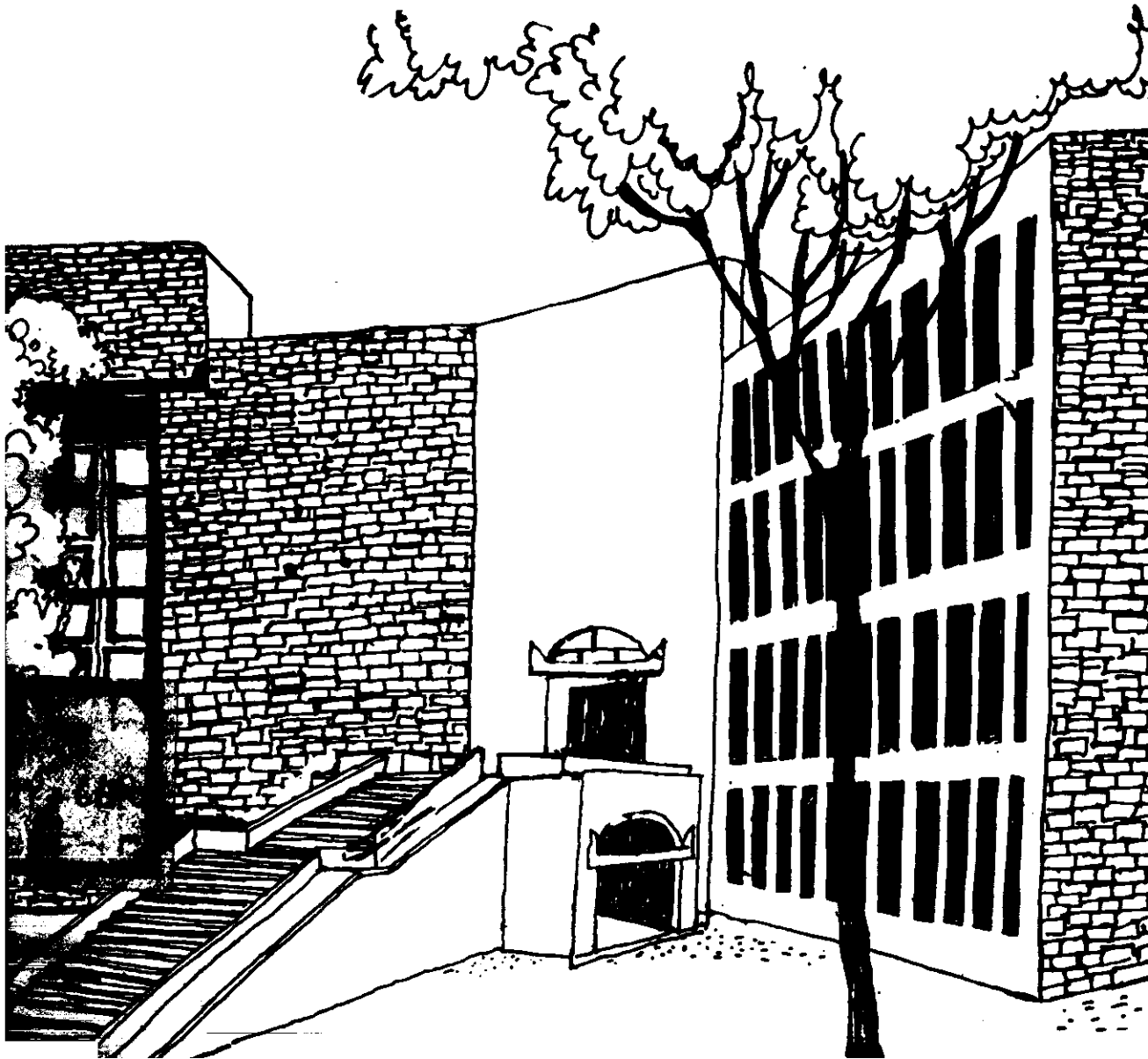


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**ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS**

By

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- MATHEW MANIMALA

ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT IN
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Abstract

Social Development Organizations (SDOs) have an important role to play in the social and economic development of people particularly in developing countries following capitalist/mixed economy systems. However, many SDOs are organizationally ill-equipped to carry out their important functions in society. This is partly because of their origin as a half-heartedly tolerated appeasement tool with inappropriately borrowed values, structures and systems, and partly because conventional OD values and techniques developed in the context of industrial/commercial organizations have limited success in SDOs, which are different from other organizations in their more humanitarian value systems, greater need for client orientation, greater dependence on external, scarce and uncertain resources, greater need to co-operate with other agencies, and so forth. While SDOs do have some common characteristics, they cannot be considered a homogeneous lot. They differ among themselves on the basis of their greater or lesser orientation towards rules, structure, expertise, value, need, people, external agencies and the like. Thus, the OD needs of SDOs are different, on the one hand, from those of the industrial/commercial organizations and, on the other hand, among different types of SDOs. OD in SDOs should focus on : (1) value management, (2) perspective management, (3) participation management, (4) dependency management, and (5) withdrawal management. Specific OD needs of government and voluntary SDOs are discussed, and the directions of future change in OD with special reference to SDOs are indicated.

ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT IN
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

The theories and techniques of organization development have emerged as a response to the need for change in industrial organizations. While the practice of OD has several successes in industry to its credit, the claims of practitioners are not all supported by research evidence. Failures seem to be as common as, and perhaps more educative than, successes (Mirvis and Berg, 1977). Many of the failure stories are suppressed, and the blame for the known failures is usually thrown on unexpected changes in the environment, unpreparedness of the organization, faulty implementation by the internal change agents and the like. Rare it is that the OD theory or techniques share the blame for failures. They are considered to be universally applicable to all types of organizations. The values of individual autonomy, enjoyable work, participation, decentralization, culture of confrontation, desirability and viability of change in all situations, etc. were uncritically accepted. It is true that a few writers have questioned the universal validity of some of these values (Das, 1981; Kaplan, 1982; Quinn and McGrath, 1982; Schwartz, 1983). They hold that the relevance of the values would depend upon the type of organization, the culture of the larger society in which the organization exists, special situations confronting the organization, the life-cycle stage of the organization and so forth.

Against this background, it is worth examining the relevance of conventional OD to Social Development Organizations (SDOs). In the developing countries at least, SDOs have come to stay, and have got to play a major role in the process of nation-building. The experience of the developing nations is that the economic indices are not a true measure of development

in so far as they do not necessarily correlate with the welfare of people. Hence it is felt that there is also a need for direct action to improve the welfare of people, and SDOs have come up both in the government sector and in the voluntary sector. Except in a few cases, however, these organizations too have failed to deliver the goods. Instead of improving the quality of life of the poor, many of these organizations have made them dependent and begging (Mendoza, 1981).

