depends on the extent to which beneficiaries become part of the whole process. The organisation's focus on social change is limited to attitudinal change through their economic development. Community participation is confined to involving people in their developmental activities. Above all, one of the prime objectives of the organisation is to bring unity among the people which motivates the organisation to be conscious of developing community participation.

These factors enable one to understand that the organisation's concept of community participation goes only to the extent of involving people in their development programmes because they are the beneficiaries of such development. We shall first look at the various ways in which this organisation is encouraging and developing participation of people in their development activities, then analyse how far it helps them to achieve their goal.

Techniques of Participation:

The organisation branched the method of training into several economic-income-generating programmes which assumes a greater participatory process. Involvement of village women in their health programmes, the formation of Village Development
Committees, youth and women's sangams and their participation in planning and implementation in the development activities are considered to be successful means of enabling community participation. We shall see how they are implemented and how they are contributing to the participatory process in their development. The economic development training programme conducted by the animators, encourage a spontaneous participation of learning and sharing at a co-equal, and horizontal level, building a healthy community spirit.

Village Health Workers:

As part of primary health care service, the organisation gives importance to health education programmes. To enable this programme to be more effective, the organisation has developed village level health workers (VHWs), who are local village women trained by the nurses. It was observed that the first function expected of the village health workers during their training is to visit the villages to get to know the people, their beliefs, practices, and common diseases and how people are trying to treat those diseases. This helps the nurses to focus on the important area of their health education and helps them to produce their charts and pictures and provide their medical kit. It was observed that, this training is also an educational process for the nurses to learn from the trainees the nature of the prevalent diseases in the area and how people are trying to treat those diseases. These women become part-time employees of the organisation to serve their own communities. Sometimes this was looked at as a hindrance, but for several purposes it gave a positive response, especially the easy acceptance to other village women. The village health workers were observed to be able to meet people individually, visit them in their homes and create confidence to be able to persuade the women-folk to accept their instructions. The village health workers were found to be more effective in communicating with the people than the nurses themselves, because the VHWs encountered no language and cultural barriers and could reach people easily.
Sangam Formation:

In order to encourage community participation and bring unity among people, the organisation is focusing on the concept of developing sangams. It was observed that the organisation has become successful in establishing Village Development Committees (VDC) called Girama Samooga Sevai Sangam in all the 12 villages where they are concentrating their work. Eight youth clubs, called Valibar Sangam, and three women's associations called Madhar Sangam were also formed to encourage all sections of the community to participate in the development process of the community, to bring unity among them and to help to bring changes in the community. Through the formation of these sangams, the organisation was observed to have brought many changes in the lives of the communities.

Girama Samooga Sevai Sangam (Village Development Clubs):

The formation of the Girama Samooga Sevai Sangam\(^6\) (Village Development Clubs) could be considered as the first step in the process of developing unity among the people to develop participatory leadership as a means of bringing sustainable development. The village development clubs are observed to be active in all twelve villages in which the organisation is concentrating its work. The VDCs are expected to be involved in supporting CCDP in planning, implementing and evaluating their own programmes. It is envisaged that this leadership will eventually create an alternative to the existing hierarchical village structure. With this aim, the project report enumerates the functions of the VDC thus:

- to create unity among the poor and the weaker sections (scheduled castes);
- to create leadership among the poor and weaker sections of the community;
- to help the organisation in planning, implementing and administering village development projects;

\(^{6}\)The Girama Samooga Sevai Sangam will be referred to as Village Development Clubs or VDC hereafter.
to enable the members of VDC to learn to approach Government officials by themselves to avail resources for development programmes of the community through available sources;

to enable the members of VDC to set up a local Village Development Committee fund and to maintain proper accounts;

to enable the VDC members to learn to tap the resources available from banks as loans for development and to identify deserving people to be recommended for such loan;

to register VDC as an independent body under the Societies Registration Act for further developmental activities of the community (Report of the CCDP, 1986).

**Vallibar Sangam** (Youth Clubs)

The Director of CCDP said that the youth clubs - *vallibar sangam* - were formed to encourage unity among the youths and to create second-line leadership as well as to use the potential of youth in the right direction. Young people were encouraged to help the VDC as well as the animators.

As part of their training and for creating self-development and second-line leadership to the Village Development Clubs, young people were identified and sent for training by the organisation. As the report reveals, six young people have completed their training in the Industrial Training Institute of the Church of South India. Two of them underwent electrical and carpentry training at another industrial training institute. Apart from these training programmes for self-development, the unemployed young people were used in the communication unit and also as part-time staff of the organisation. The animators play a key role in organising youth activities in motivating and using the potential of the young people in the community.

**Madhar Sangams** - (Women's Clubs):

Women's clubs are functioning in three village panchayats in Perunthandalam, Manambathy and Mallipakkam. They are registered bodies under the Societies Registration
Act as separate madhar sangam. The same administrative setup as VDC was initiated. The functions of the madhar sangam are: (i) to educate people in community health; (ii) tapping available resources for women and (iii) to encourage and involve them to earn subsidiary income for their families. Since it is easier to approach the Government in the name of women's organisations than any other, it was reported that the women's clubs are registered as separate bodies chiefly to tap the resources available to women through the social welfare department under 'women and children welfare schemes'.

As part of leadership development programme, short training programmes in the area of community health, leadership training, community organisation and exposure trips were organised for the VDC members, youth clubs and women's clubs in co-ordination with other organisations. The respective sangams select the people who will undergo such training and exposure programmes. Normally they were sent in groups of 20 from different villages, accompanied by two animators at a time. Four such trips have been organised by the organisation. The organisation finds itself successful in enabling people to develop their world-view, especially of the functioning of other organisations of a similar nature and of people in a similar condition. They seem to follow the way suggested by the scholars of the modernisation paradigm in a smaller way by getting a more adequate world-view through these short trips and exposure programmes. We shall now look at the functioning of the VDC and youth and women's clubs to understand the process of participation in this organisation and analyse its effects.

An Analysis of Approaches to Participation:

The twelve Village Development Clubs seem to function as a supportive body to CCDP in identifying the needs of the communities and in planning and implementing development programmes. Each VDC consists of seven members with the following designations: 1) President, 2) Vice-president, 3) Secretary, 4) Treasurer, and 5) three other executive members. All members chosen represent the local village community. The
animators of the respective villages represent the organisation as ex-officio members on the committee.

VDCs normally meet on the first Saturday of the month. But in practice it was observed that whenever the President or the Secretary and the animator wanted to discuss certain matters and to send out certain decisions to the organisation or to the Government, special meetings of the VDC would be called. Prior to the committee meeting, the President and the Secretary would discuss with the animator the nature of the matter on which a decision is to be taken. Matters concerning loans from the revolving fund, bank loan applications, and the matters about which the village needs to approach the Government and the CCDP are the most frequent topics for discussion. Matters pertaining to women and to young people are referred to the respective sangams and any resulting decisions are then processed through the VDC to the CCDP for approval and for financial sanctions. VDCs thus function as a means of feeding information from the community back to the organisation.

In this way the CCDP is developing a system of small village democracy. Although the decisions taken by the VDC are very much guided by the organisation or the animators which could be refered to as directed participation or 'participation-as-a-means-approach', the system functions well in assisting the villagers to take a role in leadership and in decision-making. All these activities require time and effort on the part of the organisation and its animators.

Until recently, the 12 Village Development Clubs were functioning as individual village committees. The CCDP has now organised them into three clusters. According to the CCDP Director, this suggestion arose out of discussions in an animators' meeting as a means to encourage the villages to cooperate with one another and to widen their contacts and perspectives for working together with others without losing their individual identity
and village autonomy. The new administrative body had not come into effect at the time of writing. The individual VDCs had yet to study the proposal and give approval to it. As the CCDP Director argued: 'it will be effected only when they accept it, we do not want to force it on them' (Personal Interview, 22/5/1989).

The Youth Clubs assist the VDC by participating in the community development programmes, especially by meeting members of appropriate departments of Government. They are encouraged to conduct sports activities in the community, and inter-village games are organised by them. As the Director pointed out, the organisations' goal is to build up unity among young people, by trying to build up their morale and a sense of self-worth and usefulness. As McClelland (1966) points out, motivation is a key to success and is important for growth, and helps build up self-development.

The organisation considered that sports meets are necessary to create motivation towards greater achievement, which is important in people who were for generations subjugated and denied responsibilities, what Portres (1976) calls the 'withdrawal from status and respect'. The avoidance of responsibility is a common phenomenon among scheduled caste youth. The organisation seems to identify this problem and is trying to encourage them to use their potential creatively and innovatively. Sports and games programmes are observed to have built group identity and a spirit of competition, encouraging greater achievement and building courage and confidence and unity among the young people.

Attempts are made to organise the young people to look into some common problem and join hands to work together to achieve success. Thus, with the VDC and the youth club joined together, the organisation motivated the young people to contact the district transportation department to get the buses to stop in their village, for lack of public transport had long been a problem for children and young people. Children frequently have
to walk for a distance of six to seven kilometers to go to school every day. Although the Transport Department was approached several times by different youth clubs on an individual basis, the requests were ignored. The youth clubs of three villages joined together and organised a 'rastha roko' - road block. They planned to sit on the road with all the school going children. Around 350 to 400 youths and children sat on the road and blocked all the vehicles passing on the high road, causing considerable disruption. This drew public sympathy and attention, and on hearing of the protest, the District Transportation Commissioner visited the spot and promised stoppage of certain buses on that route as well as promising to allow concessionary fares for school-going children.

This victory led the community to believe that if they fight unitedly for a genuine cause, they can get cooperation from the public and achieve better results. The organisation taught them the way to approach the authorities about their problems, and how, through nonviolent means, they could get their grievances heard.

The Madhar Sangams are also very active, especially in generating resources for training and programmes of income-generation with funds through several Government schemes for women. The animators accompany women to the Government offices, enabling them to assert themselves and gain confidence and courage to take up a key role in their own development.

CCDP’s report (Annual Report of CCDP, 1986) indicates that 60 women from the three panchayats benefited through khadi and village industries. Ten women were trained in tailoring and another 10 women received benefits through the revolving fund scheme. It was observed that women who could earn and maintain their families were more respected in the villages than the women who could not. As more and more women come forward for training and to start earning, they were treated with respect in the society and at home because they could contribute to the family income. Women said that men consult them
frequently now in family matters and also respect their suggestions, which was not happening a few years back. They feel that this is a remarkable change in the attitude of men which the organisation brought about in a community which is tradition-bound and male-dominated.

Diaz-Bordenave (1980) says the goals of a development programme-oriented approach engaging in activities like the formation of sangams, self-help activities to increase production, better education etc., which are directed by an the organisation as the external change-agent has a very limited scope for people's participation which he calls it as 'directed participation' - where people are induced to participate. Working for the development of people requires getting the right information from the appropriate sources, convincing people of the benefits, meeting the officials through repeated correspondence and visits to the offices and persuading the Government officials to process their papers. Above all, it requires patience on the part of the organisation as well as the people, because this can take several months or sometimes years. Added to these factors, it is not a matter of a few months or a few years even to enable a centuries-long subjugated and humiliated people to be freed from their bondage of submissiveness. Any change in them will take time and requires patience. As Portes points out, 'humiliation resulting from status withdrawal among parents have certain psychic consequences for their sons who, in turn, transmit them to their own children. After a complicated evolution of complexes and stages, the 'virus' finally matures and is ready to do its work in society' (Portes, 1976:70). It is the commitment, and dedicated service of the animators that enables the organisation to function successfully. In such a context it can be only a directed decision-making process which alone can sustain them in the long run.

As these sangams are getting involved, from simple issues such as scrutinising the applications for bank loans and loans from the revolving fund to bigger issues such as seeking Government development programmes for the villages, and meeting Government
officials to get official development programmes to reach the weaker sections, the VDC leaders' morale is strengthened and their confidence grows. At the same time, the people of the community gain confidence in their own leaders, instead of trusting other community leaders.

Uma Lele (1975) has remarked that participation, in this context and with such people, could be encouraged with a view to sensitise people to increase their receptivity and ability to respond to development programmes, as well as to encourage local initiatives which may in the long run yield what Nair and White (1987), Ascroft and Masilela (1989) and Diaz-Bordenave (1989) call participation-as-an-end-approach. As we could see, the organisation is taking participation as a process where the involvement of the beneficiaries is identified as their involvement in planning, in implementing, in self-expression, in decision-making, in sharing the resources and in evaluating the programmes. On the other hand, as we saw before, we should call it motivation for their development to attain selfhood. Observing the nature and commitment of the organisation one could come to the conclusion that a voluntary organisation's approach to development is a movement towards an active participation, in other words, it is participation-as-a-end-approach for which directed participation is only a beginning.

The Director of the CCDP hopes that these twelve villages will become model villages of self-reliant and self-sufficient small communes of their own. The organisation's focus for development is in the Village Development Club, and the Director considers that if VDC is developed properly, giving proper guidance, the organisation could achieve Mahatma Gandhi's vision of an 'ideal village'. He emphasised that each village should be self-sufficient and self-content within itself, developing and meeting their own needs within the village. As Gandhi envisioned participatory democracy, it had to be worked from below by the people of every village and not by twenty people sitting at the centre and planning for them.
The Communication Strategies of CCDP:

Having gained experience in their field the organisation found the initial drawbacks, noting the continued stagnation of people's condition and their struggle for life. The CCDP then realised the need to build awareness among people about their conditions of poverty and ill-health. As the organisation had already been committed to preaching the Christian faith, using different media, they extended the use of these media for developmental purposes.

The organisation uses various models of communication in their economic development activities and their health activities. In particular, audio-visual media such as charts, slides, posters, audio-cassettes are used in creating understanding, and are used as group-media to generate discussion and participation from the people. The animators were observed preparing their own charts and also encouraging the VHWs to prepare their own charts for the health education programmes. As observed, it is the inter-personal, one-to-one, horizontal communication model through the life style of the animators and the contacts of the health workers, which removes the language and cultural barriers, that is found to be more appealing in this context. Although low-cost media like charts, posters, flannelgraphs and slides are used in their health education programme, they were considered only secondary to the personal encounters of the Village Health Workers.

Cultural Media and CCDP:

To fulfil the objective of conducting awareness building programmes through culturally relevant methods, the communication unit of CCDP was equipped with media such as villupattu, kathakalatchebam (story narration with songs by an individual), puppet shows, slide show and audio-cassettes which were used extensively in their awareness-building programmes, giving importance to training animators and village health workers as part of their strategy to effectively reach the target people. It was also observed that the
group consisted of animators, members of the youth clubs and village health workers co-
ordinated by a Co-ordinator of the organisation who is skilled in such programmes. The
Co-ordinator with the help of the group, writes the scripts, rehearses the performance and
takes it to villages. The group works out a programme schedule in consultation with the
animators every month and accordingly the programme is carried out in every village. The
concerned animator, along with the VDC, is responsible for organising the programme in
their respective villages. Although it is an amateur group it is considered as a specialised
group for communication for the entire organisational work both for developmental and
evangelistic work. Of late, Doordarshan, the state controlled television medium, asked
CCDP to give programmes in its rural development programme called Vayallum Vazhvum -
'Field and Life'. The issue and problems of the villagers will be brought out in this
programme through culturally relevant media of communication. This group is considered
proficient in villupattu and puppet shows and is being used quite frequently in television
programmes these days.

Villupattu as indicated in the previous chapter is popular among the villagers as an
entertainment medium, but it is also one which can carry an educational message. The
message is coloured in the form of 'jokes' to capture the attention of the audience and then
corrected by some member of the group. Since the programmes run for nearly four hours,
several issues can be dealt with, in a single session. The common problem of a village
which frequently found a place in the CCDP performances were 'love marriage' (often
these happen to be inter-caste marriages between a high-caste and a low-caste), the dowry
system, the status of women, family planning, gambling, drunkenness and corruption. The
dynamic performance is integrated with the development message, with cultural values in
segments of entertainment that maintains audience attention throughout the programme.

Similar to villupattu, the puppet show is also used to pick up common issues such
as drunkenness of men and the problem of population control. To illustrate the way the
messages conveyed in these performances affect the audience, we shall take one of the programmes depicting drunkenness and battering of women, a common problem among the villagers:

Example: The puppet show depicted a scene where a man spends his daily wages at the liquor shop, while his wife spends her wages buying rice for the evening meal. She boils the rice, feeds her five children and keeps the rest for her husband and feeds herself with the rice water to satisfy her hunger. She waits for her husband to return. The man returns home very drunk, beats his wife for not providing him with good and tasty food. Frightened by the father's attitude, the children run away from their home. As the skit proceeded, people began pointing one after the other from the audience identifying such men among them. This became part of the entertainment for them. When it was pointed out how families suffer because of the bad habits of men, there was absolute silence among men. One of the audience reflected on this experience saying,

Such programmes will teach us about our wrong doings. This skit made us reflect on our lives and we feel ashamed of what we men are doing. We care for our pleasure without thinking what is going to happen to our family if we don't give our wages. When we drink, we become beasts. The Government encourages drinking by opening more liquor shops. At least you are showing how our problem of poverty increases because of our habit. Although you are putting us to shame, it makes us feel and think about our beastly nature (Personal interview with an audience of the cultural programme conducted by CCDP on June 11, 1989).

Although, one could expect to have discussion or dialogue after this programme, the group did not initiate any discussion from their side. When asked about this, the Coordinator replied that purposely they did not have discussion at that moment, because the programme itself creates tensions among people. Often they themselves argue and find their own solution, and this is what is expected to happen. There is then feedback from the VDC members, and some of the reactions help in to modifying the programme for the next performance. Thus, debate among the audience initiates dialogue among themselves. As
Wang (1984) and Ranganath (1980) argue, the traditional media, such as villupattu, command greater respect among the rural masses because they are part of the rural social environment. They also point out that they promote people's participation through dialogue between the actors or performers and the audience. But in this case it was the dialogue among the audience members themselves which appeared to be the danger here, however, is that this dialogue can easily degenerate into argument and this occurred on several occasions during the present study. The presence of the actor/animators is important so that discussion can reach the desired conclusion in line with the main messages conveyed in the performance.

These programmes have helped to raise consciousness at the individual level so that they criticise such evil practices in the community. This will serve as a catalyst for change if more attention is given to follow-up. The notion of conveying and modifying cultural values through traditional media and of promoting horizontal communication is an important element in efforts towards greater participation from communities in their own process of development and advancement.

**Summary and Conclusion:**

The Chingleput Community Development Project, an organisation with a charitable and social welfare strategy of development, has gradually modified its strategy to direct itself towards economic upliftment to assist the poor and the weaker sections of the district, especially the scheduled castes. The socio-economic upliftment strategy of development emphasised skill-training to lead people from the scheduled castes towards self-reliance and self-respect. The economic development strategy is goal-oriented, target-focused and time-bound. In the process of achieving their goal and in concentrating on maximising the use of available resources and benefits to the people, the organisation tends to collaborate with the Government development agencies.
Health programmes concentrated on both curative and preventive aspects of health, with particular emphasis on preventive measures through community health education. The organisation's strategy to reach tradition-bound illiterate people effectively through the village health workers was found to be largely successful.

With these strategies of social and economic upliftment, the goal of CCDP is to bring in value-change from dependency to self-development, a concept which fits into Rogers' (1978) self-development approach. The organisation focuses on achieving self-development through collective action of the community to increase their income for their own stability, and to strengthen their unity to stand together to achieve these goals; this is their conception of social change.

**Community Participation:**

Their concept of leadership development focused on the formation of village level leadership among the underprivileged men, women and young people to create confidence and a new line of leadership in the rural villages. Village Development Committees, youth clubs and women's associations could be considered as the first step in the participatory process in people's own development. It is focused on creating grassroots leadership which can eventually motivate an alternative leadership to the village structure. Therefore participation is understood in terms of organising people towards creating a united community and for developing a common collective/shared leadership rather than an autocratic, feudal type of leadership.

Gandhi's participatory ideology of enabling a self-sufficient, self-reliant self-dignity with self-expression as a village participatory democracy, became the guiding principle of the organisation in forming the village development committees, the youth clubs and the women's sangams for building an ideal village community.
Although people's role in programme-planning and implementation was centred around the organisation, opportunities were provided for people to modify the programme according to their need, but this happened very rarely. Participation of the beneficiaries is still found to be at an initial stage. In many cases participation is in fact more a case of co-option of beneficiaries. On the other hand, considering the context and the conditions of the beneficiaries, to sustain their leadership participation at all can only be a slow process. Participation can be considered here as directed participation, with a consistent approach in empowering people and then slowly withdrawing. This cannot be called a passive participation, for it is an active nonviolent participation, following the Gandhian perspective.

This brings us to a discussion of the alternative. The alternative strategy cannot be a blueprint worked out at the national level, nor even at the state or district level. Every local situation and context calls for various alternatives. Only a combination of several approaches, as we have observed from this organisation, in development as well as in communication could help in working with the grassroots people. Only a constant vigil of the situation can bring out a proper indigenous strategy.

Communication Strategies:

While looking at the communication strategy, the organisation places its emphasis on personal influence as the key to success, although they do have a formal cultural media unit. This was observed in their training activities, community health and awareness raising. As it was experienced, personal influence had a greater persuasive effect. Audio-visual communication media were used as educational aids. The cultural media were modified to harmonize with their purpose to play a supportive role. The animators, village health workers and the village development committee were the change-agents with more persuasive communication skills and the audio-visual and cultural media play a supportive role in their development activities.
The economic training and health education activities were down-to-earth and the climate for learning was at co-equal partnership level, a one-to-one approach, which enhances horizontal communication in building good relationships. The animators' and the VHWS' personal interest and life style builds a proper ground upon which people can learn what is able to sustain them. As Schramm (1977:3) points out, 'only when communication can build itself into a social structure, is it going to show any real hope of extensive results'. The life style of the animators and Co-ordinators itself becomes a way of communication that builds a proper relationship for building the village community. The animators' personal influence becomes the key for change in the life of the trainees.

The use of cultural media presents the organisation's ideology of non-interference in the affairs of the community and plays a passive role. It is this ideological role that enables them to fit into the ideology of the Government-owned media and which allows co-opting of CCDP in the Doordarshan programmes. But the organisation should beware of the danger Kidds (1981) points out: even the cultural media can be used to fulfil the aims of a one-way, top-down model of communication, a channel of information rather than a change agent.