One of the reasons for this unanticipated outcome is the inappropriate design and development of SDOs. Capitalism has rather reluctantly accepted social development as a means of its own survival and so has inappropriately tried to build it around the capitalist value system emphasizing the disparity between the rich and the poor (Farris and Marsh, 1982), and hence the poor are treated as dependent recipients of benefits and not as autonomous partners of development. As for the structure of the organization, SDOs in the government sector have naively adopted the bureaucratic structure which was originally designed to perform a maintenance function and is obviously unsuited for development administration (Sjoberg et al., 1966). In the voluntary sector, many SDOs never thought about any structure and left it to the ~~ideas~~ and preferences of the staff doing the work. Some have modelled themselves on the industrial organizations. Thus, most SDOs are burdened by values, structures, technology, and processes that hamper rather than facilitate the accomplishment of their goals. It is in this context that we propose to examine the need for organization development in Social Development Organizations and the extent to which conventional OD values and techniques are relevant for SDOs.

II CONVENTIONAL OD VALUES AND CURRENT TRENDS

One of the early definitions of OD (Bennis, 1969) views it as a response to change, a complex educational strategy to change the beliefs, attitudes, values and structures of organizations so that they can better adapt to new technologies, markets and challenges and the dizzying rate of change itself. OD, according to this view, is a reactive response to change. Beckhard's definition (1969) incorporates the view that OD has to anticipate changes, but insists that the intervention is essentially a process intervention using behavioral science theory and managed from the top. Later definitions (e.g. Argyris, 1970; French and Bell, 1973; Margulies and Raia, 1978) have widened the scope of OD to include practically any intervention on the structure, processes and/or technology of an organization, which may be initiated at any level of the organization provided it is aimed at improving the effectiveness of the total organization. However, the condition that OD should use behavioral science theory is emphasized by most writers.

Thus, it is expected that OD would prefer the Normative-Re-educative type of change strategies to the Empirical-Rational or Power-Coercive strategies (Chin and Berne, 1969). As for the three different approaches to organizational change, namely, structural, technical and behavioral (Leavitt, 1965), most OD practitioners would go the behavioral way, though theoretically, it is possible to use any. The behavioral intervention may start at the individual, interpersonal, group or intergroup level with an ultimate aim of achieving integrated development of the total organization. The theoretical model underlying OD interventions may be (1) the action-research model (Lewin, 1946 & 1951), (2) the power-equalization model (Harvey and Brown, 1976) or (3) the intervention theory model (Argyris, 1970).

However, the choice of the theoretical model does not seem to have any substantial influence on the choice of the intervention method, which, in general consists of the following steps : (1) data gathering, (2) diagnosis, (3) feedback of data, (4) developing action plans, and (5) initiating and implementing action programmes.

It should be admitted that the values and methods of OD are undergoing small, but continuous changes. Hence it is rather difficult to distinguish between the conventional and the new OD. In 1978, for instance, Margulies and Raia tried to highlight the emerging trends in OD then (See Figure-1). Many of these trends are obviously part of the conventional now, as may be

Figure - 1

CHANGING PATTERNS OF THE DIMENSIONS OF OD

<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Conventional</u>	<u>Current (as of 1978)</u>
1. Target of change	- The human system of the organization	- The total system
2. Discipline base	- Behavioral Science	- Interdisciplinary
3. Methods and techniques	- Collecting data, diagnosis, feedback, developing action programs	-(No substantial change)
4. Nature & Source of Data	- 'Fact-finding' usually from the top management of client organization.	- 'Fact & feeling - finding' from the members of the client organization.
5. Underlying values	- Normative - Reeducative values implying trust, love, openness & concern	- (No substantial change)
6. Agents of change	- Experts playing a directive role.	- Experts playing a facilitative role.

Source : Adapted from Margulies & Raia (1978).

observed from the summary of the values and assumptions of conventional OD provided by Das (1981). Reviewing the OD literature, he finds that conventional OD is characterised by such values and assumptions as : (1) focus on all goals of the organization, (2) primacy of the individual's need for autonomy and personal growth, (3) accepting and encouraging individual differences, (4) encouraging risk-taking for growth and adaptation, (5) designing organizational structures and jobs to suit the needs of individuals and groups, (6) decentralization of decision making for greater effectiveness, (7) equalizing power within groups, (8) replacing win-lose strategies by win-win strategies, (9) resolving conflicts by confrontation rather than by 'edicting', and (10) seeking synergistic solutions to organizational problems. In general, one may agree with Das's view that OD gives the highest priority to individual aspirations, autonomy and growth and that this along with the organization's goals are better achieved if feelings and sentiments are freely expressed than if they are suppressed for the sake of conformity.

III NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SDOs :

Social development is a relatively new concept that seeks to replace the old one implied in such terms as 'social work' and 'social service'. Some social philosophers hold that social service is a necessary but unwillingly tolerated consequence of capitalism which uses it as a means of survival against its own legitimation crisis (Cf: Habermas, 1973). Capitalism, by definition, has to maintain the class difference between employers and employees. But the gap should not be allowed to widen beyond a limit; or else, the working class may revolt. Social service, therefore, is an ingenious device by which capitalism tries to keep its workers pacified (Farris

and Marsh, 1982). No wonder the traditional social service has failed to bring about any lasting improvements in the condition of the underprivileged (Mendoza, 1981). It was not designed for it. Social work is but a means of keeping the peripheral population under control. It seems to hold the humanistic perspective for the private, worker-client relationships, and the technocratic, bureaucratic perspective for the public, political reality (Piven and Cloward, 1971).

Frustrations with the performance of social service have made the social scientists and development planners emphasize the need for a healthier concept and they came out with the concept of social development, which is to be understood as development for which "people are the central purpose and human will and capacity are the most critical resources" (D.C. Korten, 1981b). A clear and self-explaining elaboration of this concept is provided by the 'creed' of the International Rural Reconstruction Movement :

Go to the people
 Live among the people
 Learn from the people
 Plan with the people
 Work with the people
 Start with what the people know
 Build on what the people have
 Teach by showing; learn by doing
 Not a showcase but a pattern
 Not odds and ends but a system
 Not piecemeal but integrated approach
 Not to conform but to transform
 Not relief but release

(Quoted in D.C. Korten, 1981b).