The organisation considered imparting literacy or the "Three R's" as the adult education programme when they said that they have transferred the adult education programmes to the Tamil Nadu Continuing Education Board. But while observing, one could perceive that their activities in imparting skill-training programme, health education and leadership development through sangam formation was influenced by non-formal education. Although the organisation could not conceive that the leadership development at the village level is a power, empowering the people now, it could emerge as a powerful force to counter-act the existing structures of exploitation in due course. This could be visible in the youths' undertaking the rastha roko.
In sum, this is a social welfare organisation that is becoming a socio-economic development organisation working towards the self-development of the weaker sections of the people in a programme that is target-oriented, achievement-oriented and working towards attitudinal change as a primary concern rather than structural change. Their efforts are for building an effective community that develops its own leadership; they encourage collective leadership for collective action to tackle the economic and immediate social problems the community faces. Communication is used as a tool to show the issues in society which normally end up as the predetermined developmental issues and models of basic needs like food, water, clothing, education, housing, health etc. As these social problems are seen as hindrances to development, the organisation addresses attitudinal change. Although it does not aim at challenging the oppressive structures directly, the approaches practised have the potential to challenge the structures of oppression and work towards building an 'ideal' village community.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDY II

THE SLUM WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

The second case chosen for detailed study is a slum development project working among women in particular, and the entire slum in general, through women. Most people of this slum are migrants of villages from the Chingleput district. Hence, it is considered that this study will present a unique picture of people who lived in the same background a few years before and how they see their present conditions and the changes that have occurred.

Slums in general are urban villages, where the struggles of people are more severe than the rural poor. For example, the minimum basic amenities like protected water supply, drainage, lighting, etc., do not exist in these areas. Many social problems breed in the slum because of the poor conditions of the people. As Desai and Pillai put it, 'slum is basically an area of darkness, despair and poverty' (Desai, 1970). The slum-dwellers are affected by the social, economic, political and psychological pressures of life. Gupta, describing the social conditions of the slum dwellers, points out that people living in slums suffer among other things from 'family disintegration, debasing of marriage and the deterioration of youth through parental neglect' (Gupta, 1968:210).

Many people consider slums to be cancerous growths in cities which threaten the city environment. In such a context of discouragement, deprivation and disappointment, is it possible to bring slum-dwellers out of their miseries, build confidence and awareness among them about their conditions to enable them and to create leadership within themselves? Such conditions have motivated several organisations to work among slum
people to recreate their living, make it meaningful and give a sense of worth to their life. One such organisation is the Slum Women’s Advancement Project, (‘SWAP’).1

SWAP is one of the organisations working among the slum people in the city of Madras which is functioning under the women’s organisation of the Lutheran Churches in India. This project was initiated in 1985, when it first entered the slum for flood relief work. The poor living conditions of the slum people motivated the organisation to help them by providing some income generation and social welfare programmes.

The slum dwellers of the Kalvaithurai slum are living in an area belonging to Metro-waters, a Government water and sewerage works from where drinking water is pumped to one-quarter of the city of Madras. The slum-dwellers’ occupancy is considered illegal. People living there are threatened quite often with eviction, and they have no power supply or drinking water, or sanitation facilities. People have been living in these conditions for the past forty years. As they are living in a low-lying area on the edge of a canal into which dirty water is pumped by the water works, they are subject to floods during rainy seasons and during cyclones. The heat of the summer brings the risk of fire to the area and fires are often started as a means of evicting the slum-dwellers. Many are therefore homeless and frequently loose what little belongings they have.

Area of Work: Problem Identification:

The organisation began its work by trying to identify the problems of people living in the slum through an analysis of the community, employing two social workers during its initial stage. These social workers went from house to house, making personal contact with women of the slum. A preliminary survey was also conducted by SWAP to ascertain the nature of the problems experienced by the slum-dwellers. This preliminary survey indicated that women of the slum share in the sufferings of the majority of Indian women.

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1Hereafter the term ‘organisation’ refers to SWAP in this section of the chapter unless otherwise indicated.
Women are often found to be among the most disadvantaged members of society. The fact that the majority of men in the slum spend what little they earn as their daily wages on alcohol and expect women to feed the entire family from her small earnings, causes innumerable problems to women. Women seem also to bear the brunt of the pressure exerted by the threat of eviction.

Women commonly seek employment in order to improve their families' standard of living, although what little money they earn, is barely sufficient to meet the immediate needs of their families. The organisation felt an urgent need to enable women to be self-reliant and independent, and to develop a sense of control over their own lives. On the basis of the personal observations and the sample survey, the organisation identified the following as key problems of the slum.

i) Economic instability - no proper work and food, threatened with the insecurity of homelessness.

ii) Unhygienic and poor sanitary conditions which breed ill-health.

iii) Enormous social evils like alcoholism, sexual assault on women, battering of women, deserting women, wandering children etc., mainly due to their psychological problem of insecurity.

iv) Illiteracy leading to exploitation by middlemen in their work. Children's education is considered as a waste, without which they could add to family income (Constitutional memorandum of SWAP, 1985).

In all these problem areas, women were observed to be the most affected. Therefore the primary concern of the organisation was directed towards the liberation of women from their social, cultural and economic struggles. The organisation set its aim as follows:

Liberating women from their social, cultural and economical exploitation, within their own families as well as the community; to develop and affirm their self-identity and dignity as respectable human beings and raise awareness of their rights and privileges (ibid).
The strategies focused on that were developed to achieve their aim are:

- raising awareness among women about their status;
- organising women to work towards their human rights;
- enabling women and men work together to build a right relationship to fight against the forces that are exploiting women (Constitutional memorandum of SWAP, 1985).

As part of the organisation's strategy to achieve their goal, the organisation felt that women should be encouraged to become self-supportive and self-reliant and enable women to comprehend their own status in their families and community. Therefore, they strongly felt the need to organise women.

In looking into these strategies, their activities were directed to the following three main aims:

1. **Raising awareness among women:**

   The fundamental problems of women stem from the feeling of unworthiness and accepting a subordinate position - this can be described in terms of what Freire called the 'culture of silence' - no voice, no participation in any of the decision-making at home or in the community. Any development process leading to liberation should aim towards awareness-building. Primarily it should enable them to understand their human contribution and importance at home and in the community. In order to do this, women need to be educated. Therefore, the organisation places importance on economic development skill-orientation as an integral aspect of their consciousness-raising or awareness-raising education.

   Secondly, the organisation raises their confidence and courage to build themselves, and their families. To do this the organisation conducts an awareness education through its skill-training programme.
Thirdly, 'exposure trips' - visits to other places are organised to enable women to see how other women's organisations function and how women are working towards their own development. In their strategy of awareness-building, communication plays an integral part in the whole process of awareness-raising. We shall see how they operationalise such programmes later in this section.

2. Organising women:

The second major strategy, which is closely connected with the earlier one, is organising the women. This strategy of organising women aims at mobilizing the women and enhancing their sense of worth, leading towards collective action. This goal is achieved through the formation of sangam. In order to get the cooperation of men and youth in their struggle, the formation of men and youth sangams was also encouraged.

3. Participation in their struggle:

Thirdly, there is a goal-oriented strategy to achieve rights and privileges to fight against all forms of structures and systems that are hindrances to the growth of women. While moving towards this goal, the organisation seeks the cooperation of men, because as husbands/fathers/brothers, they should be educated to breach the traditional barriers and stand in support of women. By involving men in the activities of the organisation and forming a sangam for youth and men, the organisation feels they have partly achieved this aim. Men are encouraged to take up the cause of women along with their own. Therefore their specific objectives can be stated as follows:

1.i to uplift the poor, weak and underprivileged women to attain equal status with men in society;

ii to provide opportunities for slum-dwellers, particularly women, to learn income-generating skills to contribute to the economic development of their families;
iii to liaise between the slum women and government agencies so as to reach various schemes for women's development;

iv to enable slum women to be aware of their basic human rights at home and in society;

2.i. to enable women to understand how they are exploited by men and men to understand how they are exploiting women, and to enable men to cooperate with other women and to act in an organised manner to work together for their development.

ii. to enable women, men and youth to form their own 'sangams' to develop unity and function for the total welfare of the slum, and particularly to cooperate with women in attaining their status and to organise women to take the lead in attaining their human rights.

3.i to organise women to fight for their rights and privileges as rightful citizens of society with equal potential and power in every sphere of life in society;

ii to encourage women to implement appropriate programmes for action, either by themselves or in cooperation with other organisations, to secure socio-economic, political and cultural justice for women (Constitutional memorandum of SWAP, 1985).

As the Director and the Co-ordinator reported during interviews, these objectives serve only as guiding principles rather than fixed rules and have been modified according to the changing needs of the slum-dwellers. As can be observed from their activities, the organisation has moved from their earlier perspective quite markedly. The Co-ordinator credited this move to their involvement with the slum-dwellers and the changing context and intensity of women's problems. From the stated aims and objectives we can perceive their concept of social change which we can explain below.

The Concept of Social Change:

From the above mentioned aims and objectives, it could be perceived that the organisation concentrates on socio-economic activities as an integral part of its awareness education strategy. This may lead to organising women for collective action. It is difficult to place the organisation into any one category of voluntary action because it entered the
scene of voluntarism with a social welfare approach, and yet is involved in economic development as part of its strategy of equipping women towards conscientization. Its understanding of social change is not therefore limited to one particular perspective.

Members of the organisation are of the opinion that unless the qualities confidence and courage are raised in women, they will not have the base to fight against the evils of society. In order to raise their confidence and courage, they should be made to feel self-reliant for which economic stability is the base. Hence the organisation is concentrating simultaneously on providing skill training programmes aiming at economic development and consciousness raising towards fighting for their rights and privileges. Therefore, social change is envisaged as a process involving attitudinal change leading people towards social transformation in order to attain structural change in society.

It should also be noted that this organisation began as a relief organisation and has moved into an area of community organisation for collective action. We shall note the kind of economic development and social education programmes that this organisation is undertaking in order to achieve their goal in the three areas mentioned, and we shall see the role of communication and the level of participation from the community itself in their activities. Since participation is an integral part of the whole process of bringing about social change, we shall first discuss the meaning and the role participation plays in the activities of the organisation. This will enable us to more fully understand the organisation's development strategies.

Community Participation:

Participation, as it could be perceived from the earlier discussions, is an integral part of SWAP's whole process of development. From the perspective of those scholars (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989 and Diaz-Bordenave, 1989) who speak of a passive or participation-as-a-means approach, SWAP's economic development programmes can be fitted in. On the
other hand, its activities to liberate women from their struggles, in which women are fully involved focuses on participation-as-an-end approach. Therefore the participatory approach taken by SWAP includes both a means approach and an end approach. According to their stand, without a proper base participation cannot be built among the community. The organisation states that it is doubtful if they could meaningfully be involved in their action programmes without properly basing their activities on economic development programmes. Since their goal is to empower women, the training programmes conducted for women become part of their struggle to encourage women to accept those occupations which will lead them to their ultimate goal.

SWAP's understanding of 'participation' is in terms of the definition given by scholars like Ascroft and Masilela (1989) and Diaz-Bordenave (1989). Their strategy is to start with the 'means approach', but to provide scope for moving towards the ultimate goal that is the 'end-approach'. Therefore, the organisation considers participation of the target population in qualitative terms to ensure that it takes roots in all their activities. Participation of the target people is part of the organisation's strategy. In all their activities we can observe it is integrated through their range of economic training activities, awareness education programmes as well as communication activities.

Economic Self-Employment Skill-Training

As indicated, the organisation strongly believes that formal education cannot solve the problems of women, they need to be economically stable to work towards their own goal, to lead to self-development. The Director was of the view that unless women become economically independent and develop a sense of control over their own lives, 'they will remain subordinate and continue to be under the century-old exploitative structures' (Personal Interview, 23rd Feb. 1989). Observing these factors, SWAP started its work among women with an income-generating scheme based on tailoring - by installing a few
sewing machines with a tailoring instructor; - teaching shell-craft, mat-weaving, basket-making, and batik-making as their initial programme.

After a few years of work in the slum, the organisation recognised the need for training women in house-keeping, since most of the slum women are employed as housemaids but are very poorly paid. SWAP started training in house-keeping to properly train women in cooking and maintenance of houses, so that they may be properly employed and be able to earn higher wages. The organisation has also started training women in printing, and motorised auto-rickshaw driving for women, both of which were considered men's occupation few years ago.

**Awareness-raising Programmes:**

Towards the goal of raising awareness among women, social education is considered as the prime importance of the organisation. Social education is here defined as the subject matter of training and awareness education pertaining to all aspects of societal, economic, cultural and political problems faced by people in general and women in particular. The women of the slums share in the problems of women in general, as seen in chapter 3. The tragedy of in the slum life of women is typical of the poor village women, where women are expected to contribute to their family income while holding on to their traditional life pattern. The organisation focused therefore on educating women on their status at home and in society through awareness-raising and leadership training programmes along with economic development programmes.

Training in printing and driving motorized-autorickshaws enhances their moral courage. As the dominant paradigm proponents point out creating empathy and motivation in the minds of low esteemed people is a necessity if they are to achieve their goal. It cannot be argued that it makes them dependent, for it enhances their economic status and enlarges their view of the world around them.
As was mentioned earlier, the awareness-training programme is conducted at three levels: first, to a selected group of women to be trained from the community to work among their own people as community workers, who become part of the organisation. Secondly, enabling the entire community to be educated through intensive awareness education training programmes. Thirdly, educating the family through children's art competitions.

i) Community Workers' Training Programme:

The organisation focused on the importance of developing local leadership among women and to get local support to assist social workers and to create confidence and interest in serving their own people. This training programme was also intended to develop acceptance and respect among their own women as community workers in the event of the organisation dropping out from working among them. The community work trainees were primarily chosen by social workers, seeing their capability and acceptability among the slum-dwellers, both women and men.

The criteria for selection of these community workers, as given in one of the reports of the organisation, says that they were to be:

- women, most acceptable in the community;
- who have a basic knowledge to read and write;
- who have a commitment and desire to serve the community.

(Annual Report of SWAP, 1987)

The selected women given training for a period of three months, conducted by the social workers from the organisation, as well as by specialists from other organisations. This training programme was attended by fifteen women of the slum, after which they were appointed as community workers of the organisation to work with the social workers.
Training approaches and understanding of Consciousness-raising

Teaching and learning were incorporated with the trainees' understanding of themselves and their community within the wider context of the society. The trainees were encouraged to act out the problems they considered as most pressing in the slum through role-play and to initiate discussions. This motivated the trainees to participate in the process of mutual sharing and learning, which also increased their social consciousness. They were also acquainted with government offices and programmes. They were exposed to the problems of other slums and other similar organisations through several field trips.

After some initial set-backs, as it was pointed out by the organisation, it consciously chose consciousness-raising as a critical reflection-action process following the method of Paulo Freire. As Freire points out, training or literacy should aim at exposing the social, cultural and political situation through critical reflection leading toward political action. The people were made to reflect on and understand their situation through their own role-play. This scene creates an atmosphere for the social workers to initiate dialogue.

At the initial stage, the organisation seems to have understood political action as necessarily going against the political administration of the state. But later, as the Director pointed out, 'it is not merely participation in the politics of the State and encouraging people to fight against the state policies. It is also enabling people to understand the dehumanizing conditions and the forces that exploit them, is a political activity' (Personal Interview, 3rd March, 1989). Therefore, the organisation is also involved in politicising the event in following the principles of Freire on conscientization. Freire, as we have seen earlier, points out that reflection itself is not enough for the process of liberation; action is also needed. Conscientization is both reflection and action. Either one without the other is only a one-sided approach.
While observing the activities of SWAP, it was found that the organisation has even been moved by the idea of imparting political education, encouraging participation in action-programmes, which we shall look into under community participation. Therefore, their purview of consciousness-raising is not limited to only reflection, it is in fact also action-oriented. The organisation is moving radically from one stage to another as the situation requires it.

ii) Awareness Training for the Community:

This programme is conducted as an intensive awareness education programme for the entire slum women, with the purpose of sensitizing them to their problems and also as a point of contact with the entire community. This programme focuses on women understanding their status and how they could overcome their problems and become united in this task. In the initial stages of this programme, the trainer decided upon the content and the method of learning, adopting a very formal approach. The knowledge was imparted through a one-way communication process, carried out in a traditional class-room pattern. Short field-trips to help slum women to understand their outside world were organised. But the scope for sharing of experiences and discussions was very limited. Later when women were observed in the local situation, it was found that these women could not relate their training to their everyday lives. The organisation found that their approach was leading to a situation where people were 'banking their knowledge and skills', in Freire's phrase. They were unable to use their learning because it did not come out of their own experience even though the content had relevance for their lives. As the Director pointed out, 'the inspiration of the writings of Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, enabled the organisation to change their approach' (Personal Interview, 3rd Mar, 1989). This experience led the organisation to change their strategies, giving emphasis to an analytical and a participatory - dialogical approach.
The analytical sharing and discussion approach have opened up new insights for the organisation. The training programme became a learning process for the organisation itself. In short, it enabled the organisation to understand the nature of slum women's problems from their own perspective. The use of role-play and short skits became part of the training process, enabling the slum women to understand their condition. These exercises initiated discussions and became an integral part of the process of learning. According to members of the organisation, training programmes contributed to breaking the barriers of communication between slum-dwellers and social workers, facilitating personal relationship between SWAP and the slum women.

This approach was observed to have encouraged women to feel that they no longer were attending a training programme but a community meeting to discuss problems of their own community. This awakening not only enabled the women to reach a deeper understanding of their community, but as the project Director put it, 'it paved the way for the organisation to change their strategies from concentrating on issues of social and economic problems at surface level, to analysing the causes from political and human rights perspectives' (Personal Interview, 3rd March, 1989). At the initial stage members of the organisation felt that it was in danger of creating a community of dependents, but as the report (Annual Report of SWAP, 1987) points out these training programmes were enabling women to be more independent. It was observed that on most occasions the social workers were not doing things themselves, but were behind the community workers who carried out the work efficiently.

iii) Competition for Children:

The third aspect of their social education focuses on educating slum people through their children. Having realised the role children play at home, the organisation started conducting competitions in various art-forms, where parents could also be involved in educating their children and learning from their children as well, on several social issues.
As the Director put it,

a competition is an attraction to all ages because they get a gift or prize. Therefore, we want to experiment conducting competitions first of all to enable the whole family to get involved in understanding the problem by some means, and enlarge their knowledge about the problem. Secondly, to get motivated to know that the problem exists and further realise the seriousness of the problem, and how children conceptually visualise such problem and express them in art-forms (Personal Interview, 7th April, 1989).

The organisation took the theme 'the international decade of girl child', particularly focusing on 'The Plight of a Girl Child' and called for a competition for the school children from standard 1 (around 5 years of age) to standard 12 (around 16 years), particularly in the slum and opening it to the other neighbouring children as well. They were asked to visualise the status of girl children at home and in society. It was reported that nearly 342 children took part in the competition. It was observed that parents took such keen interest in their children participating in the competition, they brought them to the competition place and stayed for three hours to take them back home.

The waiting parents were interviewed to get their feelings about the competition and their children's participation in it and to establish what their role was in the competition. Many of the parents responded that they encouraged the child to practise drawing at home and they sat with their children, correcting them and giving their suggestions for their improvement. One parent reported:

it is an educational process for us, because as a family we were made to think of the various problems girl children face and choose the appropriate one to depict in the form of paintings/drawings. We gave our suggestion to the child while he was practising. It took quite some time, but it was fun and a learning experience.
Fig. F. Drawing by a child - 'MY FATE'
Thus the impression is given that parents to some extent were the source of inspiration for children to draw, creating the motivation for their children to participate in such activities and considering it as an educational process for them to learn.

Several problems have been brought out under this theme. About 60 percent of the drawings depicted the differential treatment the opposite sexes get at home, where a boy gets everything good and girl is only secondary. Some portrayed the view that girls become bread-winners to the family at a very young age and some pointed out the social evils like 'sati'. One boy painted a picture projecting the great Indian social reformers like Rajaram Mohan Ray, Dayanand Saraswathi and Gandhi, on one side holding the banner of liberation for women and on the other side women being imprisoned under tradition, male-domination and social evils. When asked to explain the picture he said, 'although we had all great reformers working for the liberation of women for centuries, our women are still in bondage to our tradition, culture, all forms of evils inflicted to women with male-domination'. It was an eye-opener for many to see how children view their present-day situation.

On the prize distribution day, a public exhibition was organised displaying all pictures drawn/painted by children. Some of the prize-winning drawing/paintings were explained by the young artists before the public. It was an exciting experience for the children and a joy for the parents to see their children's drawing/paintings. The organisation found great value in this approach which educates children at an early age on social problems that confront society. The parents become their teachers at home, educating their children on social issues and as well as learning from them and the community at large. This has motivated the organisation to conduct several competitions, on the problems of the environment, the problems of slum women etc. Some of the photographs are examples of this competition.
These programmes make evident the place of communication in the organisation. It is considered that this form of communication strongly supports their social change and social transformation activities. Communication is informal, horizontal, a sharing and participatory event in the entire programme of the organisation.

Community Organisation and People's Participation:

Like many other organisations, SWAP initiated the organisation of women through their training programmes and had experiences which were similar to those of CCDP. The 'Madhar sangam' was formed in the year 1986. The experiences of the community workers in going to the government offices and observing other organisations, enabled them to understand the need for the 'Madhar sangam' to be registered under the Societies Registration Act. They understood that this would give a legal sanction to their activities with government offices and other organisations. Therefore in 1988, it was formally registered. On the initiative of the community workers and with the help of SWAP, the slum women's group was formed and was registered under the Societies Act under the name, 'Kalvaithurai Slum Women's Association' (KSWA). With the help of the social workers and the community workers, the officers of KSWA approached government officers, so enabling the government schemes to reach the deserving people.

The organisation was able to motivate men to form a 'Men's Association' in the year 1989 to support women in their struggle. And recently the youth committee also was formed. But they serve only as informal committees or support bodies to the 'madhar sangams'. However on issues pertaining to the entire community, all sections of the community meet together for discussion. One of the major issues facing the slum-dwellers, especially this slum, is housing, as was indicated earlier. The organisation, keeping the women as the focal point, tried to address this problem as we shall see below.
It took some time for SWAP to convince the people of the need to find a housing site for them in some other place through the government Slum Clearance Board and the Revenue Department. From discussions with the Director of SWAP and the social workers, as well as reading from their records, there was clearly a great deal of interest taken by SWAP in appealing to the government on behalf of the slum-dwellers in this matter. The government in turn agreed to provide an alternative housing area with at least a minimum of civic facilities. Two years have passed, yet the Government's promises have still to be realised. The Director of SWAP with the new officers of KSWA met the Governor of the State yet the matter remains pending.