This creed, which contains almost everything that social development is and is not, was formulated in the early 1920s, by James Y.C. Yen, who founded

the Rural Reconstruction Movement in China in 1918. However, even today, the plan documents of developing nations rarely discuss the characteristics of the people they want to develop; instead there is endless discussion on the economic indices assuming that they can and should be improved and that this will automatically improve the quality of people's life. Such assumptions have been proved wrong, and D.C. Korten (1981b) proposes that there is need of three important changes in our attitude towards development planning. There has to be :

- (1) people-centred planning at all levels, namely, national, regional and project levels;
- (2) people participation in planning, especially in (a) sharing knowledge toward appropriate technology and (b) prioritising community needs;
- (3) a learning process approach to program development which is an exercise of mutual fit among the beneficiaries, the program and the organization, and not an exercise of experts designing a program blueprint and passing it on to the line for implementation.

The 'fit-model' represents the ideal, but the actual practice of social development varies between two extremes, the dimensions of which are identified by Pareek (undated); (also see Haque et al., 1977; Retzlaff, 1978) :

- (1) Externality v/s Internality
(Dependence on external agencies for resources v/s development of resources from within the community).
- (2) Filter approach v/s Organic growth approach (Assuming that development will trickle down to the poor v/s promoting the organic growth of each subunit).

(3) Reductionist approach v/s Total development approach.

(Allowing the privileged groups in each sector to capture the benefits of sectoral programmes intended for the under-privileged v/s abandoning the sectoral approach for the total development of the target group).

(4) Isolated v/s Integrated efforts.

(Allowing the various development agencies to operate independently v/s coordinating their efforts synergistically).

(5) Individual v/s Collective development.

(Assuming that the system is faultless and offering 'residual treatment' to individuals v/s correcting the structural and system deficiencies).

(6) Incremental v/s Radical approach.

(Adding small changes so as not to shock the society v/s bringing about revolutionary changes).

(7) Avoidance v/s Confrontation approach.

(Appeasing the dominant groups by not disturbing the existing power-structures v/s confronting the obstructing power structures and changing them).

Traditionally, SDOs have leaned to one extreme characterised by externality, filter approach, incrementalism and so on; the modern theorists want to take them to the other extreme. According to the latter, such a shift is a must if SDOs are to perform their functions effectively. These functions centre around the liberation of man (Goulet, 1979) from (a) the paralyzing self-image imposed on him by the oppressors (Freire, 1972), (b) the political and economic constraints that block people's creativity, and (c) the servitude to nature and ignorance. In other words, SDOs have to (1) develop and de-alienate man so that he becomes both the subject and object of development, (2) develop human resources as a collectivity and increase their capacity to deal with the environment, (3) expand the physical resources and increase the community's control over them, and (4) ensure equitable sharing

of the benefits of community living by all members through adequate participation at all levels (cf : Fredericks, 1978; Haque et al. 1977; Miller, 1977). Thus, the harmony model of social development, which implies incremental changes without disturbance to the existing structural arrangements, may often have to be replaced by a conflict model (Moulik, 1977), which implies that not only the SDO but also the OD interventionist will sometimes have to take sides, abandoning the latter's professional neutrality (Boje, 1979; Brown, 1980).

Given the special tasks to be performed by SDOs, it is but natural that their management requirements are also different. Managers of SDOs, therefore have to (1) operate within a culture of poverty, (2) work with political interest groups, (3) mobilize resources from various sources and coordinate their activities on programme and/or area basis, (4) develop organizations that are capable of eliciting community participation, (5) build bottom-up learning systems so that the programmes and packages are attractive to the community, (6) ensure equitable sharing of benefits and (7) train the clients to be self-reliant and walk away when they become so (D.C. Korten, 1981a; Mendoza, 1981). One of the implications of this is that SDO managers should equip themselves with certain special abilities, which include (a) synthetic thought as opposed to the conventionally emphasized analytic thought, (b) socialized power as proposed by McClelland (1970), and (c) unusual tolerance for ambiguity (D.C. Korten, 1981b).

The management requirements of SDOs, therefore, are different from those of commercial or industrial organizations. These differences have their basis in the special features of SDOs. A comparison of these features with the corresponding features of the commercial and industrial organizations is provided in Figure-2.

Figure - 2

DIMENSIONS	COMMERCIAL/INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS
1. Purpose	To serve the interests of all stakeholders	To serve the interests of the clients.
2. Objectives	Mostly quantifiable and measurable.	Mostly qualitative and difficult to measure.
3. Structure	Well-defined and often single-purpose	Loosely defined and often multipurpose
4. Processes	Primarily based on structure and tasks	Primarily based on personalities
5. Role	Relatively fixed and well-defined	Evolving and often ambiguous
6. Authority	Formal and position-based	Charismatic, persuasive and person-based in many cases
7. Membership	Consists primarily of owners & employees	Consists also of clients and cooperating agencies
8. Boundary	Mostly fixed and well defined	Ill-defined and evolving
9. Legitimation	Acquires legitimacy by maintaining or increasing client dependence	Acquires legitimacy by reducing client dependence
10. Benefit-Sharing	On the basis of power & ownership of resources	On the basis of need
11. Dependence on external environment	Relatively less	Relatively more
12. Resources	Defined & relatively certain	Undefined, scarce and uncertain.
13. Relationship with similar organizations	Competition	Co-operation & Coordination
14. End result of successful operation	Growth and entrenchment of the organization	Withdrawal of the organization from the field.

It may be noted that many of these differences result from the SDO's client orientation, dependency on and need for coordination with other agencies, the scarcity and uncertainty of resources and the emphasis on the ultimate self-sufficiency of clients. Moreover, from the OD perspective it may be pointed out that the intervention in an SDO is a two-level intervention. The SDO, by its very definition, is an interventionist organization as far as the community is concerned, and when an external agency intervenes with the SDO, it has to take care of the two levels, one at the SDO level and the other at the community level.

IV. TYPES OF SDOs

The distinction made between commercial/industrial organizations and SDOs and the special features of the latter may give the impression that SDOs are homogeneous in their organizational characteristics. This, however, is not true. SDOs do differ among themselves on several counts, and are often classified on the basis of their 'source' (government or voluntary), sector (agriculture, health, education, etc.), serving area (urban or rural) or purpose (single-purpose or multi-purpose). A comprehensive review of the literature on SDOs show that organizationally the most relevant classification is between the government and the voluntary SDOs. As for the sectors or the serving areas, they do not necessitate any substantial changes in the organizational requirements or philosophy of SDOs. There will, of course, be changes in the methods and techniques because of the differences in infrastructure facilities, communication facilities, nature of tasks, characteristics and concentration of the target population and so forth. Similarly a classification based on the number of goals also may not be realistic. This is because SDOs, especially those in the developing countries, face acute

shortage of techno-managerial resources, and so cannot spread them too thin on several goals at a time. Successful social development programs are observed to have phased out their goals so that they could focus on one at a time (Paul, 1984). This observation is in conformity with the theoretical position taken by Das (1981) that under conditions of scarcity organizations tend to reduce the number of goals. So, practically all successful SDOs will be single-purpose organizations. Though they will take an integrative approach to all the aspects of human life, the central purpose is never lost sight of.