Both SWAP and KSWA programmed to undergo a hunger strike before the State legislature in 1989. Several notices were given, and details were published in the local newspapers. Government officials and the police officials also interviewed the Director of SWAP. But just two days before the event, the plan was dropped. Later it was found that the Government had threatened the organisation, through the police, that they would arrest the people concerned on the pretext that they were provoking innocent people into violence.

This failure brought the organisation and the community to realize the fact that individual efforts can be futile when challenging the bureaucracy. Cooperation with other similar organisations becomes vital. The organisation built closer ties with other similar organisations and organised field trips and get-togethers with the other groups for the community workers and the officers of Kalvaithurai Slum Women's Association. This enabled them to get a better world-view and realize the importance of collective action with other people who have the same concern. Similar organisations were approached and they planned a mass protest rally, submitting a memorandum urging the government to take action on the housing problem of the slum-dwellers. The memorandum also threatened the Government that if it failed to take action shortly, they would organise a 'satyagraha' in
front of the state legislature. They also formed a joint action committee for further follow-up work.

This measure of joint collective action brought an understanding to the people that major events which call for challenging the hierarchy, call for collective participation. The protest march is becoming a popular form of communication activity to influence public opinion for action, which is considered a nonviolent political activity.

Communication Models of SWAP:

As has been pointed out earlier SWAP's communication model is developed to support their awareness education and conscientization efforts to train, mobilise and organize women for effecting social change. Several forms of communication could be perceived from their activities. Notable among them are villupattu, kolattam and puppetry from among folk forms; posters, charts, slide and sound and cinema through video films (all borrowed from other agencies) used as group media, to initiate discussion and dialogue along with the personal influence of the social workers and the community workers.

Folk forms are developed by the community workers along with the social workers and some trainees. Children are also incorporated into their activities. Since the producers and actors of these performances are the community and the trainees, they are performed within the reach of the people's understanding in their own language and culture. The communication flow is horizontal and becomes persuasive, especially because of the follow-up discussions with women during their visits. Folk forms are normally used by the organisation in their awareness-raising programmes which brings attitudinal changes concerned with short-term and immediate goals such as the problem of alcoholism, environment, women's position in the society, high-lighting the problems of dowry and law enforcement etc.
The organisation used women and children as actors, who turned out to be effective agents of change. In this sense, the training, which concentrated on passing on performance skills to local people, could be seen as of paramount importance. The impact of consciousness-raising and awareness-building is seen as the aim of the organisation to bring individual behavioural changes. People's participation becomes vital in the process of awareness-building. SWAP found a new way of embarking upon popular theatre with the emphasis of the local community itself participating in the programme. This made the programme truly 'popular'. In the words of Diaz-Bordenave (1989) there is a 'pro-active' role for the beneficiaries, where the people are assigned the role of actors and sources rather than simply passive receivers.

SWAP also uses borrowed videos, 16 mm documentary films, and street theatres performed by outside groups in their awareness-raising and health education programmes. Generally they were used as group media to initiate dialogue. As the Co-ordinator of SWAP said:

*Video is a great attraction today. People of all ages are attracted by video shows for their entertainment. Whatever is shown on small screen could attract people. We use borrowed video cassettes and 16 mm films and sometimes slide and sound programmes on certain themes on women's rights, health education, which can raise similar problems and has relevance to the slum-dwellers. This raises discussion on those issues, and thus proves to be effective (Personal Interview, 15th April, 1989).*

Production of video, audio-cassettes and slides is not within the purview of the organisation. They tend to make the best use of the available films and cassettes in their awareness-raising programmes. The social workers and the community workers watch these before they are screened to the people, and note the issues highlighted. This method is followed to get to the message directly and enable people to get the right message from viewing the film. It is expected that the films help to create what Lerner calls 'empathy' to observe how a similar situation to what they are undergoing is being solved. Since many
Tamil feature films address several social issues like women's discrimination, subordination and oppression, and the problems associated with the scheduled castes, the organisation tends to use these rather than other more overtly educational films, because they have wider appeal.

Although cinema theatres are within reach of the slum people, they would not miss seeing any film when it is shown in their own locality, even if they had already seen it three times. Film watching is a compulsive entertainment. These films are used as triggers for dialogue and discussion. The organisation feels that it could achieve even long-term goals by constant discussions and dialogues. They also have the opinion that this medium can enhance participation, and when used with dialogue and discussion can become a medium to mobilise people for action.

**Summary and Conclusion:**

SWAP, started its works with a social welfare and economic development model of voluntary action, but is also observed to be following the path of conscientization. The members of SWAP believe that economic development and conscientization should not be seen as mutually exclusive approaches of voluntary action, but that one contributes to the other to become a totality of voluntary action. Therefore they are integral aspects of total voluntary action. In the process of voluntary action, SWAP considered that building conscientization upon economic development would be a good strategy for development, especially with the down-trodden communities upon whom they found the two integrated models to have a greater and enduring effect.

SWAP found Freire's conscientization approach more appealing in their awareness-building and consciousness-raising programmes after trial and error experiments with other methods. Awareness-building and consciousness-raising is carried out in three ways: (i) Developing community leadership among women; (ii) Intensive awareness-education
programme for the women of the slum; and (iii) Family awareness-education through children as agents of change.

Community organisation and participation are encouraged through the formation of sangams such as the madhar sangam - women's club and the vallibar sangam - youth club, and the muthiyor sangam - senior citizen's club, in order to work towards uplifting women. The madhar sangam is registered under the Societies Registration Act of the State. The members of SWAP believe that the participation of the people in their work is both 'participation-as-a-means', in the sense that it is a development approach and is 'participation-as-an-end'.

Communication is an integral part in the entire process of voluntary action, knit within the programmes of development such as training, fieldtrips, role-plays, dialogues, discussions etc., - a horizontal, bottom-up, multi-way process of participatory communication built into the system. Protest-marches and rallies are becoming part of informal communication in attempting to shape public opinion assist in communities' struggles.

Formal communication models are also used, such as the folk-forms and audiovisual communication media. Under the folk-forms, villupattu, kolattam and puppetry are encouraged and used by the community workers and the trainees and are found to be 'pro-active' in that the people themselves are sources and actors.

Modern communication media like video, 16 mm films, slide and sound programmes are borrowed building on the attraction of the entertainment to facilitate dialogue and discussion.

The organisation sees motivating women towards development as playing an important role in fostering social change, as we have seen in the case of CCDP in the
SWAP seems to consider that field-trips and exposure to other organisations and places gives a better world-view and motivates them towards a greater change, which is in line with the modernisation concepts. Even their approach to training which includes introducing women to printing and driving, which is normally considered in India as a man’s occupation, is in line with principles of modernization.

It should be noted that in the emancipation of women, economic development and skill-training create the conditions for what Rostow (1960) calls the ‘take-off stage’ for development. But instead of the state of high mass consumption, the organisation expects the next stage to lead women towards awareness of their status in society and to fight for their own liberation. The organisation accepts the fact that this approach may be an evolutionary, unilinear and a slow growth model, yet it considers it as a necessary process to secure enduring change and stability in the long term.

SWAP considers that arousing illiterate masses is easy for certain action, but without building awareness and motivating them for action it should not be considered as part of an immediate action programme. Paulo Freire’s idea of conscientization education is applicable provided it takes the context of the people into consideration. In the case of the slum people, it should take stages of motivation in awareness-building to raise them to the level of critical reflection in order that they find the necessity for political action.

In a similar manner, SWAP’s view of participation by the people does not fit into one particular category. The organisation does not accept the arguments of those scholars who say that participation cannot be on the middle path, that it should be either passive or active; participation-as-a-means approach or participation-as-an-end approach. The members of SWAP are of the opinion that participation must run along a continuum starting as a means to emancipation but then becoming an end in itself. The organisation takes the development process as an initiator of people's participation in their struggle.
towards their economic wellbeing and follow it up with their struggle towards social, cultural and political well-being.

Communication plays the role of a supporter for bringing about social change and social transformation. Communication is informal, horizontal, a sharing and participatory event in the entire programme of the organisation. It is used to train, organise and mobilise women in particular and people in general towards their emancipation.

It could be seen from their activities that it is not the media that matters but how it is approached. As could be seen, the organisation is trying to integrate several aspects to find what is most suitable for their approach with its aim of reaching the people with maximum effect.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FISHERFOLK OF PULICUT LAKE

Introduction:

The third and the fourth case studies will be on organisations which are working among the fisherfolk in the coastal belt called 'Pulicat lake' in the Bay of Bengal, geographically situated within the Chingleput district of Tamil Nadu. They are Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project (IFDP) and the Association for Rural Poor (ARP). Although both these organisations are working within the same geographical area, their concentration of work among fishing villages differ. The IFDP concentrates in the southern part of the lake while ARP's concentration is in the north. Although both these organisations represent the same geographical area and represent the same classification of voluntary action models, they differ in their approaches to development and in their methods of communication, and both show signs of movement in their approach to development. Before launching into a study of the organisations, a look at the social, economic and cultural features of the area and the people of Pulicat will help in understanding the strategies of the organisations themselves.

Area of Study:

Pulicat, is 60 km north of Madras within the jurisdiction of Chingleput district. This town is named after 'Pulicat lake' which is the second largest brackish water area in India, covering an area of about 461 sq. km, adjacent to the Coromandal coast of the Bay of Bengal. Pulicat lake is divided between Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. The southern part of the lake, covering around 40 percent of the area, falls within the Chingleput district of Tamil Nadu and the other 60 percent of the lake in the north falls under the jurisdiction of Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh.
Socio-economic Conditions and Cultural Practices of Fisherfolk of Pulicut lake:

The fisherfolk of Pulicat lake region can be grouped under two categories: i) those fishing in the lake called 'lake-side fisherfolk', and ii) those fishing in the sea, called 'marine-side fisherfolk'. The socio-economic condition of the 'marine-side fisherfolk' is comparatively better than the lake-side fisherfolk. The fishing crafts and gear, the type of fish caught, and fishing seasons differ from one group to the other.

The fisherfolk of this area have evolved a scheme of mutual agreement, through word of mouth, not to violate each other's fishing area, which has been strictly followed for generations. In the recent past, quite often clashes between the two groups have developed due to violation of this agreement. The lake-side fisherfolk are under constant stress because of the marine-side fisherfolk entering the prohibited zone and fishing near the shore to catch prawns. The marine-side fisherfolk on the other hand, complain that the motorized boats enter their prohibited zone and cause damage to the nets. The entire fishing community in this area thus gets into conflict quite often. The local business community exploits this situation and benefits from this conflict. Yet, the fisherfolk, unaware that they are being exploited, trust these business interests. This forces the fisherfolk to be in a state of perennial suffering.

Caste Divisions:

The fisherfolk of Pulicat lake are not a homogeneous caste group. Pandian (1987) identifies 21 caste groups in the Pulicat lake region itself. The ancient and prominent fishing communities of this area are 'Pattanava Hindu' and 'Pattanava Christian'. The scheduled castes, who were once agricultural labourers, changed their occupation when they found fishing was more profitable. The other prominent community, known as 'Villiar' or 'Irular', classified under the Tamil Nadu caste group as a 'scheduled tribe', is a minority community which is also involved in fishing. The Pattanava fisherfolk have monopolised the fishing rights in the Pulicat lake, while permitting the 'scheduled castes' and 'Irular'
communities to fish with certain restrictions. As Sivasubramanyam observes: 'this is a well organised community with established code for fishing operations' (1987:8). The fisherfolk of other castes are restricted to fishing in the lake only, whereas the Pattanava community claim the right of fishing in both lake and sea, in turn controlling the entire social system.

**Patterns of Social Control and Village Administration:**

The Pulicat lake villages have a unique way of controlling the entire social system. The head of the village will be elected by the villagers to control the social system. The chief-person is known as 'Peria Chettiar', and to assist him there is another person called 'Chinna Chettiar' (small chettiar). As Pandian (1987) observes, they are usually selected from the high-caste community giving preference to the hereditary leadership. These chettiars function as the village judiciary controlling the entire social, economic, cultural and at times political affairs of the village. They have the responsibility of taking community loans, repayments, settle matters of conflict, and feed people during natural calamities.

As per a Tamil proverb: *kovil illa ooril kudi irukka vendam* which means, 'do not live in a place where there is no temple', every village has at least one temple. Village life is centred around particular gods or goddesses in whose honour the annual festivals will be celebrated. The expenditure for these festivals will be shared by the villagers, which will be fixed by the chettiars. There is always competition over conducting the festivals in an elaborate manner with other villagers, resulting in huge community loans.

**Social Problems:**

The study conducted by Sivasubramanyam (1987) on the socio-economic survey of the fisherfolks indicate that literates comprise only 31 percent. It has been pointed out by this study that enrolment in the primary schools (up to 5th standard) is three times more than the secondary school enrolment (up to tenth standard). The reason for this is the
noon-meal scheme introduced by the Tamil Nadu Government. This encourages parents to send their children to schools, otherwise they consider that it is a waste of time, for they see the education they receive in schools and colleges as irrelevant for their living. Further, as Pandian (1987) observes, when a boy attains the age of 16, he is considered an adult who is entitled to be an economic unit - an earning member in the community through his fishing-rights. This is considered to be one of the major reasons for the youths to leave school. For example, a university graduate is still engaged in fishing rather than seeking employment elsewhere. During an interview he said that his prestige in his community would be lowered if he eschewed his fishing-right. Citing an example of another person, a post-graduate, he said that this person lost his fishing-right because he is employed in the bank. A person who leaves his fishing-rights has to pay all the levies for repayment of the community loan which discourages even educated persons from eschewing their fishing rights and leaving their village. This leads to labour immobility, a cause of their 'underdevelopment' to use the words of modernisation scholars.

Education for girls is generally discouraged, especially after primary education. Added to these, schools are not within easy reach for many children. Many have to walk between one to three kilometres to reach school. In many cases they have to cross the lake, for which they need their parents' help. Given that many parents see school as a waste of time as we have already seen, this presents an added barrier to school attendance.

The problem of idleness during the days when the fisherfolk do not have 'padu',

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1The noon-meal scheme was introduced by the Tamil Nadu Government to provide one noon meal to the children through the primary schools. This scheme is to encourage children of the poor families to get at least one nutritious meal a day and to encourage parents to send their children to the school.

2'Padu': It is a system which specifies the fishing area as well as the gear to be used by different fishing communities in the Pulicut lake area. It is a method adopted by the fishing communities to avoid frequent clashes and to share the fishing operations equally. This system has made the fisherfolk immobile and made them stick to their traditional profession. It is a well-organised system, which takes into consideration the size and population of the village and accordingly allotting a fishing area for each village. In this system fishing chances are limited. In many cases it is limited to only once a week, in which case the fisherfolk remain inactive during the rest of the week. In addition to its merits on equal opportunities
which causes love for leisure, is interconnected with population growth because of lack of recreational facilities. Moreover, although these people live in the midst of water, they don't get enough potable water. From the same lake where they bathe and wash, they often collect water for cooking, and even at times for drinking. Poor sanitary and hygienic conditions of the fishing villages become the breeding ground for many diseases. This causes great hazards for their health and medical facilities are not within easy reach.

The income of the family depends upon the season. There are fortunate days when the catch will be heavy, and income could be greater, even to an extent of Rs.1000.00 (approx. £.20/-). There are lean days, when the fishermen will return home empty-handed. But no attempt is made by the fisherfolk to save, even when the fortune swells. Most of them are in heavy debt. Women who play a key role in the management of houses usually set apart a portion of their income for alcohol every day. This drinking habit further leads the family to greater debt where the money-lenders are ready to advance money to perpetuate and exploit their condition (Sivasubramanyam, 1988).

Because of the perishable nature of fish, and since they cannot afford storage facilities fisherfolk entirely depend upon merchants and their agents for selling fish. As soon as fishermen return to the shore, fish baskets will be transported to the market place where the catch will be auctioned. The entire basket, which may contain different varieties of fish, weighing nearly 20 to 25 kilograms, will be auctioned. Since fisherfolk depend on merchants or middlemen for selling their fish, the latter determine the price which in most cases is not favourable to the fisherfolk. However, because of the export potential of prawns, these will not come to the market for auction but straightaway will be taken to the exporting companies located in Madras.

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for sharing, it also enables a proper maintenance of the ecosystem. This system also enables the community to be well-knit. According to this system if a person could not utilise his 'padu', due to any ailment, physical handicap or old age, the group to which he belongs would pay his share in spite of his absence from the catch. The proverbial saying 'A fisherman may lend his wife but not his padu' brings out the seriousness of observing 'padu' among the fishing communities.
It is estimated that there are nearly 60 prawn freezing and export companies located at Madras and the neighbourhood of Pulicat lake. The export companies who have their agents in each village go over to the fishing sites and collect the catch round the clock. The merchants or their agents usually advance money to fishermen and fix the price before they go for the catch. Fisherfolk consider that the merchants are helping them in selling their fish but never understand that they have been exploited by the merchants and their agents.

Closely related to the fish-trade, the community loan is another exploitative system operating in the lake-town, which forces the entire community to be bonded to money lenders. The loan is shared among the community through compulsory contribution by all members of the community. If any member defaults from his/her payment, the village council can punish them. Besides the export companies, the local agents and middlemen also make a share in the bargain, keeping a share for themselves in every purchase they make. Ultimately, the fisherfolk who toil either get very little or go empty-handed. Thus, they are left in perennial debt. Yet these illiterate fishermen, unaware of this exploitative system, praise the exploiters as their saviours who have come to their rescue (Dev. n.d).

The Government initiated loans through co-operatives and nationalised banks to redeem the fisherfolk from their suffering and to encourage savings, suffer as any other bank loan programme offered to the rural poor by the government. As Sivasubramanyam indicates, in the opinion of the fishermen, 'the cooperative societies are government institutions for advancing loans which need not be repaid in time ... but loans taken from money-lenders have to be cleared first' (1988:52). Therefore fisherfolk still have greater belief on the money-lenders and their agents. Loans taken from money-lenders get priority over the loans received from the cooperatives.
Cultural Constraints

Pulicat is a multi-religious community. The traditional cultural practices are centred around religion. Elaborate annual festivals are celebrated in honour of the gods and goddesses of the villages. Pandian points out the importance of religious ceremonies in the lives of the fisherfolk:

Even the youths who were actively engaged in the activities of the movements\(^3\) did not doubt the validity of the principles of spirit participation and spirit manipulation. They did not discard the *Nadu veedu*\(^4\) worship and did not revolt against the employment of Brahmin priests during the purificatory ceremonies of the households. But they stopped performing ceremonies in the temples of deities where Brahmins officiated as priests (Pandian, 1987:80-81).

Every village has a temple as indicated earlier and every year temple festivals are conducted with extravagant expenditure, not according to their resources, but according to the imposition of the village heads. For example, in the Mukunth Amman temple and the Draupathi Amman temple, the festival of *navarathiri kolu* (nine nights procession ceremonies) are celebrated. These festivals are times of cultural dance and drama and other cultural activities. The *navarathiri kolu* involves singing called *thalattu pattu* (lullaby singing) and *voor-valam* or *jatha* (procession) which are offered in the three temples for nine nights with 27 rituals, during which dancing, singing and acrobatic enterprises by professionals called *koothu kaaran* are performed during their procession (Pandian, 1987:103). Such extravagant expenditure adds to their community loan every year and becomes a perennial problem in throwing the community into bondage to the businessmen from which the fisherfolk are never released.

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\(^3\)Movement here refers to the Dravidian movement started by E.V. Ramasamy Naicker, who is popularly known as EVR or Periyar, referred in chapter 6, and who started a reform movement which is known as rationalist movement. He repudiated the wrong religious beliefs and the exploitation of Brahmins in the name of religious worship. The off-shoot of this DK is the DMK, which is the political party ruling the state. This is considered to be a very progressive movement.

\(^4\)Nadu-veedu is a centre room meant for worship which is the practice among the high caste, is also practised by a few other castes.
Despite the admirable objectives of the cooperative societies, the government schemes for development of the fisherfolk like 'Janata Personal Accident Insurance Scheme', 'Savings and Relief Schemes', long-term loans through nationalised banks etc., greater concentration is observed to be placed on increasing production. In the Seventh Five Year Plan, which has set apart 240 million rupees (nearly 50 million sterling pounds) for fisheries development schemes, importance was given to the development of marine fishermen, for improved mechanised boats, fibre-glass boats, improvisation of the existing boats and construction of fishing harbours. These plans and programmes help the rich marine fisherfolk and further increase the existing problems of the lake fisherfolk. Yet they are still in ignorance of their human suffering and misery through increased exploitation which is being passed on from generation to generation, and accept sufferings as their fate. This became the focus of the voluntary organisations like IFDP and ARP as they concentrate their work on emancipating these fisherfolk.
CASE STUDY III

THE INTEGRATED FISHERFOLK DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The IFDP's work is rather different from that of many other voluntary organisations motivated to carry out developmental work, and is certainly different from the work of those organisations described in the previous case-studies. The project was started by a research institute - the Centre for Research on the New International Economic Order. This was a pilot research project in social science which gradually developed into an action-oriented research project. Based on the observations and recommendations of an expert group, a skeleton development programme was initiated in the lake area of Pulicut with concern for developing fish culture and enabling the community to attain self-sufficiency.

Problem Identification

As an initial pilot project, two villages were selected to assess their socio-economic situation. During the course of the survey, the following were identified as problem areas contributing to the low quality of life among the target population.

1. Inadequate fishing techniques and facilities;
2. Inadequate and irregular income, especially during the lean months of October, November and December;
3. Inadequate marketing and storage facilities;
4. Inadequate supplementary income from lake-related activities;
5. Exploitation by middlemen and money lenders;
6. Inadequate formal educational and recreational facilities;
7. Inadequate communication and transportation infrastructure;
8. Inadequate drinking water and sanitation;
9. Inadequate housing facilities (Sivasubramanyam, 1988).