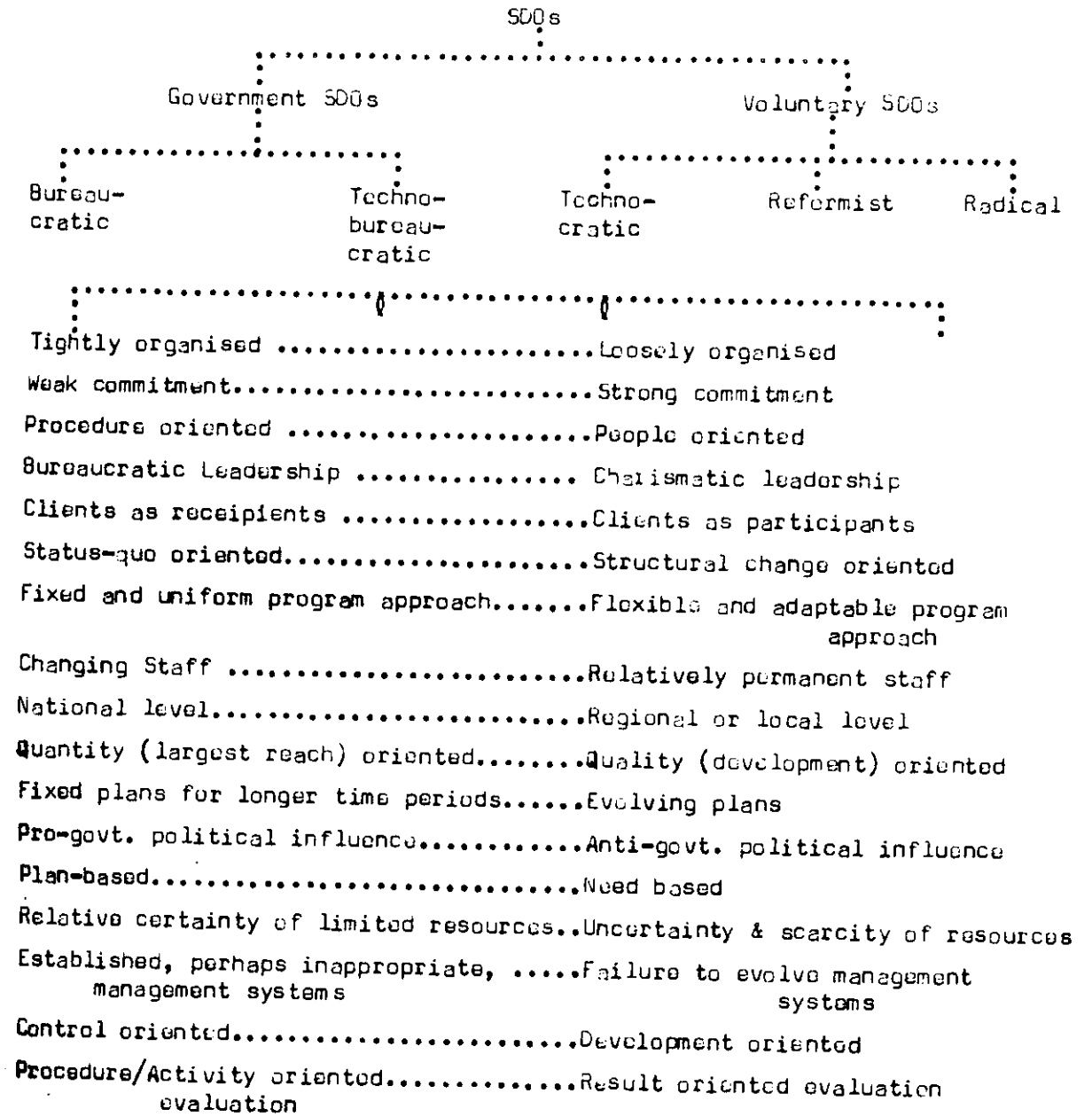
For the purposes of the discussion on OD in SDOs, therefore, it will be useful to classify SDOs into two: (1) SDOs in the government sector, and (2) SDOs in the voluntary sector, and examine the OD requirements of each. The main and sub-classifications and the dominant features of extreme types are shown in Figure-3.

The five sub-classifications may be placed on a decreasing continuum of the extent of bureaucratization or an increasing continuum of the extent of people orientation. Paroek (undated) discusses four of these, namely : ~~bureaucratic~~, technocratic, reformist and radical, to which is added the technobureaucratic because of its growing prominence in recent years :

1. Bureaucratic SDOs : They are initiated by the government through bureaucrats. They believe in providing support and aid from outside the community rather than developing the community's internal resources. Their strategy of change, if any, is the incremental change strategy. They foster an extra-organizational orientation in the sense that they are guided primarily by the concerns of the government and the political system.

Figure - 3

CLASSIFICATION OF SDOs AND THE PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE EXTREME TYPES*



* Discussions with my colleague, Ms. Deepti Sethi have been helpful in developing this model.

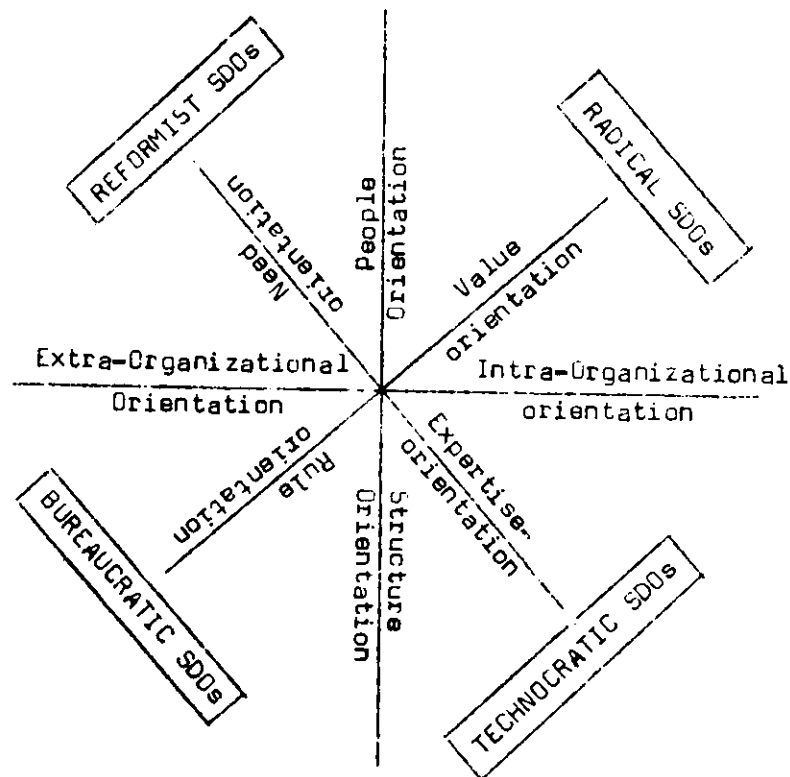
2. Technobureaucratic SDOs : They are initiated by technocrats (experts) in a particular field at the instance of the governmental agencies, and so they work through bureaucratic structures and adopt sectoral and incremental approaches. They usually fail to take an integrated perspective because of the bias of their expertise.
3. Technocratic SDOs : They are initiated by experts such as scientists, academicians and technicians. They usually adopt a sectoral and incremental approach and avoid confrontation. Their primary focus is on their own organization especially on their own capabilities and expertise.
4. Reformist SDOs : They are initiated by social workers having empathy for the underprivileged, as a consequence, usually, of their ideological affinities with religious, social and political organizations, to which they are constantly oriented. Theirs is a residual strategy which tries to pick up the suffering individual for remedial treatment. They are concerned about the needs of the individual, but neglect groups, avoid confrontation and are not interested in structural changes. They foster strong emotional ties with the people and one of their greatest appeals is their adherence to the traditional relationships.
5. Radical SDOs : They are initiated by activists. Their strategy is characterised by collectivist orientation, concern for structural change, politicalization and confrontation. Their orientation is primarily to themselves, with the top priority always given to their own value system. Most of these organizations turn anti-government. Some of them may be politically neutral to start with, but they cannot remain

so for long. This is because they work for structural changes which would soon be branded as anti-government activities. Thus they eventually fall into 'opposition' campus.

The four basic types and their most important characteristics are graphically represented in Figure-4.

Figure - 4

CLASSIFICATION AND POSITIONING OF SDOs ON EIGHT
IMPORTANT DIMENSIONS



It is obvious that each type of SDO has its own strengths and weaknesses. In general, the task of OD in SDOs may be described as one of maintaining and reinforcing the strengths and developing those aspects in which there is a weakness. For example, the bureaucratic SDO may gain by developing people, value and need orientations. Similarly, the reformist

and the radical SDOs may benefit by developing structures, procedures and expertise. The detailed list of differentiating characteristics provided in Figure-3 may be of help in identifying areas of potential OD interventions. However, it may be noted that these characteristics relate to the majority of SDOs in the extreme groups. Exceptions are bound to be there and so OD intervention for each organization has to be specifically designed in view of its special needs. Nonetheless, some broad generalizations can be made about the OD needs of SDOs in general and of government and voluntary SDOs in particular.

V. APPLICATIONS OF OD IN SDOs :

The review of literature on SDOs has shown that there are a few essential requirements for SDOs to be successful, irrespective of their types. These include : (1) a value-system based on human equality and faith in the development potential of the underprivileged, (2) an integrated vision of human life, which does not compartmentalize life into various sectors, (3) a client-orientation that goes to the extent of considering the clients as none less than the members of the SDO, (4) respect for the work of others and readiness to collaborate with them, (5) ability to withdraw when the clients become self-sufficient, and (6) a philosophy of work that would find a reward for work in its performance. For developing these aspects, the conventional OD-kit may find itself ill-equipped. Figure-5 shows the OD requirements corresponding to each aspect. Thus, SDOs may need help in the areas of value management, perspective management, participation management, dependency management and withdrawal management.

There is, of course, a school of OD thought which believe that it is better for the OD consultant not to touch the values and ideologies of the

 Figure - 5

<u>ORGANIZATIONAL REQUIREMENT</u>	<u>TYPE OF OD</u>
1. Development of value system and philosophy of work	Cultural (or value-oriented) OD
2. Integrated vision of life	Development of inter-sectoral perspectives
3. Clients as members of the organization	Client development; Client participation management
4. Co-ordination with other agencies	Development of political competence Inter-organizational development
5. Ability and willingness to leave everything to the developed clients	Withdrawal management

organization because that might provoke conflicts in the organization (Chattopadhyay and Parook, 1982). However, in the context of SDOs, it is felt that OD should start with the value system of the organization. It is important that the SDO holds the values of human equality and recognise the development potential of the underprivileged. Otherwise it is likely to maintain a donor-recipient relationship with its clients, which, as we have seen would ruin the chances of the latter's development. It is on the question of values that some authors feel that the interventionist may have to abandon his professional neutrality and take sides with one group or another, including the clients (Boje, 1979; Brown, 1980).

A related question is whether the consultant should promote any particular philosophy of work, and if so which. Traditional OD, especially the job enrichment branch, is based on the philosophy that work is as natural and enjoyable as play. Schwartz (1983) points out the inadequacy of this

philosophy to explain work motivation in many situations or to serve as a basis for OD. He questions the validity of giving autonomy to employees on tasks that anyway they must do using methods that are also predominantly pre-determined. There is also the difficulty of generating intrinsic motivation when somebody is paid for the performance of a task (Lepper and Green, 1978; Notz, 1975); and most jobs in organizations are paid. Work as play fails to explain the feeling of sense of responsibility or moral worthiness associated with the performance of assigned tasks. Moreover, many job-enrichment consultants could not explain why workers almost always asked for higher pay for doing 'enriched' jobs while equity theory held that they would do it for less. Hence, Schwartz proposes the concept of 'deontic' work motivation, which arises from viewing work as duty and claims that this concept can find answers to many motivational problems, and incidentally, would enable the American scholars to understand the Japanese motivation better. It is time that the message of the Morso and Weisa study (1955) is revived, which found that 80% of their sample would continue their work even if they had enough money to live without working, but only 9% of them enjoyed their work. It is interesting to ask what motivates the social development worker. Is it the pure enjoyment of serving others? Or is it the sense-of-guilt turned feeling of duty to bring up one's deprived brethren? The success of many religious organizations in development activities and the failure of many bureaucrats may point to a larger role for deontic motivation. However, we are not in a position to draw any firm conclusions for want of empirical evidence.

A second set of SDO requirements serve to make them rather 'underbounded'. Since the activities of the SDO are to be undertaken in partnership with the

clients, the latter are as good as members of the SDCs, which makes the membership boundaries indefinite and fluctuating. The SDO's need for collaborating with other agencies add to this 'underboundedness'. This is why even the most structured and defined SDCs such as the bureaucratic ones should be considered underbounded. Many of the failures of bureaucracy arise from their not realising this and proceeding on the basis of fixed plans, programs and rules which can be successful only in relatively bounded organizations.