Aims and Objectives of IFDP:

This problem identification revealed substantial local concern which the organisation felt could be addressed and other problems which are not within its reach which the organisation wanted to leave to the state-machinery to undertake. Therefore the organisation set its goal to improve economic stability, to tackle the problem of inadequate provision for youth leisure time, and to improve health care facilities as its major strategy of development. Equally important, the organisation was to pursue active involvement of the target population as possible in all its activities. Accordingly, the organisation set its broad aims as follows:

1. To provide improved quality of life with increased awareness among the fisherfolk of Pulicat lake, the majority of whom have been backward, marginalised and exploited for generations and are currently living below the poverty line.


As the project proposal report, 1983 of the organisation points out, the following objectives have been formulated to guide their activities:

Objectives:

- to render relief when affected by cyclone and flood havoc and to take preventive measures in disaster prone areas;
- to care for preschool children and their future;
- to establish technical, vocational and educational centres for the uneducated and unemployed youth;
- to motivate adults to realise the necessity of education and to create an awareness of their position in society through non-formal education programmes;
- to render medical care and health services and impart health education on hygiene, sanitation, environment, family care, immunisation and family planning;
- to inform, educate and motivate the weaker sections of the community to get involved in their own development;
- to eradicate superstition, myths, taboos, witchcraft and illiteracy which constitute obstacles to the emancipation of the poor (Project Proposal: A Report, 1983).

In order to fulfil these aims and objectives, the organisation has undertaken several activities particularly in the area of socio-economic, health and education needs of the fisherfolk. To help the fisherfolk, to be fish-farmers instead of mere fish-gatherers, the organisation is involved in developing appropriate technology for sustained turnover in fishing. In this purview, the goal of the organisation was economic-growth through modernising the fisherfolk with new technological innovations appropriate for them. The concept of social change in this regard could be perceived as change from their traditional life as fish-gatherers to being fish-farmers, getting rid of superstitious beliefs through attitudinal and behavioural changes, thus they aim to increase production and come out of their old belief-pattern.

As the work progressed with project professionals, the search for deeper understanding of the community and their problems enabled the organisation to identify the problems of the people in a more profound manner. As the field Co-ordinator pointed out:

At the initial stage the problem of the fisherfolk did not look that challenging, the community seemed well-organised. They had their own traditional system of cooperative formation. But, when we started working much closer with the people, we could identify that what we are seeing at the surface level is not the true picture of the community. Although we had started an organised work in terms of serving them with socio-economic upliftment and health programmes for what people said are their needs and for what we perceived through our survey report. Later we found through our experiences that our understanding of their problem did not take into consideration the root causes of their poverty, which the fisherfolk themselves do not consider as their problem. This challenged us to draw up our strategies which give priorities for building awareness to fisherfolk
about their own situation which they had accepted as their way of life' (Personal Interview, Jan 10th, 1989).

This enabled the organisation to modify its goals and added the scope for awareness-building and conscientizing the fisherfolk about the social, economic and political oppression and exploitation under which the fisherfolk are living. Therefore the following objectives were added to the previous objectives:

- to conscientize fisherfolk to enable them to recognise their problems and the nature of exploitation they are undergoing in society that is keeping them under unrecognised bondage.

- to establish village committees in each village and build new leadership to effectively run these committees for collective efforts towards community organisation.

- to encourage its members to implement appropriate programmes of action, either by themselves or in cooperation with others, directed to the securing of welfare and justice for the people subjugated to any kind of social, economic, political or cultural exploitation or oppression (Annual Report of IFDP, 1987).

Concept of Social Change:

The organisation's initial focus concentrated on the socio-economic development of the people to improve their skills in fish-farming and give education towards enhancing their income. Secondly, it tried to improve health programmes and provide educational facilities for children, etc. On this basis, the organisation started with the clear demarcation of the voluntary action model of social welfare and economic development. But as the project Co-ordinator explained, the organisation observed that the fisherfolk's problem is not merely economic instability, but that intrinsic to this is the systemic injustice that is growing under the carpet as the root cause for all their misery. Therefore, the organisation considered that unless this systemic injustice is tackled the problem will cause sustained misery to the fisherfolk. Hence the organisation shifted its strategy to enable fisherfolk to become aware of the problem through a conscientization approach. Further, the
organisation also felt that unless it had its base in economic development and health schemes for these people, it would not be possible to undertake its conscientization approach. But conscientization gradually became a priority and economic development only a peripheral task. Therefore, conscientization became the primary goal of the organisation, though economic development is considered a necessity. We shall now look at their developmental activities and analyse the extent to which these concepts are in practice.

Development Activities of IFDP:

The Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project has five village centres as nodal points from where the activities are expected to spread to cover over 39 villages in the Tamil Nadu area. The strategies of development centres around education, both formal and non-formal, and include training for self-reliance, health education, awareness-building and consciousness-raising.

Formal Education Programme:

The formal education programme of IFDP was started with a preschool programme called 'Balwadi' in a remote village to cater for the needs of children below the age of five years on the request of the village leaders. According to the Co-ordinator of the organisation, this school is now being upgraded to the primary school level with the future plan of further upgrading it. Seeing the strong cultural bond which attaches the fisherfolk to their fishing profession, the organisation is planning to modify the education programme both in formal and non-formal education as a need-oriented education following the principles of Mahatma Gandhi's basic education programme. The ultimate purpose of this enhancement in formal education is to encourage more co-ordination of local people in their planning and in the decision-making process of their own development.
Non-formal Education Programmes

Non-formal education, which is also referred to as the 'adult literacy' programme, has a broader scope including all aspects of skill-training, health education and education for leadership. Non-formal education is defined by several people in several ways. Coombs and Ahmed describe it as 'any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children' (1974:8). Paulston's (1974) emphasis differs slightly, where he is of the opinion that non-formal education is 'structured, systematic, non-school educational and training activity of relatively short duration in which sponsoring agencies seek concrete behavioural changes in fairly distinct target population' (1974:ix).

These definitions of non-formal education give a clue to the activities of the organisation, where non-formal education is thought of as a deliberate process of communicating ideas and developing skills in adults and out-of-school youths to help them increase their skill in production and performance, to acquire proper positions in government, industry and commerce, to attain higher health standards, to enable them to participate more intelligently in civic, economic and political life and to achieve other personal and social goals. The types of activities are extremely varied, highly focused on specific learning objectives and of varying duration. In short, this training is in functional literacy in a wide variety of development-oriented areas.

The IFDP focuses its attention on non-formal education to (i) practice or learn vocational training by way of learning new skills through appropriate non-formal educational methods; (ii) to teach general education for adults and (iii) to develop leadership and foster change among their communities (Annual Report of IFDP, 1987). This aspect follows through their entire development activities. As we have observed in the
case of the CCDP, the training and health education are similar in all respect, focused on the target population's welfare. But IFDP's approach to leadership training differs from the other two organisations as we shall see. Examples of specific development activities are given below to illustrate the work of the organisation.

Socio-economic Development Programmes:

Several income generating and primary health care activities are effectively progressing as support system to develop the fisherfolk, enabling them to buy boats, nets etc., through a loan scheme. The loan repaid is kept as the revolving fund for further use in the development process and is similar to what we have seen in the CCDP. The organisation felt that by providing better boats and nets, the fisherfolk's catch would be expected to increase. Fish aggregation devices are set up at the lake mouth and in in-shore waters to attract a larger number of fish to the area. Apart from the social welfare schemes, the organisation is undertaking training for the fisherfolks in fishing for a better catch. Training in better fishing and introduction of more productive alternative techniques of fishing have become an integral part of the activities of the project.

Introduction of Appropriate Technology:

In order to increase productivity and to find ways of decreasing the depletion of fish, the research institute developed a low-cost technology in 'Artificial Fish Habitats', which has proved to be acceptable to the fisherfolk, and seems to have become successful. The technology developed by this organisation is now being shared with many other organisations to help the fisherfolk to increase their fish catch.

Primary Health Care Programmes:

Under the primary health care programme both curative and preventive health care is undertaken. To meet the basic need of the people, especially in the interior villages where the government health services do not reach, IFDP sends qualified auxiliary nursing
midwives, called 'health workers', to visit the various villages and help the fisherfolk with preventive and curative health care. In addition to this, the project is getting assistance from a doctor who visits the village along with a nurse. The health workers visit homes to educate women on systematic health care, sanitation and nutrition, and encourage women to take children for immunization. They also give awareness education on the hazards of superstitious beliefs on health. This work is acclaimed by fisherfolk to a great extent. The number of incoming cases in the clinic is increasing, as mothers are reported to be taking their children to the clinics for all illnesses. On serious illnesses, patients are referred to city hospitals for treatment.

Lack of adequate potable water adds to health problems in the coastal belt. Often the existing wells are not adequate. Women frequently have to walk many miles in search of drinking water. Because of this scarcity, people use lake water for all washing and bathing purposes, which causes many health problems. Particularly during a cyclone, open wells get closed and the salinity of the water increases. The organisation is involved in digging wells to provide potable water.

Women's Development:

The women's programme is an important component of this project. It was observed by the organisation that women of the community totally depend on the income of men-folk for family maintenance. Only a few women are engaged in subsidiary occupations like fish-drying, mat-weaving, fish-sale in the local market and such other relatively insignificant income-earning activities. Like all other women, women in fishing communities have a second-class status in society as well as in their own homes. Women are excluded from participating in village Panchayat proceedings. Therefore as part of non-formal training programmes in skill-training to women to increase their income IFDP aims at organizing, training and motivating women to engage in working out their plan for their struggle against such oppressive systems by raising their awareness about legal rights within
the community and within family systems. Law related to marriage, inheritance and property rights are some of the important features of women's consciousness-raising programmes.

In order to make an entry into the fisher-women's world the organisation is involved in encouraging and motivating women in additional income-generating skill-development programmes to earn and support their families and to keep them meaningfully occupied. Traditional crafts like mat-making, basket-weaving, making shell toys, fish-drying, and fish pickle-making, which were abandoned for want of income earlier in the communities, have been revitalized as small scale cottage industries to become part of the organisation's activities. These programmes serve to mobilize women and build confidence in the organisation and as an entry point for the organisation's conscientization activities.

In sum, the strategic implication of these socio-economic development activities is that they increase opportunities for individual, social and economic mobility which the organisation believes strengthens community organisation efforts for meaningful participation by the poor in their liberation. Many of the economic development programmes are developed on short-range goals which seemed to be the immediate need and therefore bring immediate results. These programmes are also aimed at behavioural and attitudinal changes, similar to what was seen in the case of CCDP and SWAP, and are found to get rapid results. Such changes contribute to the strengthening of community organisation and mobilisation, and can be credited to the nature and commitment of the organisations' staff and to the local people's participation in their approaches.

Leadership Development and Community Organisation:

The non-formal education programme which was started with the aim of imparting formal education to the adults in the initial stages, was modified later to become foci for conscientization and community organisation, a strategy enabling the fisherfolk to confront
questions of power and resource distribution and management. This was aimed at becoming an informal education process contributing to life-long education according to their context and struggles. As Coombs and Ahmed (1974) point out, 'informal education is a life-long process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposures to the environment' (1974:8). The issue of consciousness-raising became fundamental. The organisation also felt that concrete short-term achievements should go hand-in-hand with the development of a deeper understanding of the working of the wider socio-economic system. These centres of adult literacy follow the model of Freire's conscientization approach. Through this programme the organisation was able to form five effective centres of 'Peoples Progressive Movement' - Makkal Munnetra Kazhagam (MMK). The organisation initially brought together a small group of young fisherfolk to meet, learn and discuss their problems. The organisation felt that these small groups could become core-groups towards the formation of MMK in all villages which could create local leadership and become agents of change in all the villages.

Methodology of Leadership Development and Community Organisation:

The Freirean conscientization approach enabled the animators to educate the adults as adults with knowledge, living in a specific cultural, socio-economic and political situation and to encourage their learning as a reflection of their own reality. The explicit learning to read and write led the learner to the implicit exploration and analysis of their own reality. As Brown points out, in this process 'people are encouraged to analyse their reality, to become more aware of the constraints on their lives, and to take action to transform their situation' (Brown, 1975:20). Conscientization then became a key word for identifying with people and their reality. In the present situation the strategy is used to enable the fisherfolk themselves to become the catalyst for social change by becoming animators of non-formal education.
IFDP identified a university graduate, from one of the villages among the fisherfolk community to become an instrument of change, by training him to conduct adult education programmes. This individual is now respected by the community because he is identified with the fisherfolk. The fisherfolk felt that, although he is a graduate, he respects their community trade. The programme of non-formal education is tailored to teach the fisherfolks in the way they could learn to read and write as adult learners. This programme incorporates several specific socio-economic, cultural and political issues, creating an atmosphere for understanding their own socio-political reality critically.

The non-formal education programme is conducted in the evenings from 7:00 and going on for an hour and a half. The number of people who normally attend ranges from between 12 to 15. They meet in the project office or in the verandah of the village temple. The project Co-ordinator reported in an interview (22nd April, 1989) that local animator (the university graduate), few other animators and the Co-ordinator will discuss and develop some key and familiar concepts that have a close link with the life and struggle of the fisherfolk, as in the model of Freire's, 'generative words'. The young people will be taught to read, write and then generate the meaning of these words. Later, with the help of these 'generative words', young people will be encouraged to generate meaning to their own situation, which will in turn create an atmosphere for meaningful analysis of their situation through dialogue.

After learning about their social situation, this group was motivated to educate other villagers to understand their social condition as a means of getting co-operation from the fisherfolk and as a means of mobilizing their support for action against the oppressive structures and systems. Five such study groups are functioning at the moment in the following villages; (i) Pulicut, (ii) Pudukuppam, (iii) Avarivakkam, (iv) Kulathumedu and (v) Christian Kuppam. It was found that young people met often and discuss their own
social reality and the study group idea was becoming a regular feature of their life. As and when the young people have spare time they get together, of their own free accord, because they seem to have recognised it as genuinely related to their own problems. Thus we can see that the non-formal education process has became a vital informal educational process, because the problems they deal with are considered to be their own and arise out of their daily experience. Observing these meetings it was clear that the animators were facilitators and never forced their ideas onto the discussion. Sometimes the animators withdrew, leaving the young people in full control of the discussion.

Bhasin (1977) rightly observes with regard to the involvement of the grassroots:

unless people whom the programme is supposed to serve, and who should be the ones most interested in its success, are involved in its 'conception' and 'birth', they will not be bothered with nursing it as their own baby (Bhasin, 1977:28).

In bringing the young people together as trainers of their own people, the group was further enlightened to become conscious of their shortcomings, and this has led them to a fuller exploration of their situation. The consciousness-raising has further led them to go in for careful programming of possible actions. This has enabled them to critically analyse the responses and reactions of the people as well as to analyse who their exploiters are and how to resolve their conflicts. The responsibility for the formation of MMKs has now been taken up by the young people of the fishing community, who see it as their duty to ensure that every fishing village should have its own MMK.

In sum, the strategic implications for community organisation becomes clear in these activities: to assist weaker sections of the community to organise, to help them formulate effective strategies to promote their interests and encourage them to identify, mobilize and capitalize upon whatever socio-political power they have in pursuit of policies and programmes in their interest. The organisation has set its goal to be a community support organisation. The initiative towards development has multiple goals, progressing
from social welfare to economic development and community organisation, within the brief span of its existence. The growth of the organisation has been from a social welfare organisation to one following an economic development model, and, finally, to one following a conscientization model of voluntary action. As the focus of the organisation progresses towards political, social and cultural emancipation, their perception becomes a struggle or liberation of the weaker sections in the process of social change towards structural change. The concept of social change driving this organisation clearly does not follow one particular development pattern or model.

**Participatory Process:**

The second concern of this study relates to the understanding of 'participation' and 'participatory communication' as understood and practised by the organisation in question.

As we have observed in the earlier discussions on participation, the perception of popular participation in the development process varies from one organisation to another. The votaries of the conscientization model criticize the votaries of socio-economic development model, saying that development programmes involve the cognitive, affective, physical or material enhancement of the target population as they are encouraged to pursue their normal occupational and social roles within society. The means and methods at hand could not enable the target population to reach their goal, but rather create a new dependency.

The IFDP, on the other hand, considers that although the community-based participatory development programmes are not an immediate solution to the problems of the fisherfolk, they form one of the response mechanisms in the local communities. A combination of a means-approach with a concrete ends-approach that is manageable and feasible could have an enduring effect on the liberation of the target population towards structural change. Hence the participatory process favoured by this organisation, as we
shall see is that participation-as-a-means-approach will lead to participation-as-an-end-approach as a basis for their struggle. The organisation encourages the target population to identify their own needs and problems and are encouraged to get involved in a collective decision-making and action process whilst not neglecting the social and economic welfare measures and training. It is the sign of their promotion of a combined participatory approach. The formation and functioning of MMKs in the process of formation of peoples' movement is an effective means of enabling the target people's perception of their problems and involvement in mobilising other people.

In sum, participation, which is already in existence among the fisherfolk community through their *padu* system in regulating their fishing rights, is strengthened by the organisation in appropriately utilising it to build a genuine, more inclusive community. It creates solidarity among fisherfolk in empowering them as a community for their betterment or liberation. The conscientization approach followed by the organisation encourages the informal get-togethers, and animates a dialogical and problem-posing approach in evolving their plans for action. It generates people's participation, to help them dialogue together and understand one another. This is a powerful form of communication which is used as a vehicle to liberate people from the mental and psychological shackles that have bound them for centuries.

**Communication Strategies of IFDP:**

The emphasis on communication in the organisation has a two dimensional approach as in the other organisations; (i) formal communication, using various media and (ii) informal communication, that is an integral part of the entire activity of the organisation. Informal communication activities effectively bring about an enduring change while formal communication channels support the process of change.
As the focus of the organisation is on consciousness-raising, informal communication has the greater effect. Informal communication here means the person-to-person or interpersonal, dialogical communication approaches that are effective in their training and educational programmes. The formal communication unit is a supporter of the change process.

The organisation explicitly creates interest, through adult literacy programmes, in teaching the three R's, and has implicitly raised their consciousness in analysing their own social reality. In turn, this has helped them to raise their awareness, creating awareness among the entire community through the people themselves who were made aware of their realities. As Berrigan states:

The demand for consciousness-raising communication echoes Freire's approach to education ... relies on people being a part of the process of education and communication, not on the imposition of alien knowledge, thought, ideas and skills. And it has special relevance where the media are the tools of education when they substitute for person-to-person communication (Berrigan, 1981:14).

The organisation attempts to bring awareness of the fisherfolk's reality and self-worth, and to develop their knowledge in literacy and numeracy skills appropriate to their needs and interests, developing and using audio-visual communication media effectively. Materials were designed by the animators in a way that sought to make them relevant to the fisherfolk, that are inexpensive, easily reproducible, highly motivating, self-explanatory, and self-generating in terms of further curricular development. The products include fluency games for numeracy and literacy, simulation and media-based materials for group-awareness and problem-posing, and expressive materials designed to promote self-expression both orally and pictorially.

The factor which has brought most attention to the programme is the nature of the materials used to achieve the project's objectives. For example, in numeracy and literacy
skills, dice and cards bearing letters, numbers and mathematical roulette, were made use of. For consciousness-raising and reality-awareness, a game based on 'monopoly' is used to simulate the fisherfolk's life-setting, in which issues of business-people and middle men's relations and their relationship to fisherfolk are dealt with. Other awareness materials include fotonovels, posters and magazines, which portray the fisherfolk's dealing with the strife and struggle characterizing their life-style. Cassette recorders are becoming very common which record songs and dialogue on people's own struggles. Slide and sound shows are also used in this organisation in awareness programmes.

Cultural Media:

As we have seen, religious and cultural practices play a key-role in the lives of the fisherfolk. Every village has a temple specifically meant for the worship of the village god or goddess. As Mendelbaum (1970) mentions, 'Religious cults were and are among the principle voluntary associations available to individual villagers. Hence they have been used as ways of expressing political and economic change' (Mendelbaum D. G., 1970:525). Pandian points out the part played by the worship of Amman (Mother Goddess) in the life of the fisherfolk: Amman is associated with prosperity, protection, fertility and life as well as with decline, danger, diseases, destruction and death and thus she combines various contradictory aspects of human experiences.

Koththu, a familiar traditional street play, is very popular among the fisherfolk. It is used during festival times and other events of celebration among the fisherfolk. The religious characters, either in cinema or folk drama, are applauded and have very great influence on the people. The organisation, observing the belief patterns of the people, found that it may be useful to use the religious characters to give contemporary messages to people.
In one of the Koththu programmes during a temple festival, it was observed that a few people sitting near the stage of the performance, touched the legs\(^5\) of the person who acted as 'Rama' (who is worshipped as a God among the Hindus). People are observed to be traditional especially in their religious belief and practices. Therefore the organisation wanted to modify its strategy by using their own religious symbols and figures through cultural media to educate people both on their superstitious belief as well as to expose their oppressors. Sircar (1982), was of the opinion that if both the forms of revolutionary popular theatre and some elements of cultural drama, could be integrated, they could serve the purpose of stimulating social change. In line with this, the organisation has developed an approach to combine popular theatre and therukuththu, a popular form of koththu to impart consciousness-raising education to the fisherfolk.

The communication unit of the project is headed by one of the local fishermen. He served the organisation as a boat-driver, taking the animators and the other workers of the organisation to different villages by boat. His enthusiasm while observing and learning through what he heard motivated him to enact by himself certain issues of the community along with his friends. Observing his enthusiasm and talents, the organisation sent him for training in popular theatre to a media training organisation called 'Centre for Communication and Cultural Action', based in Calcutta. As a local youth who was familiar with the cultural form Koththu and having learnt 'Popular Theatre', he effectively combined both forms of communication and now trains other young people to effectively communicate the message of the organisation.

\(^5\)Touching the legs is a sign of worship and respect in the cultural tradition. It is usually done to worship gods or to parents and most revered persons like parents-in-law and religious leaders.
Protest March and Satyagraha

Participation is conceptualised as the key to success in self-directed bottom-up development. As Kidd (1977) argues, the main task is: 'to find a way of motivating people to participate in development; of mobilizing the community around important local issues bringing people together to discuss their problem, to agree on changes and to take collective action'. It is this conviction that has generated and given confidence among the MMKs.