What are the special needs of OD in underbounded organizations? Brown (1980), who calls them under-organised systems, compares them with over-organised systems and points out five areas of special attention by the OD interventionist (see Figure-6).

Experience of successful SDOs offer support for their OD requirements as specified in this paper. For example, the factors that led to the success of the Aroles (Arole and Arole, 1975) include : (1) attitude training rather than skill training of the professionals, (2) community involvement, through explanation and education and use of internal resources, (3) co-operation with government agencies, (4) coordination of the efforts of other agencies, seeing them as resources rather than as rivals, (5) multi-sectoral approach which is aimed at achieving health goals through the community's priorities, and (6) the changed role of the physician from that of an individual to that of a leader of a team serving a community (collectivist orientation). Similar findings are obtained in the six program international study of Paul (1984).

The legitimacy of adopting a participatory style under scarcity situations has been questioned by the findings of several studies in industrial

Figure - 6A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE PROBLEM OF OD INTERVENTION
IN OVER - AND UNDER ORGANISED SYSTEMS

<u>Over-organised system</u>	<u>Under-organised Systems</u>
1. <u>Logic of Inquiry</u>	
Positivist and inductive logic of inquiry	Deductive and heuristic logic of inquiry
2. <u>Data Collection</u>	
Problem of penetrating the closed boundaries	Problem of identifying the true boundaries and including all valid sources of information
3. <u>Ethical Issue</u>	
Violation of privacy arising out of the misuse of information	Violation of autonomy arising out of unintentional behaviour-changes in members caused by data collection interaction.
4. <u>Power Structure</u>	
Need for interpersonal competence to deal effectively with the dominant power group	Need, also, for political competence to maintain the power balance among several informal power groups.
5. <u>Professional Neutrality</u>	
Desirability of professional neutrality	Need, at times, to take sides in the interest of the clients' clients.

Source : Adapted from Brown (1980).

organizations (Das, 1980 and 1981; Khandwala, 1972; Vroom and Yetton, 1973). Organizations under such situations tend to perceive a crisis and try to consolidate themselves, and centralize decision-making for optimal use of scarce resources. Would it therefore be reasonable to advocate participation and client involvement for SDOs which are constantly plagued by scarcity and have to operate within a culture of poverty (Mendoza, 1981)? An explanation to this apparent incongruity may be sought in the differences in the primary objectives of these organizations. In industrial organizations where the prima

objective is to ensure optimal use of scarce resources, centralization may be appropriate, but in SDOs where the primary objective is to ensure the equitable use of scarce resources, participation might prove to be more effective. In fact, when the scarce resources are centrally allocated and administered, the local organizations are likely to become irrational in their demands and there is possibility of corruption at various levels such that the more powerful groups among the beneficiaries will siphon out the resources at the expense of common development (Esman and Uphoff, 1977). Moreover, there are other problems with the centralized service delivery approach, such as (1) limited reach, (2) inability to sustain the necessary local level action, (3) limited adaptability to local circumstances and (4) the creation of dependency (FF Korten, 1981).

The participatory research model of OD is especially recommended for SDOs when the legitimacy of power and resource distribution is questioned, when client groups are aware and mobilized to influence their situation and when researchers are ideologically committed to social transformation (Brown and Tandon, 1983). Though this recommendation is made with reference to the first level intervention (i.e. the intervention of the SDO with the community) it is equally valid for the second level intervention (i.e. the intervention of the consultant with the SDO and the community), since in the case of SDO activities, the distinction between the organization and the clients is not maintainable. If one were to identify the most prominent feature that distinguishes between the traditional OD tool of action research and the recently proposed participatory research, it is the intensity of the latter's client orientation. A comparison of the features of action research and participatory research is available in Figure-7. The importance of client

Figure - 7ACTION RESEARCH AND PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH - A COMPARISONAction ResearchParticipatory Research

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The problem originates in the client system but is identified jointly by the external expert and the clients, usually at the initiative of the former. | 1. The problem originates in the client system and is identified and defined by the clients themselves. |
| 2. The goal of research is the improvement of the total system, and is to be set by systemic consensus. | 2. The goal of research is the improvement of the client's situation, and is to be set by client consensus. |
| 3. Client participation is limited to giving information and receiving feedback. | 3. Clients participate in the entire process. |
| 4. Feedback is intended for system wide shared diagnosis. | 4. Feedback is intended for educating clients and strengthening and mobilizing client resources. |
| 5. 'Researcher' means the external expert. | 5. 'Researcher' means anyone, including a member of the client system, who is involved in the process. |
| 6. Outside researchers are detached learners. | 6. Outside researchers are so committed and involved that they often become militant along with the clients. |
| 7. There are only two parties involved in the whole process - outside researchers and clients. | 7. Besides clients and outside researchers, there will often be others like established authorities and third-party funders, involved in the process. |

Source : Adapted from Brown and Tandon (1983),
 Hall (1981) and Rapaport (1970).

orientation in the participatory research mode is obvious, and hence it is eminently suitable for OD in SDOs.

Finally, there is one specific problem of SDOs in regard to which conventional OD can be of help. It is the problem of burn-out, a special kind

of job-stress experienced by professionals dealing with human services. Burn-out is defined as a state of physical, mental and emotional exhaustion that results from long-term involvement with people in emotionally demanding situations (Pinus, 1982). It is found to be positively correlated with poor physical health, sleep problems, drinking, headache, loss of appetite, nervousness, backaches, turnover, tardiness, intention to leave a job, and above all with hopelessness and loss of idealism about work. Pinus (1982) has summarised the research on the mechanisms of reducing burnout and groups them into two : (1) maximizing positive work features such as organizational flexibility, degree of autonomy granted to the staff, pleasant work conditions, optimal variety, emphasis on work significance and personal growth, time out during periods of stress, and supporting and challenging collegial network; (2) minimizing negative work features such as large ratio of clients to staff, unlimited bureaucratic interference, redtapu, paperwork, senseless rules and regulations, role conflict, role ambiguity and status disorders. Obviously, many of these fall in the domain of traditional OD (cf. also Kanner et al., 1978; Pinus and Kanner, 1982). The problem of burn-out with special reference to social work is studied in Pinus and Kafry (1978). The stress-reducing capability of OD interventions is also discussed in Golembiowski (1982). He provides an impressive list of OD interventions that can reduce stresses arising out of (1) interactions, (2) structures, and (3) policies and procedures in organizations. However, he cautions that the comprehensive and long-range changes envisaged by OD and the uncertainties, conflicts, threats, time demands and pressures for results associated with it can be stress-inducing rather than reducing. Hence the interventionist has to strike a careful balance.