An example of collective action by the fisherfolk is the Kanyakumari March. This is organised by the Fishermen Forum to express the solidarity of the fisherfolk's voice of protest against their exploitation and to voice their concern for the environment. Srampickal (1989) observes that jatha (a protest march) is a form of communication among the numerous social action groups in India, with different foci for consciousness-raising. As has already been observed in Chapter five, protest marches or padayatra are becoming common among the voluntary action groups to raise the consciousness of the people on various issues confronting the poor people and to take them along to protest against such power structures. The Kanyakumari March was one such march organised by the Fishermen Forum of India on the theme 'Protect Water and Protect Life'.

The Kanyakumari march, a month long march that began in the North of India and ended at Kanyakumari was a good example of expressing solidarity among the like-minded organisations working with similar concerns. The march, which began with the attraction of a festival focusing on the theme 'Protect Water and Protect Life', organised several cultural programmes of traditional dances and dramas, audio-visual communication using posters, charts and models, video shows etc. with a public meeting at the end of the march at the tip of India. These padayatra and jatha events help to influence public opinion.

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6 Fishermen Forum: It is an effort to bring all the organisations working towards the welfare of the fisherfolk in India. It is getting strengthened during the late eighties as the introduction of motorized boats are causing more problem to the poor fisherfolk. The fishermen forum was initiated by a Catholic Priest working among the fisherfolk in the coastal area in South India.
especially among the poor, as Bartholomew (1983) points out: 'Tangibly the participants
got knowledge of real problems. Intangibly, the people - the exploited, the bonded
labourers, the untouchables, realised that they were not totally isolated. That there were
forces with them in their struggle' (Quoted in Srampickal, 1989).

Summary

This chapter has highlighted the aspects of the development and communication
approaches of the Integrated Fisherfolk's Development Project towards social change. The
initiative for development has multiple goals progressing from social welfare to economic
development and community organisation within the brief span of its existence. It is an
indication of the growth of the organisation following a social welfare model of action, to
an economic development model, and finally to a conscientization model of voluntary
action as a continuous process. The strategic implication of socio-economic development
activities of the organisation focuses on increasing opportunities for individual and
community, social and economic mobility which the organisation believes can strengthen
meaningful participation of the poor in their liberation. Many of the economic development
programmes have short-range goals, with the aim of fulfilling the absolute necessities of life
and are therefore instituted to bring about immediate results. These programmes are also
aimed at behavioural and attitudinal changes similar to that of CCDP and SWAP. Such
changes are expected to contribute towards and strengthen the community's organisation
and the mobilisation programmes of the organisation.

The organisation's efforts are focused in assisting the poor to organise and help
themselves to formulate effective strategies that will encourage them to identify, mobilise
and capitalise upon whatever socio-political power they have, in pursuit of policies and
programmes in their own interest. As the focus of the organisation progresses towards
political, social and cultural emancipation, they perceive the need for the struggle or
liberation of the weaker sections of the community in the process from social change to
structural change. Therefore the concept of social change does not follow one particular development pattern or model which could fit into one of the three particular voluntary action models.

Participation is seen as an integral part in the whole process of social change and transformation, in the activities of the organisation. The Padu system which practices a community participatory system to regulate fishing rights, is capitalized appropriately to build genuine more inclusive community participation and so to create solidarity among fisherfolk in empowering them as a community for their own liberation. The invitation of the local collective leadership, enabling the local persons to be trained as animators is a factor in encouraging local participation through empowering the local people. The utilisation of local young people to be animators of their own community is evidence of the creation of grassroots participation. The 'local communes' or 'cultural circles' formed as part of the Makkal Munnetra Kazhagam which are involved in planning and implementing the development programmes, giving direction through non-formal education programmes seems to be powerful tools for conscientizing the community.

Communication cannot not be viewed in isolation from the whole process of social change. Both the informal and formal communication channels aid in the total process of social change as it is with participation. The informal channels such as interpersonal, person-to-person communication and personal influence brings powerful effects on people as change-agents.

The conscientization model of voluntary action, as we have seen, places emphasis on interpersonal communication. Education in general and non-formal education in particular has more relevance to this model than modern or cultural communication media. As Berrigan (1981) points out, the process of consciousness-raising communication
(person-to-person communication) is most effective in the context where mass media are not relevant for the grassroots.

Audio-visual media, simulation games and cultural media serve as supporters of this organisation's conscientization educational programmes. Experiments on integration of folk forms such as *Therukuththu* with 'Popular Theatre' has been successful in effecting the process of social change. As it was seen in the previous chapter, 'Protest Marches' or *Padayatra* is becoming a popular medium to raise public opinion. IFDP found the need to have collective involvement with other fisherfolk organisation (as SWAP found the need for collective involvement with the slum-dwellers' organisations) for a combined struggle for the empowerment of the weaker sections of these communities.
CHAPTER NINE

CASE STUDY IV

THE ASSOCIATION FOR RURAL POOR

Introduction:

The Association for Rural Poor (ARP), is an organisation which was founded by a group of six young Harijan (scheduled caste) university graduates in 1974. They were among a small number of young university graduates from different parts of the country, who, frustrated over the ineffectiveness of the existing approaches and models of development in solving the pressing problems of poverty, deprivation, hunger, unemployment etc, went into the villages to work among the poor and who gave birth to the revolutionary form of voluntary organisations during the 70s (Tandon, 1986; Sethi, 1984).

These six young graduates, who were perturbed by the inhuman conditions of the scheduled caste people, started their work in a Harijan village called Chitamoor in the Chingleput district of Tamil Nadu under the banner 'Action for Cultural and Political Change' (ACPC). In 1975, the organisation's name was changed to Rural Community Development Association (RCDA), changing its focus to organise labour wage strikes, agitation against the landlords to secure land and house sites that were illegally occupied by them, and to release the bonded labourers. The expansion of activities resulted in establishing five new autonomous organisations under the leadership of senior animators with different names for the purpose of decentralisation of administration. ARP is one among the five organisations established in 1979, serving in six different units in the Chingleput district of Tamil Nadu and the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh.
Aims and Objectives of ARP:

According to its Director, from its very inception ARP was a radical organisation, committed to building an egalitarian and participatory non-elitist society. This focus is stated in the organisation's written aims:

to generate awareness among the rural poor of the root-causes to their oppressed conditions and to struggle against such oppressive forces and structures through people's movement for their own development (Annual Report of the Association of Rural Poor, 1979).

Accordingly, the objectives of the organisation is stated thus:

- to help the target group understand the reasons for their poverty and enable them to find solutions to solve them;
- to further the liberation of rural poor from economic, cultural and social oppressions;
- to promote cultural action in all levels as a means of building consciousness for collective action;
- to establish action committees in each village and build new leadership among the rural poor to effectively function to accrue new benefits for the target group;
- to eradicate superstition, myth, taboo, witchcraft and illiteracy which constitute obstacles to the emancipation of the poor;
- to study and research prevailing conditions and formulate viable economic schemes and other skill-training for the development of the rural poor to on collective and co-operative basis;
- to seek the co-operation of the government and other agencies wherever necessary to enable the poor overcome inhuman conditions (ibid).

Methodology of ARP:

The organisation's methodology in their involvement with the struggles of the rural poor is based on Paulo Freire's cultural revolution through conscientization, Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of education for liberation and non-violence, Latin American Liberation Theology's techniques of organising basic communities to build mass power and
tools of societal analysis. The design of the organisation's community organisation process as found in one of the document was:

i) getting accepted and grounded in an area;

ii) adult education and literacy classes;

iii) leadership training and action committees;

iv) cultural and communication programmes (including mass meetings);

v) struggles and consolidating a movement, protest marches and satyagraha.

(Report of ARP, 1988)

Communication became an integral part of the organisation in all its activities for community organisation and development. In the words of the Director of the organisation: 'the considerations of the organisation in working among the weaker sections is firstly social, secondly political, and thirdly economic' (Personal Interview, July 21st, 1989). Therefore the main concern of the organisation is conscientising people on social and political issues, and community development activities are mere tools for the whole process of organising the oppressed poor people. Although the work of ARP is spread out among the agricultural rural poor and the fisherfolk, the present study concentrates on ARP's work among the fisherfolk of the Pulicat lake.

Social Development and the Concept of Social Change

In the process of mobilising and organising the oppressed poor, and to effect change through their participation, ARP is concerned with empowering the oppressed people. The organisation believes in people's power towards collective action for their own liberation. With this goal of social development the organisation considers conscientizing the poor and the oppressed as the only solution to bring redemption to them.

The organisation believes that the community development model hardly ever achieves the long-term goals of liberation because it is dependent on the assumption that
people would and could help themselves. Therefore, the organisation advocates that liberation from the oppressive systems is the goal of social change or social transformation. Liberation in its understanding is concerned with establishing a more equitable distribution of decision-making power, leading to control over the change process rather than adjustment with the existing oppressive system.

However, experience in the field has taught the organisation to incorporate a community development model of action in its work alongside consciousness-raising. Immediate development needs in terms of health, income-generation and facilitating decision-making, requires the organisation's immediate intervention. As with the IFDP, ARP also considered involvement in community development as a prerequisite for conscientization. However, the difference that could be observed from these two organisations is that IFDP started with a community development model and as it moved on it became involved in community organisation and conscientization. In the case of ARP, it began with conscientization and felt the necessity of being involved in a community development model as well.

**Participatory Process of ARP**

Participation, communication and the social change process are inter-related aspects in the entire development process of ARP. It is difficult to separate one from the other in the activities of ARP. However, for the sake of clarity, it is dichotomised here, although it should be seen as a whole in the promotion of social change from the perspective of ARP. As stated earlier, ARP believes in 'people's power' and therefore, moves towards the formation of a 'people's movement', where the oppressed are mobilised for socio-political emancipation. Participation is therefore the end goal of emancipation of the poor. In the words of Ascroft and Masilela (1989) the ARP follows the 'participation-as-an-end-approach'; and Diaz-Bordenave (1989) calls it 'active participation' towards attaining human rights. However, while practising participation-as-an-end, the organisation also
practices participation-as-a-means to promote community development towards economic
development and self-reliance. We shall now see how these approaches are operationalised
by the ARP.

Selection of Field Staff and Area of Work

From the ARP reports, as well as discussions and interviews with the field Co-
ordinators and the Director, it was clear that importance was given to careful selection of
animators, who must show strong commitment to the aims and objectives of the
organisation. The animators so chosen should be prepared to undergo any hardship, living
with the people, both advocating and practising a simple life-style. They should be
prepared to undergo risks of any nature while being involved with people in their struggles,
to the extent of undergoing imprisonment. Preference in selection of staff is given to local
people to ensure continuity of work and acceptability in the community.

Normally selection of the area of work is carried out by the Co-ordinator through a
sample survey of the village on the socio-economic, cultural, and political conditions of the
people. The data so collected by the Co-ordinator will be discussed in the group meeting.
Through a collective analysis of the factors, the choice will be made of the village from
where the Co-ordinator will operate. Preference in selection of an area is given to the area
where a greater number of oppressed and exploited people are living. Being stationed in
the village, the Co-ordinator makes an in-depth study of the socio-economic system, the
cultural and religious practices that are prevailing in the area. Generally, villages are very
much closed communities. It is very difficult to get any information on their cultural
practices. The animators usually collect these data through their observations and informal
discussions with individuals. Contact is made on a person-to-person basis and through
group discussions, joining with them in the tea stalls which is the usual place of gathering
for informal talk and the sharing of information.
Community Development Activities of ARP

The Association for the Rural Poor concentrates its activities in eleven fishing villages which are usually called *kuppam* on the north-western bank of Pulicut lake. After a study on the socio-economic conditions of the people, a team of twelve ARP volunteers led by a Co-ordinator live in one of the villages to educate and organise the fisherfolk into self-reliant units of community action. The study listed the following tasks requiring priority attention:

- to fight against the exploitation of middlemen and agents;
- setting up of fish-marketing societies and co-operatives;
- finding alternative employment schemes to increase their income to curb their debt problem as well as to use their leisure days;

The focus on community development activities arises not only out of humanitarian concern for lifting the poor from poverty but also out of a desire to expose the poor to their own realities through awareness-building and consciousness-raising. In this sense, community development serves as a vehicle for conscientization.

Some of the community development activities undertaken by ARP are similar to IFDP, and include educational work, rural health work, and appropriate technology for fishing etc. Apart from these activities, a training Institute for Disabled Girls between the age of 12 to 20 years is in operation, training them in dress-making, tailoring, needlework and embroidery. This training centre has two trained instructors who teach these skills and at the same time conduct literacy programmes for them. These girls are housed in a separate building. This centre also provides adult literacy programme for local women.

Utilising the research potential of the Centre for Research on the New International Economic Order, (referred to in the previous case study) ARP introduced a programme of
'artificial fish habitat' among several fishering communities on the coastal belt in cooperation with IFDP.

As part of their programme, encouraging women from all twelve villages to develop the habit of saving, the organisation developed the 'thrift scheme', in which women can save one rupee everyday from their family income, and the organisation contributes five rupees per month as an incentive to motivate them. This amount would be deposited in the nationalised bank in their name under the bank's Recurring Deposit Scheme.

We shall now consider the organisation's mode of conscientization and it functions in effecting changes.

Conscientization and Cultural Action Programmes

The ARP's Director claims that the central concerns of ARP's activities are built on 'conscientization'. According to him, the 'animator' and the 'animated' both are in dialogue with one another. Both of them become conscious of their socio-political realities. Therefore the basic requirement of the animators of ARP is that they should live with people, identify themselves with whom they work; listen, observe, share and discover their life situations and develop 'generative themes/words', as in the conscientization approach of Freire. These 'generative themes/words' are usually shared and discussed in the animators' monthly get-togethers. These generative words help in shaping their conscientization and provide the basis for non-formal adult education programmes as well as in cultural action communication programmes. The latter, the organisation refers to as 'animating theatre'. The animators themselves play a dual role of actors and audience members at the same time, the performance being generated from their own experiences and discussions. They could also exchange their roles at any point of time in the performance for want of actors.

The cultural action programmes are collective communication programmes in action, to generate people's language and themes. In the Director's opinion it is the most
innovative activity in the popular education programmes of ARP. The programme called 'animation theatre' was introduced in ARP as a programme of communication for conscientization similar to Rychmus's (1971) 'Rural Animation' programme. The assumption underlying this approach specifies that rural folk must be made aware of their problems and their consequences. They should be made to express their problems in their own language to their own people. In other words it centres on enabling peasants to articulate their needs, which can be observed to be used in the community development oriented approach.

ARP's experience points out that it is enabling the rural poor to articulate their socio-political realities and to express their needs through dialogue and reflection, initiated through group communication forms, such as street-play, role-play, and participatory games etc. Here, the village representatives are invited to discuss the major issues confronting the villages presented through these communication forms, through dialogue and discussion. This method is open-ended and group-oriented and seeks to promote participation in local communities and strengthens their cultural or peer groups' identity. The matter is carried to the villages through the representatives, to discuss these issues with the village-folk and enlighten them through dialogue and discussion. They take on the role of 'animators' for their own people.

The organisation has recognised the unique role the animation theatre plays in the conscientization and community organisation process and has developed a systematic approach for using it in building a popular movement. It was observed that participation and communication are synthesised towards bringing a genuine social change or social transformation as a process. In the animation theatre, cultural action programmes are organised as a four-phased programme aiming at people's participation at all stages, encouraging them towards the formation of a people's movement.
Cultural Action Programmes and People's Participation

The cultural action programmes of ARP present four stages of consciousness-raising. At every stage people's involvement is expected. At the first stage, issues looked upon as simply pertaining to the village are presented as skits. At the end of each skit, the actors pose problems to the audience. While there are disagreements among the audience during discussions, the animators skilfully handle the situation to help people to resolve their conflict, to overcome the fear of humiliation and submissiveness and to encourage them towards change. At this initial stage animators play the crucial role in encouraging the rural poor, particularly the scheduled castes, to cast aside their fears and enable them to understand their condition. They ask questions such as: Are you familiar with such problems? or Have you heard of such a problem? Where? When did it happen? Why did it happen? Do you know the reason, who or what is the cause of it? - to enable them to explore the situation. Thus a problem-posing approach rather than a problem-solving approach is followed. These questions challenge the communities to work-out their own strategies for action and to form action committees in their own villages. In the words of the Co-ordinator, 'this probing often enables the audience to recollect and speak out from their memories, the tensions and conflicts they have faced or they are still undergoing' (Personal Interview, July 28th, 1989).

The second stage in the process brings together group of people who have been formed into the action committee of the village. They discuss their problems, such as displacement from their own occupation for want of space for construction of dams, factories etc. The committee provides a common forum to discuss their problems and to approach government authorities, observing peaceful means of protest through collective action, following a nonviolent - satyagrahic method - the weapon used by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom. At this stage, the scheduled castes are enabled to realise that their collective power could become a force to change things.
At the third stage, people are made to probe into problems at a deeper level, such as finding out the root-causes for their poverty, alienation, discrimination etc. This enables them to identify the people who cause their problems. This motivates them to challenge the oppressive systems. The important component of the fourth stage is presenting before the people in a simple manner they can understand, the history of the class struggle between the 'haves' and 'have-nots', the 'haves' being the business community, money-lenders and brokers.

The final stage of the animation process focuses on a broader perspective for collective action, to educate and persuade the other oppressed people from their neighbouring villages to join hands with them to work out a strategy for their struggles. It becomes a forum for their discussion and for detailing several possible strategies for creating a movement for their struggle. For example, organising mass rallies, associating all the concerned villages at the district head quarters, or organising a hunger strike in front of government offices to protest against the injustices or exploitations of the poor.

In the opinion of the Co-ordinator, in each stage it is intended that changes take place, from minor instances leading on to major struggles. For example: the first stage normally concentrates on minor and local issues concerning their village, such as sanitation, water, provision for transportation etc., which are within the reach of the local authorities to solve. These problems are to lead them to major struggles against landlords/business people and factory owners, or to fight against their fishing conditions, higher rates and then to fight against caste, class and sex discriminations, police atrocities, failures of the judiciary, corruption and abuse of power, so encouraging the audience to hold demonstrations, strikes etc. These struggles brought about another component to the voluntary action model of cultural awakening among the oppressed communities, especially the scheduled castes.
Songs present an important component in the cultural action programmes. The songs are usually prepared by the group in simple, short and easy to remember words that are in use among the fisherfolk and yet are very powerful. They readily help people to retain and recall the message as well as their situation. It was found that children and even adults hum the songs while they are free and while doing their work. These liberation songs, as the organisation call them, play a significant role in their work of conscientization. The cultural action group start with singing a few familiar liberation songs. The tunes set had power to enable the audience to hum the songs with the characters. Children were taught simple choruses like:

'O brothers and sisters, walk upright,
You have nothing to be ashamed of,
You are the one who can labour'.

In an informal conversation, one of the young persons, reported: 'We like these songs because they present our everyday struggle and it brings out our emotions'. Another young person said: 'While singing these songs we have a feeling of challenging our enemies' Such experiences are paving the way for the organisation to introduce songs through audio-cassettes. The organisation is utilising this opening to popularize their revolutionary songs, thus enabling people to listen and learn as a means of educating them.

'Animation theatre' has become a realistic, critical and revolutionary theatre encouraging free expression and the participation of oppressed people. It no longer remains a play on the stage, but is an agent for exploring these people's social reality, encouraging them to participate in altering their life. As Boal, describing the popular theatre, has said:

I believe that all truly revolutionary theatrical groups should transfer to the people the means of production in the theater so that the people themselves may utilise them. The theater is a weapon, and it is the people who should wield it (Boal, 1979:122).
The ARP, taking the conscientization approach, considers people's participation more authentic when the audience become the actors in their animating plays, where their life struggle itself becomes the stage. The ARP Director pointed out that animating theatre is the 'simplest, but most radical, and controversial theatre of conscientization' (Personal Interview, July 28th, 1989). The animators enact a scene and stop at the crisis point, raise questions to the audience, arouse their curiosity, invite them to offer dialogue and enable the audience to bring out suggestions and solutions to their problems. Rather than being mere spectators the audience are encouraged to become actors and expected to transform the play into their real-life situation. Thereby their life is enacted on the stage, and communication is integrated into their life struggle. Boal explains how these forms of theatre encourage and motivate the people to take them into their life:

May be the theatre in itself is not revolutionary, but these theatrical forms are without doubt a rehearsal of revolution ... concretely rehearsing or attempting ... within its fictitious limits, the experience is a concrete one ... instead of taking something away from the spectator, evoke in him a desire to practice in reality the act he has rehearsed in the theater. The practice of these theatrical forms creates a sort of uneasy sense of incompleteness that seeks fulfilment through real action (Boal, 1979:141-142).

The key to the success of these programmes depended upon the issues being presented in a very simple, direct form, without any make-up, and no self-consciousness in the approach to production. The characters used are credible and the context is very appropriate to their life-situation. Moreover the topics of the presentations arise out of their daily struggles. The programmes outwardly bring laughter but inwardly challenge the audience to think. It entertains as well as educates, achieving an intimacy that even television fails to get in projecting such problems. There is a close intimacy of the audience relating themselves to the players and the subjects.

The animating theatre conscientizes people and finally enables the powerless to gain power. The silent spectators become actors in their life-struggle. The acting is seen
pursued in ensuring community participation and collective action through discussions and
meetings with the fisherfolk to form small 'Communes', or in the ideals of Liberation
Theology model, 'the Basic Communities'. In the opinion of the Director, 'the main effect
of the animating theatre and all its allied communication activities is psychological, to give
the group a cultural self identity' (Personal Interview, July 28th, 1989), which in due course
will enable the powerless to gain power through their struggle for identity.

Such transfer of power and change requires careful guidance by committed and
talented animators, who are willing to transfer their power and talents to the people and
 teach them. It is only through dedicated animators of ARP, who are willing to sacrifice for
the suffering masses in identifying with them in their struggle for humanity, that the
organisation could succeed in empowering people. The animators are trained to be
committed to the organisation's principles. The organisation is careful in presenting 'what is
real' and does not wish to project something that has little to do with people's problems.
The organisation is of the opinion that only animators who have experienced struggle in life
can understand the suffering and can dedicate themselves to suffer with people and can
expose them to the truth. It is not education that is given preference in the selection of the
animators, but dedication.