VI OD IN GOVERNMENT SDOs :

It has been pointed out in this paper that government SDOs in general show a preference for bureaucratic organization (see Figure-3). Their lack of effectiveness is commonly attributed to this structure. Sjoberg, et al (1966) have pointed out that bureaucracy with its emphasis on hierarchy, specialization, standardization and rules is inappropriate for SDOs which require mutuality of relationships, holistic concern and flexibility. SDOs should change their model of operation from an expert with diagnostic authority over lay people to a collegial group leader who develops social skills and knowledge in the people and with the people.

Within the bureaucratic structure, there are three dominant models of organization adopted by government SDOs; (1) the Training and Visit Model of Israeli origin, (2) the Extension Service Model of American origin, and (3) the Civil Service Model of British origin (Vittitow, 1983). While all the three models suffer from the bureaucratic distance maintained between the experts and the clients, the Civil Service Model with its assumptions that as one rises higher in the organizational hierarchy, one should become more and more authoritarian and concerned with increasing the status of one's position and less and less concerned with the people to be served and the work to be performed, is the most unsuitable for SDOs. Unfortunately, however, for historical reasons arising from the colonial past, this is the model that is most prevalent in India. Consequently, the employees in Government departments, especially those at the lower levels, have become a dissatisfied lot; they are dissatisfied with the power-orientation in the departments and would like to have task-and-growth orientations; they feel that the work system is too segmented to produce integrated results, they

are concerned about the lack of opportunities for developing and utilizing their professional capabilities (Government of India, 1984b). The impact of the bureaucratic structure on development programmes may be inferred from the findings of the Evaluation Report on IRDP (Government of India, 1984a). The failure of the programme is attributed to the inadequacies in developing infrastructure, inappropriateness of the organization and the lack of coordination among the different agencies handling the different aspects of the programme. Some of the aspects of the organizational inappropriateness may be taken note of: (1) The organization is suitable only for general administration, financial control and supervision; (2) There is no provision for sectoral or subject matter specialists for preparing projects and guiding field staff; and (3) Block level administrative machinery is too weak to provide an integrated delivery system, probably because (a) it is under dual control and/or (b) it has to administer several other sectoral programmes. It is obvious that the organization is designed not for the specific needs of the programme, but the programme is being accommodated within the existing bureaucratic organization structure. This is true of other developing nations, as may be seen from the study by Ickis (1981) of the administration of development programmes in five Central American nations. He found that the major barriers to the effectiveness of SDOs are: (1) over-centralization of decision-making, (2) undifferentiated structure, (3) dysfunctional processes such as excessive form-filling, and (4) absence of managers capable of systemic integration.

Thus, the basic incompatibility of bureaucracy and development administration arises from the control-orientation of the former which assumes stability of conditions, goals and resources. The task, then, is one of allocating the fixed resources optimally. However, development administration

can never be done under the assumption of fixity. It involves bringing about change and often exhibits the characteristics of a crisis situation such as ambiguity of authority, status and jurisdiction, indefiniteness of assignment, uncontrolled communication, group decision, problem orientation and a high level of excitement and morale. Moreover, under such circumstances, the most valuable resource would be ideas and they would be welcomed irrespective of their source. And, ideas do not come from control; they come from freedom and so are hardly compatible with the bureaucratic organization. Based on this argument, Thompson (1964) has proposed that there is need of a thorough revision of the objectives of development administration, with emphasis on the following in particular :

- (1) an innovative atmosphere characterised by staff development and group administrative effort;
- (2) operational and shared planning goals;
- (3) combination of planning and action, so that status differences disappear;
- (4) a cosmopolitan atmosphere characterized by professional rather than positional groupings;
- (5) diffusion of influence in the organization, especially of specialists;
- (6) toleration and management of interdependence through group cohesiveness and communication; and
- (7) avoidance of bureaupathology arising out of excessive controls on the one hand and personal insecurity on the other.

Though these changes in the bureaucracy are vital for the success of development administration, they are not within the reach of an individual

OD consultant. Bureaucracy, with its enormous size, multi-layer organization, transient membership at the subsystem level and vital interface with the political system, needs intervention at various levels of systems and dimensions (Pareek, 1982). For example, changes implemented in a department (focal system) will be short-lived unless they are diffused to the proximate system and supported by the political system, for which similar OD interventions are required in the latter systems too.

Such wide-ranging interventions are often difficult and time consuming. An alternative is for SDOs to have greater autonomy. This is not so difficult as it would appear to be. Paul (1984) shows that all the six successful programmes included in his international study had 'effective autonomy', though they were all government-sponsored. The important thing to note is that such autonomy need not be part of the design of the SDO. It can be 'induced' or 'earned' by the programme leadership. Hence, the first task of OD in government SDOs is to help the organization earn autonomy. Only then can other changes be taken up and implemented.

To conclude this section, we may summarize the tasks of OD in government SDOs in Figure-8.

Figure - 8

TASKS OF OD IN GOVERNMENT SDOs

1. Development of relative autonomy for the SDO.
 2. Debureaucratization of the organization by encouraging professional rather than positional relations, allowing communication in all directions, relaxing norms of hierarchy and rules and replacing the power orientation of the organization by task orientation.
 3. Development of appropriate values and commitment to those values.
 4. Client development through participatory research and mobilization of resources and demand.
 5. Interorganizational development for effective co-operation and coordination of several agencies toward integrated development of the clients.
-

VII OD IN VOLUNTARY SDOs :

If one were to pick up the two most important characteristics of Voluntary SDOs from Figure-3, they will be (1) high commitment and (2) low structure. One reason for this is that the core members of such organizations are doing the work not for money or any other material incentives but to satisfy their own impulses. It is natural, therefore, that they want to do things in their own way and so would not like to subject themselves to any arbitrary leadership or structure. This hypothesis is supported by a comparative study of volunteers and employees by Pearce (1982), who found that performance variability is higher among volunteers than among employees. The reason is that volunteers are more committed and so would at times make extra effort than required, but cannot be relied upon always to perform at a minimum level since they can afford to ignore their leaders much more than employees.

It has been pointed out that all voluntary SDOs are not necessarily under-structured or loosely organized (Kaplan, 1982). Religious organizations engaged in social development activities are considered to be rather tightly organised. This, however, is only partly true. Some of these organizations are tightly organised within themselves. But with reference to the specific social development activity undertaken, they may operate on the basis of adhoc arrangements. Therefore, the general impression is that voluntariness is antithetical to structure. This is certainly true if the clients and the co-operating agencies are included (as they should be) as the members of the SDO.