The animating theatre enables the powerless to gain power and the silent spectators
to become actors and get courage to be involved in their life struggle. This ensures
meaningful community participation and collective action to form small 'Communes' or
'Basic Communities'. As the Director puts it, 'the main effect of the animating theatre and
all its allied communication activities is psychological, to give the group a cultural self-
identity' (Personal Interview, August 11th, 1989), which in due course will enable the
powerless to gain power through their struggle for identity.
From an analysis of the ARP records, it emerged that as a result of community organisation through animating theatre the organisation had led several demonstrations and protest marches - 'padayatra' - demanding equal shares in the profits from the sale of fish catches, adequate protection for fisherfolk and their families and protection for their fishing rights and privileges, and equal representation in the panchayat, assembly and parliament for fisherfolk.

The organisation has creatively explored the possibility of using other media such as folk-forms like therukuththu, films, video, audio cassettes etc. The organisation is of the opinion that they are more successful in arousing people's consciousness through 'animating theatre' than in other forms of communication. Yet, the organisation also uses 'mime', video and audio-cassettes as secondary media to the animating theatre and the personal influence of the animators. All these media of communication serve towards their strategy of conscientization.

The organisation is also creatively exploring new forms and skills in getting people's participation mainly in organising them to take up their struggle. They are not only organising the people for collective action but exploring the possibility of getting support from other similar organisations, working towards greater cooperation.

Summary:

This case study has described and analysed the voluntary action and communication strategy of the Association for Rural Poor. In this venture it was observed that the organisation's strategies for voluntary action, participation and communication are integral parts of the whole process of empowerment of the poor. Paraphrasing the words of Ascroft and Masilela (1989) and applying this to the activities of ARP, it could be said that the animating theatre as a theatre for empowering people is quite risky, yet it is the ideal consequence of participation through communication. People become active and
contribute ideas, take initiatives, articulate their needs and problems and assert their autonomy.

ARP's strategy of voluntary action follows the Frierian model of conscientization for empowering the scheduled caste fisherfolk. While participating in their struggle, the organisation is observed to be in the process of developing another model of voluntary action - 'a cultural awakening model'. The growing Dalit consciousness and Dalit onslaught against casteism and women's discrimination and tribal dislocation develops an awakening in such oppressed and exploited sections of society. They are being awakened to realise their rights and privileges. This organisation is championing the cause of scheduled castes, creating in them a sense of their cultural identity and solidarity, and among Dalits enforcing the formation of the Dalit movement from a wider perspective. A new model of voluntary action has been developed to strengthen their identity and create solidarity on the basis of their cultural background.

In the process of conscientization, participatory communication becomes an integral part. It is a praxiological approach to voluntary action. Although the organisation began determined that they would not attempt to follow the community development model, in the belief that it would create further dependency, while in the field, the organisation had to change its strategy to adopt and incorporate activities towards community development.

Participation and communication are integral parts of the entire activity. 'Animating theatre', is enabling people to become both the actors and audience. The role of animators in relating with people enables the downtrodden to attain self-confidence, learn self-expression and self-worth. It is a participation activated but not directed or enforced with the end focused, but through a means, in order that a sustained and enduring people's power could be developed.
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

TOWARDS COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES FOR VOLUNTARY ACTION

The central concern of this thesis is to analyse the strategies of communication with special reference to voluntary organisations working towards social change among the poor. It attempted to analyse the voluntary organisations’ understanding of social change and to discover the role of communication in bringing out such a change process at the micro-level. Given that the micro-level organisations differ ideologically one from the other, in what sense do these differences shape their communication strategies?

In its efforts to examine the effectiveness of the voluntary organisations in serving the weaker sections of society, this study has analysed the socio-economic, cultural and political factors that provide the ground for the involvement of voluntary organisations in national development at the micro-level. It is stated that economic disadvantages and social discrimination experienced by the vast majority of the population lead them to the state of dehumanisation and marginalisation and causes the weaker sections of society to be dependent, powerless and voiceless, ultimately causing them to be incapable of controlling their own lives and destinies.

The poverty alleviation programmes and plans, and laws and legislations initiated by successive Governments to uplift the weaker sections of society from all exploitation are only paper tigers that do not reach the poor people to reduce their poverty and lift them up economically, socially, or culturally, but rather worsen their condition. The reason for this is that the political process and the social and economic system in India are dominated by the industrialists and landlords, who represent the dominant caste group. In such a situation, it is unrealistic to expect the exploiters such as the landlords, money lenders and the business classes to co-operate with programmes which would remove the source of
cheap labour and profit. These conditions call for effective micro-level action, such as the voluntary organisations, to uplift the poor and the exploited communities.

Chapter two analysed paradigmatic postulates on development communication including the dominant paradigm, dependency paradigm, the culturist and the emerging new paradigm to understand and discuss the global discussions on development communication in order to find ground for the discussions of development communication from the perspective of the micro-level grassroots organisations. In developing such a framework it was discussed that a situational communication theory taking into consideration the relevant factors from the earlier paradigm could be developed especially in the context of the micro-level development efforts such as the voluntary organisations which could bring a radically new understanding to the concept of development giving emphasis to the indigenous and situationally relevant approach to development and communication.

While highlighting the main attributes of voluntarism to place today's voluntary action within the purview of the earlier models of voluntary action in chapter four, it was observed that pre-independent history had witnessed several social reform movements which contributed to the early social and religious reforms through the motivation and self-sacrifice of the reformers. These movements have become the fore-runners of present day voluntary movements which attacked the age-old practices of child marriage, sati, women's subordination, untouchability and supremacy of Brahmins, which are the pivotal issues of many voluntary organisations in India to-day. The dominant methodology under which many of the organisations are working for the upliftment or liberation of the weaker sections of society are drawn from the missionary movements, the writings and praxes of Mahatma Gandhi, Paulo Freire and Latin American Liberation Theology. Identifying the organisations on the basis of their development goals with their motivation, they are categorized under: a) charity, relief and rehabilitation, or social welfare approach;
b) economic growth/community development approach; and c) conscientization/mobilisation or people's movement approach.

In analysing these approaches of voluntary action with particular reference to the twenty five selected voluntary organisations, it was found that the organisations working toward charity, relief, and rehabilitation are not oriented towards either attitudinal or structural change. This approach is concerned with helping the victims of flood, famine etc., and providing institutional care through orphanages, hostels, and homes for the senior citizens, the destitutes and the handicapped because they consider that their activities are merely help or charity to suffering people. Their concept of misery is 'fate' or karma. The missionary approaches to charity and relief and their contribution in the field of education and health have become a basic foundation and model for many of the voluntary organisations today.

The community development approach to voluntary action is more comprehensive and considers the community as a unit is oriented towards economic growth, sustained income-generation through skill-training, health, and education to increase the social status of the poor and the weaker sections of society. Their understanding is in line with the modernisation scholars in 'blaming the victims' for their own underdevelopment because people are traditionalists and lethargic and have no motivation to work. The remedy is to modernise them and help get rid of their superstitious beliefs. Hence social change is to be brought through attitudinal change - an essentially reformist approach. These organisations practise a Gandhian methodology of community development with emphasis on basic needs approach.

The conscientization/mobilisation-oriented organisations are observed to have two goals; one immediate, the other, long-term. The immediate goal is to effect reform in the community; the long-range goal is to take concrete steps towards socio-political structural
change. It is to conscientize, mobilise and empower the weaker sections of society to fight against all oppressive systems. In this process of bringing in social change their involvement also gets modified. Participation of the target population towards empowerment is practised as an integral part of their development process as a praxiological approach to voluntary action. The methodology adopted is similar to that described in the writings of Freire and the Latin American Liberation Theologians which emphasise on developing critical awareness as well as drawing inspiration from Gandhian approach to non-violent struggle and mass mobilisation.

It was observed that participation of the target population finds an important place although the involvement of the poor differs from one to the other from participation-as-a-means approach particularly with the economic growth/community development approach to participation-as-an-end approach with the conscientization/mobilisation approach in order to secure a base for struggle. As the organisations modify their strategy of development, their approach to involving the communities in which they work also changes.

This analysis of the activities of the selected voluntary organisation suggest that, although the voluntary organisations fall into one of the three categories identified, it is still difficult to compartmentalize them, for the organisations show signs of a movement from one approach to another and are not confined to one in particular. There is always the possibility that an organisation will adhere to a combination of development models. The context and the nature of the people for whose liberation they are working with, enable them to modify the nature of an organisation's approach and consequentially modify their perceptions of social change from a reformist approach to a revolutionary approach. As it was pointed out by the advocates of Liberation Theology, that to be on the side of the poor is to bring awareness in them, conscientizing them and organising them to bring a revolutionary change in society.
The growing Dalit consciousness and the Dalit onslaught against casteism, are developing an awakening in such oppressed and exploited sections of society. These organisations who are championing the cause of the Dalits, are creating in them their cultural identity, a sense of solidarity, and the formation of the Dalit movement on a wider front. On this basis a new model of voluntary action is taking shape in recent years to strengthen this Dalit identity and create solidarity on the basis of their cultural background which is bringing a revolutionary changes in the attitudes of the Dalits as well as a movement towards structural change.

Communication typically plays a supportive role in the voluntary organisations' activities as an information disseminator as well as a vehicle for educating and conscientizing people as per their development goal. An almost innumerable number of communication forms are utilised by the organisations such as, i) interpersonal communication ii) group media of communication; (iii) cultural forms of communication; (iv) people's theatre; v) posters/charts and drawings as visual media of communication; (vi) audio-visuals such as audio and video presentations; (vii) print media; and (viii) other forms - which include items such as training, seminars, consultations, competitions, rallies, dharna and padayatra as per the availability of financial and human resources. The role of communication also gets shifted as the focus of an organisation changes. Communication is commonly encouraged to be informal and horizontal, as a sharing and participatory event in the entire programme of an organisation. Interpersonal communication is still dominant and is widely acknowledged as the key to success. It is used as a process of counselling to build confidence in psychologically depressed people, to transfer information and persuade people to accept the development process and to reinforce the value system espoused by the organisation in question. Leadership training programmes, as well as the vocational training programmes conducted at the grassroots level, are effective forms of interpersonal
communication designed to reach the grassroots by building confidence and trust through personal contacts.

Formal communication activities and performances, including folk-forms such as *therukuththu, villupattu, kummi* and puppetry are developed by the animators/social workers and by the people from the community. These are people's media in the sense that the community becomes the source of content for a performance, supplies actors for a performance, as well as being the audience for a performance. The growing Dalit consciousness creates an awakening to digout their buried Dalit cultural identity and a feeling of self-worth and confidence. On this basis, a new model of voluntary action is taking shape in recent years to strengthen this Dalit identity and create solidarity on the basis of their cultural background.

'Low-technology' audio-visual media, especially slide and sound shows, are used in the remote villages as an alternative medium to television, video and cinema.

The rallies, *padayatra* and *dharna*, following the Gandhian way of *satyagraha* to create public opinion, centre public attention on the issues and to mobilise people are becoming an integral part of voluntary organisations. Different organisations, although using similar communication form, differ in the nature of its content and approach. They serve to create attitudinal change as well as to conscientize people to fight against changing the social system. As it creates popular opinion as a kind of informal social pressure and social control, public opinion is equated with human behaviour. It could be suggested that if these media are properly coordinated and utilized with several other cultural forms and group media of communication, they can provide powerful alternative media at the grassroots level.

Case studies of the work of four voluntary organisations were shown to be advancing from one approach to the other in order to fulfil their aims. There is a distinct
movement from one approach to another as they become sensitive to the issues of oppression and exploitation of the poor.

The Chingleput Community Development Project, an organisation with a charitable and social welfare strategy of development, has gradually modified its strategy to direct itself towards economic upliftment that is target-oriented, achievement-oriented and works towards attitudinal change as a primary concern to assist the poor and the weaker sections especially the scheduled castes. Their efforts are for building an effective community that develops its own leadership; encouraging collective leadership for collective action to tackle the economic and immediate social problems the community faces. Communication is used to support their reformist strategy to bring awareness on the social issues in society, as a foreordained developmental issues. In line with the proponents of the 'blaming the victims' theory, the organisation considers the social problems as obstacles to development and addresses itself to attitudinal and behavioural change. Although it does not aim at challenging the oppressive structures directly, the approaches practised have the potential to challenge the structures of oppression and work towards building an 'ideal' village community following the path of Gandhian village democracy through non-violence approach in achieving self-development through collective action of the community to increase their income for their own stability, and to strengthen their unity to stand together to achieve the goals of development - this is their conception of social change.

Development of leadership among the underprivileged men, women and young people to create confidence and a new line of leadership in the rural villages is considered as the first step in the participatory process in people's own development. The participatory ideology of Gandhi to build self-dignity with self-expression, self-sufficient, and self-reliant village community became the guiding principle of the organisation in forming the village development committees, the youth clubs and the women's sangams for building an ideal village participatory democracy. Although participation is more a case of co-option of
beneficiaries, as directed participation, considering the context and the conditions of the beneficiaries, to develop a sustain their leadership, participation can only be a slow process. This cannot be addressed as a passive participation, for it is an active non-violent participation, following the Gandhian perspective.

The communication strategies of the organisation are designed to play a supportive role in its development activities placing emphasis on interpersonal personal and cultural media of communication and audio-visual communication media. The animators, village health workers and the village development committee were the change-agents with more persuasive communication skills at co-equal partnership level, with a one-to-one approach enhancing horizontal communication in building good relationships.

The use of cultural media presents the organisation's ideology of non-interference in the affairs of the community and plays a passive role. It is this ideological role that enables CCDP to fit into the ideology of the Government-owned television medium which allows co-opting of CCDP in the Doordarshan programmes. This also enables the organisation a new role incorporating cultural media like villupattu and puppet shows in mass media as powerful agents for disseminating messages of social reform.

Case study II presents the activities of the Slum Women Advancement Project which started its works with a social welfare and economic development model of voluntary action, modified its strategy to follow the path of conscientization following the critiques of development communication. It presents a sign of a movement towards voluntary action. This organisation believes that economic development and conscientization should not be seen as mutually exclusive approaches of voluntary action, but an integral aspect of voluntary action in general.

Paulo Freire's conscientization approach has become a key to its awareness-building and consciousness-raising programmes which are carried out by SWAP in three methods:
(i) Developing community leadership among women; (ii) Intensive awareness-education programme for the women of the slum; and (iii) Family awareness-education through children as agents of change. These methods encourage participation of the target population through the formation of sangams. As this organisation believes in the integration of the economic development and conscientization models of voluntary action, its approach to participation of the target population is both participation-as-a-means, in the sense that it is a development approach leading toward struggle for their rights as 'participation-as-an-end approach' - that is, participation must run along a continuum starting as a means to emancipation but then becoming an end in itself.

Participatory communication is knit within the programmes of development such as training, fieldtrips, role-plays, dialogues, discussions etc., as an integral part of the development process which encourages a horizontal, bottom-up, multi-way process of informal communication which also becomes part of protest-marches and rallies attempting to shape public opinion assist in communities' struggles. Formal communication models, such as villupattu, kummi and puppetry are used by the community workers and the trainees which are found to be 'pro-active' where the people themselves are sources and actors.

Like CCDP, SWAP considers motivating women towards development plays an important role in fostering social change. SWAP seems to consider the proposals of the modernisation scholars like Lerner and Rostow who place their emphasis upon empathy and motivation as key concept for social change. Therefore it encourages field-trips and exposure to other organisations and visit to other places to get a better world-view in order to understand their own conditions and that of other people in similar situations. Although their development approach can be considered as an evolutionary, unilinear and a slow growth model, yet SWAP considers it as a necessary process to secure enduring change and stability in the long term. From its activities it could be observed that it is not the
media that matters but how it is approached. Therefore SWAP is trying to integrate several approaches or strategies to find what is most suitable for their approach with its aim of reaching the people with maximum effect - a situational development communication approach.

Case study III highlighted the development and communication approaches of the Integrated Fisherfolk's Development Project towards social change which has multiple goals - progressing from social welfare to economic development and conscientization/mobilisation approaches - within the brief span of its existence indicating of the growth of the organisation. The strategic implications of socio-economic development activities of the organisation have short-range goals to fulfill the absolute necessities of life and to bring about behavioural and attitudinal changes. The organisation expects that such changes would contribute towards and strengthen its conscientization and the mobilisation programmes. While progressing towards political, social and cultural emancipation, the organisation perceives the need for the struggle or liberation of the weaker sections of the community in the process from social change to structural change. Therefore the concept of social change does not follow one particular development pattern or model which could fit into one of the three particular voluntary action models rather seen as a progression.

Capitalising the existing participatory system of the fisherfolk through padu system, IFDP builds a genuine more inclusive community participation to create solidarity among fisherfolk empowering them for their own liberation through the formation of Makkal Munnetra Kazhagam (People's Progressive Movement). Participation is seen as an integral part in the whole process of social change and transformation, in the activities of the organisation. As it has been evidenced in the activities of SWAP, participation is observed to be a process from a-means-approach to an-end-approach.
Communication, both the informal and formal communication channels - is observed to integrate the process of participation and aid in the total process of social change. The informal channels such as interpersonal, person-to-person communication and personal influence which build people's participation are considered appropriate in conscientization/mobilisation model of voluntary action in the context where mass media are not relevant for the grassroots development.

Experiments on integration of folk forms such as Therukuththu with 'Popular Theatre' and Padayatra to raise public opinion have been successful in effecting the process of social change. Observing the need for a collective involvement with other fisherfolk organisations to work towards a structural change, IFDP gets involved in the wider forum of the fisherfolk community, encouraging the fisherfolk for a collective empowerment.

Case study IV, analysing the voluntary action and communication strategy of the Association for Rural Poor, brought out the fact that the organisation's strategies for voluntary action, participation and communication are integral parts of the whole process of empowerment of the poor. Although the organisation felt that the economic growth/community development approach would create dependency and would concentrate only on conscientization and mobilisation of the poor, yet its experiences in the field made the organisation to change its strategy to adopt and incorporate activities towards community development with a deep commitment towards empowering the poor.

ARP's strategy of voluntary action follows the Frierian model of conscientization for empowering the scheduled caste fisherfolk. 'Animating theatre' of ARP which integrates voluntary action and participation is an ideal form of communication enabling people to become both the actors and audience. The role of animators in relating to people enables the oppressed and weaker sections of society to attain self-confidence, learn self-expression and self-worth. It is a participation, activated but not directed or enforced with the end
focused, but through a means, to develop a sustained and enduring people's power. Animating theatre of ARP encourages people's participation in analysing their condition, increasing the capabilities of people in problem recognition and encouraging people themselves to arrive at a solution - people become active and contribute ideas, take initiatives, articulate their needs and problems and assert their autonomy.

This organisation is championing the cause of scheduled castes, creating in them a sense of their cultural identity and solidarity and enforcing the formation of the Dalit movement from a wider perspective. A vision for a new model of voluntary action has been developed to strengthen their identity and to create solidarity on the basis of their cultural background. It is an outcome of the organisations' constant action and reflection programme - a praxiological approach to voluntary action and a contextual communication strategy for development.

These discussions bring forth the understanding of social change prevalent among the voluntary organisations which shapes their ideology of voluntary action, namely the economic growth/community development ideology that functions to develop the community through individual attitudinal change towards economic growth and modernisation and structural change through conscientization/mobilisation to attack the structures of domination and oppression that hinders the growth of the community. Hence development is understood in terms of economic well-being on the one hand and liberation from all forms of systems and structures that dehumanises the poor on the other. Therefore, the strategies of development and communication in practice with the voluntary organisations is a praxiological approach involved in a constant interaction and analysis of the situation of the poor.

Therefore, whatever may be their ideological position, whether it is passive or active, socialism or liberalism, conservatism or radicalism, they have the conviction that it
should be interpreted as a sustained application of thought to the matter that concerns them deeply. It can also be pointed out that although there is no unanimity in many aspects, they believe that intervention should foster a broadly based, non-sectarian radicalism. This positive intervention which involves strategies for action is referred to as the models of voluntary action for social change - change in terms of individual attitudinal change or change in the systems and structures, or a combination of both which calls for a situation-specific and praxiological approach.

The Concepts of Social Change, Participation and Communication:

Although the concepts of social change, participation and communication we are looked at separately and found to be changing according to their ideological position yet they are not isolated concepts. They function as complementary and integral processes in voluntary actions strategies for development and communication.

It may be recalled from the previous chapters that heavy dependence is placed on educational strategy towards initiating the change process. This can be seen in almost every organisation which is trying to impart economic income-generation and skill-training programmes. In a few of the organisations it is clubbed together with non-formal education to increase literacy on the one hand and as a strategy for human resource development on the other.

In observing and analysing the skill-training and vocational training programmes of the organisations, we found that these training programmes enable the trainees to link their training with jobs for self-reliance. In the process, they aim at achieving their goal by concentrating on maximising the use of available resources and benefits to the people. In cases where such possibilities do not exist, the organisation often has the flexibility to alter its strategy even to collaborate with the government development agencies and other
similar organisations to maximise the extent to which such benefits to reach the target population.

It is this kind of openness and collaboration which result in an organisation, slowly altering its strategy from a mere community development to a consciousness-raising strategy. Some organisations like SWAP feel that both approaches, community development and conscientization, should be integrated. A few organisations like IFDP would want to specialize in a conscientization approach while maintaining the community development strategy as a strategy to maintain the status quo in the community. It is always a combination of approaches and willingness to receive such alterations that becomes the key to the success of the voluntary organisations.

Gandhi's participatory ideology of enabling self-sufficient, self-reliant, self-dignity with self-expression as a village participatory democracy became the guiding principle of some organisations in forming village development committees, youth and women's sangams. Their intention is to build an ideal village community at a micro-level which can be seen to be similar also to the 'basic communities' of the Latin American Liberation Model and 'cultural circles' of Freire, to initiate people's movements to empower the oppressed and the exploited.

The Freirean concept of 'conscientization' plays a dominant role in the work of voluntary organisations as a tool for action and reflection. The conscientization approach which is designed to involve people, motivate them for a meaningful participation in discussion and gain awareness of their reality, a psycho-social method, which is in line with McCleland's need for motivation for change approach is the prime motivating factor for many organisations, shifting their focus from economic development activities to people's movements and mobilisation for the liberation of the human community. Freire's concept of humanization emphasized a social goal as opposed to an individual goal. He demands
fellowship and solidarity in the process of human liberation which is a shared investigation and a combined action. This Freirean approach led many of the radical groups to adopt it to their context.

Although the people's role in programme planning and implementation was centred on the organisation, opportunities were provided for people to modify them according to their needs. Participation of the beneficiaries is still found to be at the initial stage in some of the community development-oriented organisations. In these cases it is only a co-option of beneficiaries. But while considering the contexts and conditions of the beneficiaries to sustain their leadership, participation can only be a slow approach. Participation can be considered here as directed participation, though consistently aimed at empowering people. This cannot be called merely passive participation, but is an active participation.

These organisations' venture towards more co-operative involvement in their fight against the exploitative and oppressive systems entails increasingly effective efforts. Like SWAP joining hands with slum-dwellers' organisations, IFDP and ARP joining the Fisherfolk Forum and ARP organising a Dalit movement with other Dalit organisations all these efforts pay a high reward. These involvements with other organisations to foster collective action broadens their purview and activities and expose these organisations as well as the target population to new ideas, methods, and approaches. This enlarges their competitive spirit, which should be viewed as a complement to learning new ways of finding solutions to their problems, as well as learning respect for others and a sense of interdependence rather than dependence.

The cooperative process among the neighbouring villagers through sangams and the formation of co-operatives help to bring new light on the reality of their interdependence. They help the target population to move away from their narrow and fragmented thinking which ultimately could serve to unite them. It was observed that when people come
Collective efforts develop cooperative values such as respect for differences of opinion and desire to work for the good of others. Cooperation is fundamentally a process which empowers the downtrodden. It enables the down-trodden to consider a wide variety of possible responses to any given situation and helps them overcome resistance to change. This could be recalled from the activities of CCDP in trying to mobilise the village development committees together. Thus, the process encourages the shift away from reactivity towards appropriate choices and effective decision-making. Decision-making is based on horizontal consensus-building rather than the hierarchical imposition of authority. This cooperative methodology involves facilitation by skilled coordinators/animators which these voluntary organisations are endowed with.

The communication channels that are commonly available and used among the villagers are face-to-face, person-to-person, interpersonal channels of communication. As many village studies have pointed out, villages have their own in-built communication system, which includes verbal and face-to-face communication, gestures, sounds, drum beats etc. Knowing fully that the village communication system is interpersonal and situation-specific, which itself gives harmony to the village life, as well as the unavailability of the mass media such as radio and television, voluntary organisations are able to utilize the available media to reach the people more effectively, as we have seen.

The animators' and the village community/social workers' personal interest and life style build a proper ground for people to learn and which could sustain them. The life-style of the animators and coordinators itself becomes a form of communication to build proper
relationships for building the village community. The animators' personal influence becomes the key for change in the life of the trainees.

From observation, these local animation teams have always a powerful communicative role to perform. They are not only actors but they are also communicators conveying ideas to community-members about new ways of moving, producing and organising their own communities. They understand that they cannot change their communities unless they themselves change their behaviour and attitudes. They also feel that they must not only do things differently themselves, but also communicate what they do and have the greater task of persuading others in the communities about doing it.

Participation and communication are integral parts of the strategy of development process of voluntary organisation. 'Animating theatre' following the principles of situation communication theory which promotes societal analysis in the minds of the poor, enables them to contribute as actors and audience members; plan and participates in their own struggle for liberation. This enables the downtrodden to develop feelings of self-confidence, self-expression and self-worth.

The voluntary organisations depend upon the dedicated and sensitive animators or village/social workers who function as sources and dessiminators of information, moulders of public opinion and powerful agents of social change. The success to the programmes of the voluntary organisations is their strategy to develop animators as agents of change; similarly with the second level of animation through the local community workers. The local village animators build up a powerful local leadership giving continuity in the work of animation. In line with the writings of Paulo Freire, with the experiences of the animators, it is possible to build another 'Pedagogy of Animation'. This process of animation was observed to be a powerful and very effective form of communication for effecting social change among the voluntary organisations.
The folk forms and the audio-visual communications which are used in the conscientization approach encourage informal get-togethers, and animates a dialogical and problem-posing approach in evolving plans for action. It generates people's participation, to help them dialogue together, enabling them to understand their social realities and motivate them for action. The *padayatra* and *dharna* act as the voluntary organisations' media of expression thereby bringing with it mobilising power. To this extent, *padayatra* and *dharna* help mobilise the human and cultural resources of the powerless people. These are powerful forms of communication that are used as vehicles to liberate people from their mental and psychological shackles that have bound them for centuries.

Radio, television and cinema are popular entertainment media among the village people. Any message given through the medium of entertainment attains greater attention and retention than a most powerful message without any entertainment value. Many of the voluntary organisations are unwilling to use them because of the implementing authorities, the centralised programme production and the elite consideration of programmes which present television's insensitiveness and ineffectiveness towards the development of the poor and weaker sections of society.

Untill a genuinely autonomous status for the mass media is attained which should encourage the incorporation of the people's communication and more local-specific programmes in which local people participate in planning and designing the programme and where they themselves become the actors, the voluntary organisations feel it is worthless to encourage people to listen and watch radio and television as well use such media in their work. They strongly believe and advocate that communication should foster participative, generative and purposeful exercise of freedom and democratic values.

In conclusion, it could be emphasized that voluntary action, participation and communication are complementary processes in the entire process of social change. It is
difficult to categorize voluntary organisations according to their approach to voluntary action. In the process of voluntary action, the context and the nature of the target people determine the process of change and the methodology employed. Participation cannot be seen simply as either 'active' or 'passive'. It should be seen as both an 'active' and a 'passive' process.

In analysing these ideas of social change, participation and communication especially from the perspective of the Third World countries, it is pertinent to consider the individualistic and collectivistic nature of the societies in order to understand the nature of change one is aiming at because these aspects are deeply rooted to whether people in a society are individualistic or collectivistic. It was observed that the major structural factor that calls for immediate attention is the 'caste-hierarchy', a deep-rooted cultural problem penetrating into the entire socio-political and cultural fabric of Indian society.

The 'pedagogy of animation' is foreseen as evolving as an alternative strategy for participatory communication, which follows a people-based, horizontal and a bottom-up model, with the focus on non-violent satyagrahic marches (padayatra and dharna) to mobilise people's opinion and co-operation. These approaches by voluntary organisations can create awakening in the oppressed and the exploited people, whose concern these organisations are shouldering, to discover their hidden cultural identity to generate self-expression, self-identity and self-dignity, the fundamental expressions of an egalitarian community. The alternative strategy that is envisaged from the voluntary organisations in building up an egalitarian community cannot be a blueprint, worked out at the national level, nor even at the state or district level. Every local situation and context calls for various alternatives. Only a combination of several approaches, as we have observed from the case studies, in development as well as in communication could help in working with the grassroots people.
Only a constant vigil of the situation can bring out a proper indigenous strategy. It is towards this strategy of development and communication the voluntary organisations are working to bring in sustainable change in individuals and society.
## APPENDIX 1

### Rural Development Programmes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan Period</th>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st F Y Plan</td>
<td>Community Development Prog.</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Extension Service</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd F Y Plan</td>
<td>Khadi and Village Industries Programme &amp; Village Housing Scheme</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks Prog.</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Package Programme</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intensive Agricultural District Programme</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd F Y Plan</td>
<td>Applied Nutrition Programme</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural Industries Projects</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intensive Agricultural Areas Programme</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Yielding Variety Prog.</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Plan 1966</td>
<td>Farmer's Training and Education Programme</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well Construction Prog.</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Plan 1967</td>
<td>Rural Works Programme</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Plan 1968</td>
<td>Tribal Development Block</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Plan 1969</td>
<td>Rural Manpower Programme</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Composite Programme for Women and Preschool children</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th F Y Plan</td>
<td>Drought Prone Areas Programme</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crash Scheme for Rural Employ.</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small Farmers' Development Programme</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tribal Area Development Prog.</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pilot Projects for Tribal Dev.</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Programme</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimum Needs Programme</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Command Area Development Prog.</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued...
Plan Period | Programme                                                | Year
-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------
5th F Y Plan | Hill Areas Development Prog.                             | 1975
              | Special Livestock Production Programme                   | 1975
              | Food for Work Programme                                  | 1977
              | Desert Development Prog.                                | 1977
              | Whole Village Development Programme                      | 1979
              | Training Rural Youth for Self-employment                 | 1979
              | Integrated Rural Development Programme                   | 1979

6th F Y Plan | National Rural Employment Programme                      | 1980
              | Prime Minister's New Twenty point Programme              | 1980
              | Develop. of Women and Children in Rural Areas            | 1983

7th F Y Plan | National Rural Employment Prog.                          | 1980
              | Community Development and Panchayet Institutions         | 1980
              | Special Employment Programme.                            | 1980
              | Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Scheme.              | 1980
              | Integrated Rural Energy Programme.                       | 1980

[Source: Maheshwari S.R, 1985 and Government of India,
7th Five Year Plans 1985 - 90, 1985.]
APPENDIX 2

TAMIL NADU

Tamil Nadu, one of the four states of the Southern India, consisting of the present states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, which were under the Madras Presidency during British rule is popularly known as the 'Dravidian State'. Tamil Nadu covers an area of about 1,30,058 sq. km., holding a population of around 54,110,400. The boundaries of Tamil Nadu extend from Cape Comarin in the south to Tiruttani, a hill town in the north separating Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, a neighbouring State, which was within the Madras Presidency until the State's Re-organization Act of 1956. In other words Andhra Pradesh in the north and the Indian ocean in the south; Kerala in the east and Bay of Bengal in the west are the geographical boundaries of Tamil Nadu. This area was formerly known as Madras State and was renamed as Tamil Nadu in 1968, when the regional political party 'Dravida Munnetra Khazhagam' (DMK), came to power.

The people of South India, popularly known as the 'Dravidians' are distinct from the North Indian race known as 'Aryans'. As these Aryans invaded into the South, local customs were incorporated into the formation of a new social order. Tamil Nadu is popularly known as the state of the Tamils, had a great history of religions enriched by different cultural influence of traders from all over the world. Although it had several outside attacks and was conquered by various dynastic rulers, yet its customs and mannerisms remained unchanged. As observed by Lakshmanan Chettiar: 'many of the customs, food-habits, manners, values and thought-patterns of the Tamils of the classical period have been preserved in the daily life of the folk which is perhaps a distinctive feature of Tamil culture' (Lakshmana Chettiar, 1973:1).

Dravidians are historically considered as ancient settlers of India, who were moved to the South, during the invasion of the Aryans in the North. The Scheduled Caste people are also called as 'Adi Dravidas' - 'ancient Dravidians'.
Culturally speaking, the people of Tamil Nadu in particular, and the South in general are religious-minded. Hinduism, one of the major religions of the state is linked up with the ritual cults predominates the life of millions of Tamils. Temples and shrines can be seen in every nook and corner and the rituals of worship are observed both in temples and at homes. Every village had its own gods and goddesses. It had a great religious tolerance to accommodate other religions. Even in this age of rationalism or modernism, the astrological calendars, the auspicious and inauspicious times, play a significant role in the daily family, social and business life of the people of Tamil Nadu.

This religiosity of the Tamils, unconsciously gave the Brahmins the seat of authority who exercised greater power over the non-brahmin community. Because of their position in religious and social life, the Brahmins were exercising a considerable and sometimes decisive influence on the life of the non-brahmins in subjugating them. Irschick comments that, 'In a society which has been very much ordered by religious faith and beliefs and traditional customs, they (Brahmins) were recognised as the regulators of religious life and social interactions' (Irschick E.F, 1969:2). Suntharalingam (1974) comments that their feeling of superiority was due to their dominance over other castes who were almost in a position of total subservience. 'The Brahmins were able to assert their supremacy because of their ritual status, their ownership of land and their control of some of the top and key administrative positions in rural society' (Suntharalingam, R. 1974:8). Brahmins of the South dominated the lives of the non-brahmins more than the Brahmins of the north. Thus, Anita Diehl points out, 'Tamil culture is an amalgamation of original Dravidian elements of non-brahmins Bhakti movements\(^2\) and the Aryan influences of the rigid caste system' (Anita Diehl, 1978:1-2). The Brahmin influence and supremacy in the south were attributed to the historical conditions of lesser influence of the Moghal rule in the south than in the north.

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\(^2\) A Bhakti Movement is a non-brahmin religious movement centred around the gods of indigenous nature like the worship of Lord Murugan and Lord Subramanyam, who figure in the Tamil traditions and literatures which dates back to 6th century A.D.
Economically, the caste system forced a hierarchical structure of society, resulting in the unequal distribution of wealth with large segment of agricultural landless labourers on the one hand and the zamindari system of large land owners with the hereditary rights on the other. In time, this has resulted in the formation of new social and political movements to counter-act such unjust and exploitative structures in Tamil Nadu.

The growth of literacy through the introduction of the English language and the development of transport and communication system during the British rule created a greater mobility among the caste groups and caused a greater intellectual awakening among the people of the Madras Presidency (Rajaraman, 1988:26). The mobility achieved through literacy and the superiority and the dominance exercised by the Brahmins created a process of social, political and cultural mobilisation and self-awareness demanding a fair share in the new opportunities resulted to a large extent, in the emergence of the backward class movements. M. N. Srinivas (1969) observes that the backward class movement which was championing the cause of the low-caste was wide spread and very much stronger in the peninsular India than in the north. He is also of the opinion that the movement affected the Harijans and other low-caste groups in the south. This brings out the intense character of the oppression the low-caste people endured in the hands of the Brahmins for centuries and the birth of various movements for breaking these oppressive structures.

The 'social jealousies' as Hardgrave (1979) indicates, increased between the Brahmins and the other caste groups and the Brahmins exercised increased control over them. To get the support of the British government fearing the supremacy of the Brahmins, the non-brahmins of the south formed an Association called the 'South Indian Peoples' Association (SIPA) in 1916. The manifesto of the association states: 'We (SIPA) are deeply devoted and loyally attached to British Rule' (Chetty P.T:1932) in order to get
continued support in 'educational, social, political and economic development as a broad and enduring basis' (Ibid).

The birth of the 'Justice Party' gave the foundation for a rationalistic political party called 'Dravida Kazhagam' and the 'Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam' which brought resurgence to the ancient Tamil literature and history and the ideas and symbols have been promoted through contemporary communication channels.

The loyalty or commitment to British rule changed later under the leadership of E.V. Ramasamy Naicker, who is popularly known as EVR in Tamil Nadu. EVR revitalised the movement renaming it 'Dravida Kazhagam'. As a young sanyasi, taking pilgrimages to many pilgrim centres in India, he discovered the tyranny and the evils of popular Hinduism as practised by the Brahmans. EVR denounced his religious faith and attacked the religion practised by the Brahmans which he believed was used to exploit the people in the name of religion. He founded the Tamil journal called 'Kudiarasu' [People's Government] which was soon followed by other journals called 'Puratchi' [Revolt], 'Pakutharivu' [Discernment] and 'Vidudhalai' [Liberty], to assist in his attack on the 'caste observances, child marriage, and enforced widowhood' and attacked the laws of Manu, which he called 'the basis of the entire Hindu social fabric of caste' (Hardgrave 1979:26). Therefore he denounced all religious superstitions and tradition that creates the inhuman cruelties.

The movement used dramatic troupes to conscientize people about what the movement considered to be wrong beliefs, and emphasised the Tamil nationality. Hardgrave (1979) points out that the Dravidian Movement has been instrumental in bringing the people of Tamil Nadu to an awareness of itself as a community. Through its organizational units in every district and taluk in Madras, the DK movement brought the message of Tamil nationality to the masses. Through plays presented even in the most isolated village communities, through their voluminous literature and their inflammatory
speeches, the leaders were able to affect a self-conscious awareness of the nature of the
group as a community through an reminder of fundamental identification as Tamils. Later,
the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Movement), an off-shoot of
Dravida Kazhagam, popularly known as DMK had popular leaders like C.N. Annadurai,
and EVK Sampath. The DMK became a powerful catalyst for social mobilisation through
drama and later through 'cinema' which Hardgrave (1979) suggests was the cheapest and
most effective instrument of communication for social mobilisation in India.

While exploring the rise of Tamil self-awareness, Ryerson (1988) observes three
important resurgences that occurred in the Tamil culture which created great awakening
among the Tamil people:

i) Renaissance of Tamil language and literature;

ii) Rise of Dravidian and racial consciousness; and

iii) the political, and cultural antagonism directed against
the formerly dominant Brahmins (Ryerson, 1988:16).

Ryerson is of the opinion that the mass literature produced by the DK and DMK
parties and the media like cinema and drama used as channels to communicate to the rural
people brought DMK to power in the 1967 election to the state assembly, the first regional
party in the country to capture political power in the states of India and is retaining power
from the central political party.

The regionalism developed over the language issue has become a landmark in the
political history of Tamil Nadu. The Dravidians considered that it is betraying their birth
right to Tamil, their, mother tongue in accepting Hindi, a north Indian language as the
official language of Tamil Nadu. They considered that it is accepting the supremacy of the
Brahmins. The spirit of 'regionalism', as Cohn calls, 'a conscious or unconscious
development of symbols, behaviours and movements, which mark-off groups within some
geographical boundary from others in another region for political, economic or cultural ends' (Cohn, B.S. 1967:21), got nourished through various influences, played a significant part in the social, economic and political spheres of Tamil Nadu. Therefore Tamil Nadu has become a seat of revolt against the Brahmin supremacy, which is considered to be the factor that is ruining the poor in the name of religion. Several voluntary agencies considered Tamil Nadu a important place for their work either to lift the underprivileged from their poverty conditions through welfare and development programmes or in raising their consciousness to fight against the oppressive structures. Thus the importance of Tamil Nadu for our study.
## APPENDIX 3
LIST OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN TAMILNADU, THE YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT,
CONCENTRATION OF WORK & COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. NO.</th>
<th>NAME OF ORGANISATION</th>
<th>YEAR ESTD</th>
<th>TARGET POPULATION</th>
<th>DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES</th>
<th>COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>All India Catholic University Federation</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>Awareness Education</td>
<td>Print media (newsletters, magazines) Posters, &amp; Video</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Centre for Rural Health and Social Education</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribes</td>
<td>Health Edn &amp; health Care, Awareness Edn. Try &amp; Organising the oppressed communities.</td>
<td>Street plays, folk media, Public Meetings, Charts, print materials and Interpersonal communication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. NO.</td>
<td>NAME OF ORGANISATION</td>
<td>YEAR ESTD</td>
<td>TARGET POPULATION</td>
<td>DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Guild of Service</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Social welfare service of all depressed people</td>
<td>Counseling Services, Juvenile Delinquencies Home for aged, Rehabilitation centres etc.</td>
<td>Personal communication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Institute of Community Development Services.</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Rural Community</td>
<td>Health &amp; Social Education.</td>
<td>Film Sows &amp; Cultural Programmes using mainly Government sponsored documentary film and Dance &amp; Drama division. Personal contacts, Street Theatre, Cultural Medium, Posters, Film Strip, Vedio Shows a&amp; Inter personal Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. NO.</td>
<td>NAME OF ORGANISATION</td>
<td>YEAR ESTD</td>
<td>TARGET POPULATION</td>
<td>DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. NO.</td>
<td>NAME OF ORGANISATION</td>
<td>YEAR ESTD</td>
<td>TARGET POPULATION</td>
<td>DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Tribal Welfare Agency</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Tribal population</td>
<td>Vocational Try, Medical Care Govt. dev. Service Relief services.</td>
<td>Public meetings, Trainings, Cultural forms &amp; Interpersonal communication.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Unstructured Interview Schedule with Directors and Co-ordinators of the Organizations:

The following questions were used as guidelines for interviews with the Directors and Co-ordinators of the voluntary organizations. The interview pattern varied from gathering general information to probing into the aspects that needs details. It also depended on the topics and the contexts. These questions were also used as guidelines for in-depth observations in the field for data collection.

1. Year of establishment of the project.

2. Motivation behind to start the particular project.
   (a) Religious motivation;   b) Economic factors;
   (c) Social or cultural factors;  d) Political factors etc.

3. Beneficiaries - scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women, fisherfolk, slum-dwellers etc.

4. Aims and objectives and plan of action of the project

   Training programmes; self-reliant projects; awareness building; health education, conscientization; political action or any other.

5. What are the dominant activities of the organizations?

   a) Charity, Relief, Rehabilitation etc.,
   b) Economic activities - skill training, self-help programmes etc.,
   c) Health programmes - curative aspects - implementation
      Programmes undertaken towards prevention
   d) Adult education programmes - Goals of the programme - formulating curriculum - methodology adopted - beneficiaries - course director - training offered to the personnel.
e) Cooperative formations - Sangams: Why cooperative formation or sangams were created? Who wanted sangams to be formed? Who are the members in the sangams? How does it function? What is the role of the organization in conducting the meetings of the sangams? Who gives the direction to call for such meetings? Who calls for the meetings? What is the frequency of the regular meetings?

f) Conscientization: How do they understand the word? How do they use? For what they use it? Do the organization involve themselves in the conscientization activities? What are the areas in which they are involved?

g) Do the organization involve in political action? To what extent? What is the response from people?

6. Who directs the planning of the programmes? The executive committee or staff committee or the commo people? How do they do it? Who is involved in the implementation of the programmes? What is the role of the animators the target people in the planning and implementation of the programme? To what percent target people's participation is expected?

7. What is the place of communication in your organization? Do you have a communication unit or Department in your organization? How do you communicate with people?

What are the effective communication methods you use?

   a) Inter-personal;  b) Audio-visual;
   c) Print media;  d) Cultural media,
   e) People's Theatre;  f) Other forms.

Identify the particular form of communication that is being popularly used in the organization?

8. Who formulates the content of the programmes? What is the main issue which draws attention in your organization? Who plans and how do they plan? The involvement of the target people in your programmes. Which form of communication is most suited according to your judgement?

9. Do you also use television and VCR, or any other modern means of communication in your organization? What sort of programmes you use? What is your impression about people's response to such programme?

10. In what way communication is becoming an integral part of your development activities? Is it possible to adopt the popular form of community communication in your development activities? What will be its positive aspects or negative aspects? What will be people's reaction to it?
The following questions were the guiding principles for in-depth observation in data collection.

1. The types of development activities attempted in accordance with the aims and objectives of the organizations.

2. Which model of voluntary action can the activities of the organizations be categorised?

3. What are the communication activities used by the organization?

4. How is communication integrated into their development activities and how does it help in promoting change?

5. What are the commonly observed community media in the area?

6. What are the community media that could be utilized according to the voluntary organizations in their development activities?