Problems of OD in voluntary SDOs, therefore, spring from the distinguishing features of these organizations, the most prominent of which are

loose structure, unclear boundaries, high levels of commitment, extension motive and empathy. Specific OD problems arising out of these characteristics are summarised in Figure-9.

Figure - 9

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF VOLUNTARY SDGs AND THE
CORRESPONDING OD PROBLEMS

<u>Distinctive Features</u>	<u>Specific OD Problems</u>
1. Loose structure	(a) Lack of clarity about entry contacts. (b) Long pre-entry preparations and negotiations. (c) Need for designing feedback systems that correspond to the strengths and weaknesses of the existing structures. (d) Need for reticular skills (i.e. the ability to work effectively with networks). (e) Inability to get clear guidelines from the organization (f) Interpersonal conflicts involving the consultant also.
2. Unclear boundaries	(a) Problems of inclusion (b) Violation of autonomy (c) Need for political competence (d) Need, at times, to abandon professional neutrality (e) Need to 'convene', rather than merely intervene with, the system.
3. High degree of commitment	Differences in the perception of commitment among senior and junior members, resulting in the OD problems of managing domination and dependency.
4. High degree of extension motive	(a) Self-rejection resulting from the anxiety to be of use to others. (b) Lack of affection and personal relationship among the members of the organization.
5. High degree of empathy	Super sensitivity to the feelings of others and avoidance of healthy confrontation.

Source : Adapted from Brown (1980), Chattopadhyay and Pareek (1982),
Friend et al. (1974), Kaplan (1982) and Pareek (1968).

In order to deal with these and similar OD problems in voluntary SDOs, process consultation is often recommended to be the most suitable intervention (Chattopadhyay and Pareek, 1982; Rao, 1978). The ultimate aim of OD, according to this school, is to enable the client to install a self-renewing system, for which the following steps may be adopted (Pareek and Rao, 1975) (1) goal setting, (2) cultural specificity assessment, (3) resources assessment, (4) resources creation, (5) developing a systemic perspective, and (6) creating a self-reviewing process.

The tasks of OD in voluntary SDOs, therefore, revolve around the operationalization of shared values, development of appropriate structures and management of dependence and burn out. Figure-10 presents a list of OD tasks in voluntary SDOs.

Figure - 10

TASKS OF OD IN VOLUNTARY SDOs

1. Developing consensus on the operationalization of shared values.
 2. Developing appropriate structures for implementing the operationalised values and action programs.
 3. Client development and client-interface management.
 4. Interorganizational co-ordination and development.
 5. Management of dependence and burn-out and development of a culture of mutuality, collaboration and healthy confrontation within the organization.
 6. Institutionalizing a self-renewing system.
-

VIII CONCLUSION

In this paper it was attempted to examine how social development organizations are different from commercial and industrial organizations, and how the special nature of SDOs call for changes in the theory and practice of

conventional OD. The special needs of OD in SDOs as discussed in this paper are summarized in Figure-11.

The implications for OD are clear. There is need of a shift in its focus. OD will have to develop interorganizational perspectives and interdisciplinary approaches. In addition to the structural, technical and process orientations, it will have to adopt cultural and value orientations.

Figure - 11

OD NEEDS OF SDOs - A SUMMARY

- A. General :
1. Developing values of human equality and faith in the development potential of all men.
 2. Development of an integrated perspective of life.
 3. Client and client-relations development.
 4. 'Burn-out' management.
 5. Inter-organizational coordination and development.
 6. Institutionalization of a self-renewing system, which would also review periodically the relevance of the organization's activities and take steps for withdrawal when required.
- B. Specific to Govt. SDOs :
1. Developing relative autonomy for the organization (i.e. enabling it to 'earn' autonomy).
 2. Debureaucratization of the organization.
 3. Helping the organization to unlearn its existing values and learn new ones as outlined in (A).
- C. Specific to Voluntary SDOs :
1. Developing consensus on operationalization of shared values.
 2. Developing appropriate structures for implementing operationalised goals.
 3. Developing a culture of mutuality, collaboration and healthy confrontation within the organization.
-

Instead of dissipating itself on all possible organizational goals, it will have to emphasize one goal at a time. The dominant group through which and

according to the needs of which changes are brought about can no longer be the top management group, but should be the client group, who used to be considered the peripheral members of the organization. In other words, the clients for SDOs are not the peripheral but the primary members of the organization. Accordingly, the OD consultant has to, in most cases, shift from the action research mode to the participatory research mode. Similarly, at times, he may have to abandon professional neutrality and take sides with one group or another; his role is no longer that of a mere facilitator, but that of a conscientizer and even an instigator. And finally, unlike in conventional OD where he has to help organizations to entrench themselves, here his task is to help the SDOs make themselves irrelevant and withdraw. In other words, the ideal society is one in which there is no need for any SDOs at all; and SDOs should obviously work for that ideal. A future perspective of OD with special reference to SDOs is given in Figure-12.

It is, indeed, a simplistic assumption to believe that all SDOs would need the same type of OD. Moreover, no single organization is in need of all types at the same time. So, as in the case of conventional OD, the consultant has to design unique interventions for each organization. The typology of SDOs developed in this paper and the OD requirements of each type identified may serve as broad guidelines for the choice/design of specific intervention strategies suitable for each organization.

Figure - 12

A FUTURE PERSPECTIVE OF OD WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SDOs

<u>DIMENSION</u>	<u>CURRENT STATUS</u>	<u>DESIRED NEW DIRECTION</u>
1. Target of Development	Total organization	Also, clients and inter-organizational activities.
2. Ultimate Goal	Entrenchment of the organization among clients	Withdrawal of the organization after making the clients self-sufficient.
3. Dominant group whose interests are to be protected	Top management of the organization.	Clients of the organization.
4. Discipline base	Behavioral science	Inter-disciplinary.
5. Criterion for success	Achievement of all the goals of the organization.	Achievement of selected goals relevant to the organization and its special situation.
6. Underlying values	a) Work as 'play' b) Individual autonomy and growth c) Trust, love, openness and concern.	a) Also, work as duty. b) Collective autonomy and well-being. c) Also, conflicts and political use of power.
7. Approaches	Structural, technical, and process (behavioral)	Also, cultural (value-oriented).
8. Nature and source of data	Facts and feelings from the members of the organization.	Facts and feelings, also from the clients of the organization.
9. Methods and techniques	Action research	Participatory research; Search conferences.
10. Agents of development	Experts with a facilitating role.	Experts with a conscientizing and sometimes, instigating role.

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