7. Does it help in promoting alternative media? How and to what extent?

8. What is the place of participation in the organizations? How it is being understood and practised in their development activities.

9. What is the place of people's participation in programme planning and implementation? How do they practice the participatory process in their planning and implementation process?

10. What are the ways in which 'participation' is practised in the organization's structure? How does information flow within the organizational structure?

11. What is the type of leadership training that they undertake? How does it help build the participatory process?

12. How does evaluation take place? Who evaluates their programmes/ social change? Are there any indicators followed in evaluating their programmes?
Appendix 5

Sources of Information from the Voluntary Organisations

Chingleput Community Development Project:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Mr. Godwin Gnanasekar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinator</td>
<td>Mr. B. Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Workers</td>
<td>Mr. Prbhakaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Gunasekaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Magimaidos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Helen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Shantha Kumari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club members.</td>
<td>Mr. Srinivasaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Swaminathan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Arputharaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Munishwamy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Ranganathan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Club</td>
<td>Mr. Sakravarthi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Andrew Nesaraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Aruldos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Club</td>
<td>Ms. Florance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Mariamma</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ms. Mangalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Ranganayagi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Slum Women's Advancement Project

Director : Rev. Ms. Prasanna Kumari
Co-ordinator : Ms. Rita Jayakar
Social Workers : Ms. Anbu Mariyal
               : Ms. Florence Wilson

Community Development Workers : Ms. Sivagami
                               : M. Margaret
                               : Ms. Elizabeth
                               : Ms. Selvi.
                               : Ms. Rita.

Members of Women's Club : Ms. Ranganayagi
                        : Ms. Kalai Selvi
                        : Ms. Maragatham
                        : Manonmani

Men's club : Mr. Victor
            : Mr. Bosco
            : Mr. Natarajan
            : Mr. Damodharan

Integrated Fisherfolk Development Project:

Director : Ms. Premananjali Rao
Co-ordinator : Mr. Chandra Mohan
Programme Co-ordinator
(Communications) : Mr. Subramaniam
(Development) : Ms. Jones Devasahayam
Animators : Mr. Murugesan
            : Mr. Raman
            : Ms. Malliga
            : Ms. Sumathi
Members of MMK.

- Ms. Saraswathi
- Mr. Ramaswamy
- Mr. Mohan
- M. Mohammed
- Mr. Velu
- Mr. Ameer Ahmed

The Association for Rural Poor:

- Director: Rev. Felix Sugirtharaja
- Co-ordinator: Mr. Kaliappan
- Co-ordinator (Communication): Mr. Prabhu
- Animators: Ms. Rajeswari, Ms. Vadivu, Mr. Subramani, Mr. Babu, Mr. Veerappan, Ms. Sarasu
- Village Youth Groups: Mr. Prabhakaran, Mr. Murugan, Mr. Subramani, Mr. Swamikan, Mr. Balakrishnan.
Appendix 6

OBJECTIVES OF DOORDARSHAN

In the Annual Reports of 1984-85, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting stated that Television should geared to fulfill the following objectives:

1. act as a catalyst for social change.

2. Promote national integration.

3. Stimulate scientific temper among the people.

4. Disseminate the message of family planning as a means of population control and family welfare.

5. Stimulate greater agricultural production by providing essential information and knowledge.

6. Promote and help preservation of environmental ecological balance.

7. Highlight the need for social welfare measures including welfare of women, children and the less privileged.

8. Promote interest in games and sports.

9. Stimulate appreciation of our artistic and cultural heritage.
A DAY WITH THE PADAYATRA VOLUNTEERS

The day for the padayatra volunteers commenced as early as 4.00 a.m. when they woke up from their sleep and prepared themselves for the yatra. Exactly at 6.00 a.m. the volunteers assembled and reaffirmed the pledge which was read out by the team leader of that particular day. The staff of A CODE LAND took turns each day to act as team leaders.

They then walked along the scheduled route carrying placards and banners on immunization. Since the local people were informed of the Padayatra well in advance, the villagers eagerly awaited to receive them. When the volunteers entered a village, they were offered a traditional welcome, with arathi, (Indian way of welcoming) garlands, ponnadai (golden threaded shawal) and bursting of crackers. The event that quickly followed was a public meeting in which the significance of immunization and mother and child care was clearly explained. The team leaders then appealed to the people to immunize their children and pregnant women.

Depending on the time the volunteers entered a village, the villagers accordingly offered them either breakfast, lunch or dinner. Before the volunteers moved out of a village they left their thumb impressions on the wall identified for this purpose. In the villages in which the volunteers rested during nights, public meetings were held, followed by screening of video films and puppet shows. This was more or less the pattern followed on all days during the Padayatra.

17.5.89 (Wednesday)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.</td>
<td>Inauguration of Padayatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Village: Sathanur

Padayatra moved into the First village Sathanur

Team Leader: P.J. Amaladoss

Mode of information dissemination: House visits, discussion with family members

No. of people reached: 200 women, 170 men
Remark : Health worker (Government appointed) do not visit the village

7.00 p.m.

Village : Edaikkal main village & Colony
Mode of information dissemination : House visits
No. of people reached : 100 women
                          : 95 men

8.00 p.m. - 11.00 p.m.

Village : Thirupeyar Colony & main village
Mode of information dissemination : House visits
                                  : Public address system
                                  : UNICEF's Video film,
                                  : Public meeting, puppet show
No. of people reached : 230 women
                        : 200 men

11.00 p.m. - 11.30 p.m. : Padayatra participants discussion on that day's experience.

18.5.89 (Thursday)

4.00 a.m. - 6.00 a.m. : Preparing for the yatra
                        - 6.00 a.m. : Pledge
Team leader : S. Selvaraj

6.00 a.m. - 8.00 a.m.

Village : Thakka & Mazavarayanallur
Mode of information dissemination : House visits
No. of people reached : 350 women
                        : 310 men
Observation : There was a complaint at Thakka about the health worker not immunizing the children and not disseminating information on immunization despite her stay in the same village.

8.00 a.m. - 10.00 a.m.

Village : Pudhukkeni Colony

Mode of information dissemination : House visits
Public meeting
Padayatres spoke on immunization and its importance.

No. of people reached : 100 women
75 men

Observation : Villagers complained of the health worker not visiting the village

Remark : After the campaign the villagers promised to immunize the children and pregnant mothers regularly

10.00 a.m. - 4.00 p.m.

Villages : Parinthal Mettu Colony
Bharathi Nagar
Parinthal

Observation : Though the health worker is provided with quarters, she never stays there. She comes once in a while and meets very few people. Some of the villagers were quite indifferent to the team's efforts.

4.00 p.m - 5.00 p.m. : The team discussed their experience

6.00 p.m. - 10.00 p.m.

Village : Thenkunam

Information dissemination : Group discussion
No. of people reached

: 250 women
   200 men

19.5.89 (Friday)

Team Leader : Palanivel

Declaration read by : Thanikachalam

6.00 a.m. - 8.00 a.m.

Village : Sithathur

Information dissemination : House Visit

No. of people reached

: 250 women
   225 men

Observation

: There was a complaint about highly irregular visits of the health worker. The balvadi worker disagreed on this. However, later accepted that complaint is true.

8.00 a.m. - 10.00 a.m.

Village : Ninnaiyur

Village head : Balasubramaniam

Information dissemination : House visit
   Public address system

No. of people reached

: 300 women
   250 men
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Children are not immunized. People had very limited knowledge of immunization.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Somanathapuram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information dissemination</td>
<td>House visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of people reached</td>
<td>140 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>140 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Health worker had visited the village after 6 months and had immunized the population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Sharing the days experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.</td>
<td>U. Pudhur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information dissemination</td>
<td>House visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kummi performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of people reached</td>
<td>80 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Health worker never visits the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remark</td>
<td>Public meeting planned for the evening was cancelled due to rain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20.5.89 (Saturday)

Team leader: Santhosh

6:00 a.m. - 8:00 a.m.

Village: Kongarapalayam

Information dissemination: House visit
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Information dissemination</th>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Remark</th>
<th>No. of people reached</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.</td>
<td>Kandachimangalam</td>
<td>Group discussion, Group singing of songs on immunization along the way. House visits Field visits</td>
<td>No immunization done. Balvadi women who supported the health worker denied the charges of the villagers later agreed that her statement was not true.</td>
<td>The campaign seems to have created an impact on the people as they were telling that in future they would demand their right to immunization.</td>
<td>480 women 450 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Velakkurichi</td>
<td>House visit Group meetings</td>
<td>There were complaints that the nurse never comes to the village and the villagers have to go to Kallakurichi for immunization. Even the needles are not sterilized and the same needle is used for more than one child.</td>
<td></td>
<td>450 women 395 men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Review of the campaigning for the past three days was done. The mistakes done, or information missed out were pointed out. How these can be avoided in future was explained with practical demonstration.

6:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Village : Porasakkurichi
Village head : K. Veeramuthu
No. of people reached : 250 women
                       200 men
Mode of information dissemination : Group discussion, Puppetry
                                    House visits and Public meeting.
Remark : Due to rain, campaigning had to be done indoors in a public hall.

21. 5. 89 (Sunday)

Team leader : Vasantha

House visits at Porasakkurichi were made in continuation of previous nights meeting and discussion.

6:00 a.m. - 8:00 a.m.

Village : Virugavur
Information dissemination : Songs on immunization along the way through the village.
                          House visits.
No. of people reached : 150 women
                      100 men

8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Village : Vadapoondi Colony
Information dissemination : House visit in groups
                          Songs on immunization.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Information dissemination</th>
<th>No. of people reached</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Vadapoondi</td>
<td>House visit, Kummi, Street play.</td>
<td>70 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>70 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Sithalur Panayangal U. Pudur</td>
<td>Songs on immunization along the way Kummi and Group meetings.</td>
<td>475 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>345 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Prithivimangalam</td>
<td>Group discussion Person to person communication Public meeting UNICEF video film Puppetry</td>
<td>300 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>250 men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
22. 5. 89 (Monday)

Team leader : P.J. Amaladoss

6:00 a.m. - 10 a.m.

Village : Thyagadurgam

Information dissemination : Songs
                        : House visits

No. of people reached : 200 women
                        : 200 men

Remark : It was drizzling all along the way to this village, nevertheless the participants continued to walk. Mr. Pon. Ramakrishnan, Panchayat Union Chairman's encouragement needs to be mentioned.

10:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Village : Thorasalur (North)

Information dissemination : House visit
                        : Public meeting

Remark : Stayed at the Leprosy Mission Hospital. Reviewed the experiences of the participants in the past few days. Practised and discussed the contents of public speaking by the participants on immunization.

No. of people reached : 350 women
                        : 325 men

23. 5.89 (Tuesday)

6:00 a.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Village : Peelamedu
Information dissemination: House visit  
Public meeting  
Video show, Puppetry

No. of people reached: 450 women  
400 men

Remark: The health worker had threatened some villagers of dire consequences if they complain against her. The problem was amicably settled at the intervention of village elders.

23. 5. 89 (Tuesday)

Team Leader: Ms. Kalaiselvi

6:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Village: Govindaraj Nagar  
Anthiyur

Information dissemination: House visit

No. of people reached: 225 women  
185 men

10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Village: Sikkadu

Information dissemination: House visit  
Group meeting  
Field visits

No. of people reached: 325 women  
300 men

Observation: Villagers not aware of the immunization schedule. Health workers does not come regularly. People fear that the child will get abscess if immunization is given.
4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Village : Sirunagalur
          Kolathur
          Seedevi

Information dissemination : House visit

No. of people reached
  : 500 women
  : 405 men

6:00 p.m. - 10 p.m.

Village : Poondi

Information dissemination
  : Public meeting
  : Video film
  : Kummi and songs

No. of people reached
  : 275 women
  : 250 men

Remark : The team relaxed just before they reached the village and exchanged experiences and views among themselves.

24. 5. 89 (Wednesday)

Team Leader : Arumugam

6:00 a.m. - 10.00 a.m.

Village : Thanam via Athaiyur

Information dissemination
  : Public meeting
  : House visit

No. of people reached
  : 340 women
  : 260 men

Observation : The health worker never visits the village and the children had never been immunized. Villagers promised to use the facilities in future.
10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Village : Mayiladunthangal
Information dissemination : Group meeting
                         : House visits
No. of people reached : 60 women
                         : 60 men
Observation : Villagers made similar complaints regarding the health worker and health services.

4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Village : Vadukapalayam
          : Koothanur
          : Periakurukkai
Information dissemination : Songs and house visit
No. of people reached : 450 women
                         : 215 men
Remark : Review of the work

6:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

Village : Athipakkam
Information dissemination : Group meeting
                         : Personal contact
                         : Public meeting
                         : Puppet show
Observation : Response from the public was poor. They were quite cynical. A different experience.

8:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m. : Review of the work continued.
25. 5. 89 (Thursday)

Team Leader : P.J. Amaladoss
6:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.
Village : Nathanur
Information dissemination
Group meeting
House visit
Public address system
No. of people reached
320 women
300 men
Observation
The health worker had not visited the village for years. Therefore immunization not done for quite a long time.

10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.
Village : Kiliyur
Information dissemination : House visit
No. of people reached
400 women
350 men

26. 5. 89 (Friday)

Team Leader : Vasantha
6:00 a.m. - 8:00 a.m.
Village : Pilrampettu
Information dissemination
Songs
House visits
No. of people reached
295 women
255 men
8:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m.

Village : Anganur

Information dissemination : Public meeting
                        House visit
                        Group meetings
                        Field visits

No. of people reached : 220 women
                       180 men

Observation : The people seemed not to be aware of the facts that immunization should commence during the first year of the child, the vaccine should be kept in an ice box and one nurse never visits the village, but she visits Ulundurpet (a nearby town).

3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

The 10 day long experiences of the participants was evaluated. Few statements/resolutions were made.

5:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

Village : Sirupakkam
          Kumaramangalam

No. of people reached : 300 women
                       195 men

On 26th May, the tenth and concluding day of the padayatra, the volunteers reached Kanayur village in the evening. They were given a warm welcome by the villagers, Panchayat President and other local leaders. The village took a festive look and the entire village gathered at the venue where the valedictory function was held. The Panchayat President presided. Mr. Vijayan shared their experiences. A report on the padayatra was presented on the occasion. Mr. Dhandapani, advocate, Mr. Govindaswamy, field Publicity Officer of Government of Pondicherry, Dr. Selvamani, medical officer, Primary Health Centre, Elavanasurkottai and others felicitated. The padayatra volunteers made out a resolution* and this was read out at this function.
*Resolution:

As a participant in this ten day long padayatra, I would form in my village within 30 days from today a Village Health Development Committee with a minimum of five members. This committee will educate the public on the welfare of mother and child, particularly on immunization; and would also strive to immunize the target population among pregnant women and children at the right time.

(Extract from the Report on Padayatra of A CODE LAND)
Appendix 8

POPULAR TRADITIONAL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION IN SOUTH INDIA

India has innumerable varieties of these cultural forms. To bring all the forms together here would be very difficult. Only few of the forms that are well known in the four Southern States of India will be cited in the table below because they have close links with one another.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional forms.</th>
<th>Andhra Predesh</th>
<th>Tamil Nadu</th>
<th>Karnataka</th>
<th>Kerala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Recitation</td>
<td>Burrakatha</td>
<td>Kalaksepm</td>
<td>Kirthanai</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Harikatha</td>
<td>Kirthanai</td>
<td>Villupattu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballads</td>
<td>Kirthanai</td>
<td>Radhakalyanam.</td>
<td>Kirthanai</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recitation</td>
<td>Kirthanai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Temple</td>
<td>Devadasiatta</td>
<td>Sadirnartya</td>
<td>Dance of</td>
<td>Astapadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Devadasi-</td>
<td>Singing in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>attam</td>
<td>sanctum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Temple</td>
<td>Yaksagana</td>
<td>Yaksagana</td>
<td>Yaksagana</td>
<td>Kutiyattam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courtyard</td>
<td>Bhamakalapam</td>
<td>Bhagavtamela</td>
<td></td>
<td>Krsnattam</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kathakali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Temple</td>
<td>Kurvanji</td>
<td>Kurvanji</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>milieu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Street forms</td>
<td>Veethinatakam</td>
<td>Terukuthu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ottanthullal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Community Dance</td>
<td>Kummi</td>
<td>Kummi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kaikottikali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tribal forms</td>
<td>Mathuris etc.</td>
<td>Karagam</td>
<td>Several</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kuravai-</td>
<td>forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuththu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Ritual Dances</td>
<td>Nagaman-</td>
<td>Pulayarkali</td>
<td>Theyyam</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kavadi</td>
<td>dala</td>
<td>Kolams etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bhutam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kolams</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Puppet forms</td>
<td>Bommalatam</td>
<td>Bommalatam</td>
<td>Gombeyatta</td>
<td>Tolpavai</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Vatsyayan K. (1980:49)
Appendix 9

A Popular Theatre Presentation of ARP

This drama projected the struggles of the fisherfolks and the forces merchants, money lenders and the displacement of fisherfolks from their original habitation to other remote place by the government as well as the big business people to build beach resorts, became the target of the cultural programme.

The programme was performed in front of a temple in the open area in the village. There was one electric light but due to low voltage it was burning gloomily. Again, a loud speaker system was arranged but it could not be used because of the same problem. It presented the typical village electrification system. Therefore, artificial lights using some old clothes tightly rolled on thick big sticks, dipped in kerosine were used as lights. Seeing these arrangements, first, children and a few youths and some elderly people came near the stage. Women are mostly seen sitting a little further away but as they could not observe properly from there, they movea little closer.

As usual the programme started with songs of liberation themes and the children and the youths participated in singing. The drama projected the problem of the fisherfolk, who were threatened by displacement but they did not look into the seriousness of the displacement. People were happy that the government had promised to build good houses with all facilities, like electricity, water, transport as well as a community hall with television and other recreational facilities. When the government officials and the politicians come and promise them all of these facilities, they consider them as gods and praise them saying 'you are our Saviour, God will bless you and your children'. (The audience response was one of laughter).
The people happily move out to another place with great expectation but on the contrary nothing was there, and it conditions are still poor. As soon as they leave their original place, immediately, their houses were demolished with bulldozers and big buildings are on the way for beach resorts etc. As the misery becomes very severe due to cyclones, no proper fish catch and fights among the fisherfolk because of the fear of encroachments of their areas, they begin to fight with each other. But no government official or politician comes to their rescue (seriousness prevails among the audience).

At crucial points, the senior animator enters the scene to provoke their thinking, raises some questions to relate to what they are witnessing and to a similar situation which may be their own or a neighbouring village. As they were watching the drama, they were silent spectators, and could not figure out whom they are talking about. However, the animator's questions raised several people to wonder and with surprise to listen more. Some whispered, 'Nijama! ippadiya nadakuthu! - Is it true! Is it what is happening!, 'Namma kashtathala evan vanthu pakkaran' - 'which fellow comes and sees us in our sufferings'. In the final scene when the people go on a protest march joining hands with the neighbouring villages to show their solidarity singing protest songs, raising slogans, and marching out of the stage, the audience were encouraged to join them shouting the slogans. This is to emphasise their solidarity with other villagers for collective action. The animators sitting with the people participating in the discussions and joining with the march as audience, encourage the people to participate. The drama does not stay as a stage play with the actors, but moves out of the stage and becomes a community action where people become the actors.
Appendix 10

Mime Programme of ARP

Mime is one other form which the organisation considers a most effective mode of communication in their work among the Harijans who are often silenced because of the caste barriers. They call this 'satyagraha' theatre because it raises no voice no slogans but shows only body postures. One of the animators gave the reason for calling this form of communication as 'satyagraha' saying: 'the illiterates are poor in verbalising and they struggle hard using their bodies. They use their expressions and body language with very limited words for their existential purposes. So they could understand them better than using heavy languages or dialogues'. Another reason for the use of mime given was that since it is performed in the open air, other forms of theatre need loudspeaker system for people to hear, in this case people need only to observe. Therefore they use this form either alone as a performance or introduced with other forms. This, they claim, becomes very effective.

This programme also starts like the other programmes with liberation songs which gather the people. The animator goes to the stage and inform the audience that they are used to seeing therukoothu which was showing only a puranic story, but now they will witness another form of therukoothu which is their own life story and they should identify what it means or what do they understand by it. One of the popular themes enacted by this group was 'hunger'. This again is used as a protest theatre.

As they presented the scene, the animator asked them Who are these people you are seeing? People immediately shouted, 'coolickar' - labourer'. It is the dress of a hard working and poor person (a bare body with only a loin cloth on his waist). These people stand in a circle. One person says 'pasi' (hunger) which is repeated by all the people. The people could identify this very easily. The second scene, one tall man enters the scene with
the pot on his head followed by another person neatly dressed and having a stick in his hand. (people identified him as the servant of the 'mudalali' - the landlord. This person goes around the labourers asserting his superiority over them because he is the watchman of the landlord. The labourers make a sign of their hunger by hitting at their stomach. (people identify it very easily saying they are hungry). But the watchman do not care for them. Three labourers fall on the ground to express their hunger. One of the people whispers to the other, immediately all of them get up and overpower the watchman. Go to the person who has the food pot on his head. Since he is tall and they are unable to reach the food, they try to climb on keeping one another as the ladder and try to get the food down. They fail in their attempt, but still not losing their determination they all dither him and manage to get the food down.

Finally, when they are fed, the watchman looks at them ravenously and ask for food. But the labourers ask him to repent for identifying himself with the modalali group and to join them. This is the graphic presentation of the class analysis in a simple understandable manner for the illiterate people. They could follow that it is only through solidarity and determination that they can overcome their oppressions and change the structure.

Some of the other features of the community organisation are the cultural evenings, where games for children and various dramas from songs and dances will become the feature of the cultural evenings bringing a few other nearby villagers. This creates a closer relationship with the neighbouring villages which in turn helps them to join together for a collective action, for example, going on a strike etc. Although this was not observed in the fishermen communities. Yet the researcher could witness one such meetings which was an outcome of such cultural evenings to get many neighbouring villages to join together to express their grievances to the government. They boycotted the general election which has become a noticeable event to many because of the publicity it had gained in the daily newspapers.
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